

# THE MODERN REVIEW

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

*FOUNDER :*

## RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

*EDITED BY*

## KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

VOL. LXXV. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JANUARY TO JUNE
1944

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA

*Annual Subscription in India Rs. 8-8 ; Foreign Rs. 11-8.*

# INDEX OF ARTICLES


| | Page |
|---|---|
| Agricultural Income Tax, The | |
| Prakash Chandra Banerjee | 222 |
| American Farmer: The Soldier of the Soil (*illust.*) | |
| X. | 114 |
| America's Winding Furrows for Victory | |
| Bliss Isely | 225 |
| Anatole France | |
| P. Sama Rao | 132 |
| Andhra Mahabharata and Ancient Methods of Warfare, The | |
| K. Lakshmi Ranjanam | 568 |
| (1944) Art in Industry Exhibition (*illust.*) | |
| Ajit Mookerjee | 199 |
| Art Movement of the Twentieth Century | |
| N. Srinivasarao | 129 |
| Battle of Lakheri, 1793, The (*illust.*) | |
| Sir Jadunath Sarkar | 97 |
| Battle of Merta, 1790, The (*illust.*) | |
| Sir Jadunath Sarkar | 17 |
| Bengal, 1943 (*a poem*) | |
| Cyril Modak | 224 |
| Bengal: A Gangetic Delta? | |
| Bisweswar Chakravarty | 139 |
| Bengal's Food Front | |
| Kali Charan Ghosh | 189 |
| Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, The | |
| Shrimati Renuka Ray | 425 |
| Book Reviews | 61, 141, 217, 301, 380, 461 |
| Brave Dark World | |
| Sunil Kumar Bose | 65 |
| British Airmen and High Altitude Flying (*illust.*) | |
| Adam Gowans Whyte | 435 |
| British Business in Indian Legislatures | |
| Dr. H. C. Mookerjee | 257 |
| British Farm Workers (*illust.*) | |
| Augustus Muir | 39 |
| British Postgraduate Medical School, The (*illust.*) | |
| A. H. Proctor | 441 |
| Comment and Criticism | 310, 439 |
| Chinese Renaissance, The | |
| Shanti Swarup Mathur | 421 |
| Chitrasalas (*illust.*) | |
| Wahida Aziz | 34 |
| Colonization of Australia, The | |
| P. L. Stephen | 457 |
| Co-operative Movement, The | |
| Bepin B. Banerjee | 391 |
| Critique of Nazism, A | |
| S. V. Puntambekar | 49 |
| Deaf-mutes in India, The | |
| Nripendra Mohan Majoomdar | 388 |
| Decay of the Lower Castes in Bengal is More Apparent than Real | |
| Jatindra Mohan Datta | 145 |
| Deluge and After, The | |
| Kali Charan Ghosh | 30 |
| Early History of Sugar in Bengal | |
| Debajyoti Burman | 106 |
| Education of the Blind, The (*illust.*) | |
| J. M. Ritchie | 440 |

| | Page |
|---|---|
| Famine's Toll in 1943 | |
| Kali Charan Ghosh | 3 |
| Farming in Wartime Britain (*illust.*) | |
| J. Wentworth Day | 37 |
| Foreign Periodicals | 78, 158, 238, 319, 398, 478 |
| Gurudas Banerjee Centenary, Sir | |
| Bijay Bihari Mukherji | 54 |
| How Calcutta Prepared to Defend Itself in 1742 | |
| Dr. A. G. Pawar | 465 |
| Holi (*a poem*) | |
| Cyril Modak | 273 |
| How India Can Reclaim 170 Million Fresh Acres (*illust.*) | |
| Dr. Maclagan Gorrie | 41 |
| How Yellow Fever, Once a Deadly Tropical Disease, has been Controlled (*illust.*) | |
| X. | 201 |
| Implications of the Change in the Soviet Constitution | |
| Sudhindra Pramanik | 349 |
| In a Quandary | |
| Kali Charan Ghosh | 305 |
| Indian Periodicals | 73, 153, 233, 313, 393, 473 |
| Indian Philosophy and Religion | |
| Mm. Dr. Umesh Mishra | 212, 292 |
| Indian Women in Science | |
| Gauri Sankar Datta | 216 |
| Indians in Mauritius (*illust.*) | |
| Priya Ranjan Sen | 274 |
| India Ruled the Waves | |
| Dr. M. Ganju | 337 |
| Interesting Piece of Sculpture in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, An (*illust.*) | |
| S. C. Kala | 280 |
| Irish Neutrality in the Present War | |
| Arun Chandra Banerjee | 459 |
| Kaghan Valley, The (*illust.*) | |
| Pran Nath Mehra | 361 |
| Kasturba Gandhi | |
| Mrs. Hemlata Tagore | 360 |
| King's Daughters, The (*illust.*) | |
| Mrs. Robert Noble | 121 |
| K. N. Dikshit, F.A.S.B., Rao Bahadur (*illust.*) | |
| O. C. Gangoly | 124 |
| Kodaikanal (*illust.*) | |
| L. N. Gubil | 278 |
| Leningrad Scientists and War | |
| I. Veriga | 60 |
| Lin Yutang's "My Country and My People" | |
| Abany C. Banerjee | 298 |
| Magic | |
| P. C. Sorcar | 230 |
| Mahadji Sindhia's End | |
| Sir Jadunath Sarkar | 177 |
| Maharajah of Dewas 3, The Late (*illust.*) | |
| X. | 43 |
| Malaria and Its Influence on World Health (*illust.*) | |
| Paul F. Russell | 266, 354 |
| Mata Kasturba in Natal | |
| Swami Bhawani Dayal | 308 |

Page

Milk Problem in India, The
R. P. Singh 386
Mold That Fights for the Life of Man, The (*illust.*)
Daniel Schwarz 437
Money—Master or Servant?
"Chittagonian" 449
Naga Tribes on Our Frontier, The
Siva Sankar Mitra 385
National System of Education for India, A
Mrs. Renuka Ray 44
Nest of Artists, A
"An Onlooker" 311
Non-official Europeans in Indian Legislatures
Dr. H. C. Mookerjee 25
Note on the Position of Agriculture in India, A
Sadhana Gupta 58
Notes 1, 81, 161, 241, 321, 401
Our Obligations to the Non-official European—I
Dr. H. C. Mookerjee 417
Passing of a Great Explorer and Orientalist—Sir Marc Aurel Stein, The
Dr. U. N. Ghoshal 56
Planning for India's Unity
Maneck B. Pithawalla 389
Poland as a Political Unit
Chandikaprosad Banerjee 187
Poraja, The
L. N. Sahu 228
Post-war Aviation Plan and India
Rajani Banerjee 341
Portentious Outlook, A
Kali Charan Ghosh (?)
Price-Control—Methods and Difficulties
K. D. Uppal 71
Price of Hunger, The (*a poem*)
Rabindranath Tagore 126
Rabindranath Tagore (*a poem*)
Cyril Modak 424
Rabindranath and Literary Ethics
Gurdial Mallik 431
Rajnarain Bose and Indian Nationalism
Jogesh C. Bagal 444
Ramananda Chatterjee
St. Nihal Singh 180
Ramananda Chatterjee (*a poem*)
Noel H. Matthews 198
Ramananda Chatterjee
R. K. M. Surya Rau 48
Ramananda Chatterjee As I Saw Him
Bijoy Lal Chattopadhyaya 138
Ramananda Chatterjee, Late Babu
Bhai Paramanand 105
Relative Efficiency of the Hindus and the Mohammadans of Bengal
Jatindra Mohan Datta 369
Rise of Mahadji Sindhia
G. S. Sardesai 209
Road from India to China, The (*illust.*)
Tillman Durdin 281
R. S. Pandit, Late Mr.
P. D. Tandon 150
Sandalwood Carving in Surat
S. I. Clerk 432
Slate from Welsh Mountains (*illust.*)
Claud Golding 276
Smugglers of the Store House
T. V. Subrahmanyam 226

Page

Some Facts about Poland
Wanda Dynowska 377
Suleman Nana of Transvaal, The Late
Swami Bhawani Dayal 467
Survey of the Calcutta Destitutes, A
J. K. Bose 427
Story of Boulder Dam, The (*illust.*)
X. 283
Swami Shankaranandji
Swami Bhawani Dayal 152
Tagore in Foreign Lands
J. N. Sinha 365
Tashkent Institute of Eastern Manuscripts
Anna Kocharyants 206
Udayagiri Fort and the Valia Kappithan (*illust.*)
K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy 193
Walls of Benares, The (*illust.*)
Sailoz Mookherjea 118
War and the Younger Writers in Britain, The
John Lehmann 433
World and the War, The (*illust.*)
Kedar Nath Chatterji 24, 127, 207, 286, 367, 447
Writer in a Changing World, The
Rajendra Varma 289, 372, 453

**INDIAN PERIODICALS**

Arab Nationalism 236
Bernard Shaw on Peace and War 317
Calcutta Review and Its First Editor, The 473
Call of the Seasons, The 73
Classics, The 154
Effect of Feed on Milk 75
Famine in Bengal 233
Hindu-Mussalman 153
Indian Emigration to America 76
Is Iranian Oil a Blessing to Iran? 397
Lavoisier, Antoine-Laurent, 1743-94 73
Light and Shade in South Africa 154
Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II (1686-1743) 393
Man of Steel, The 474
Meaning of Responsible Government, The 316
Modern Novels 316
National Research Council for India, A 155
Nazi Strategy 154
No Justice Yet in Sight 313
Obscenity in Literature 156
Organisation of Scientific Research in the U.S.S.R. 314
Russia 74, 233, 314, 395
Social Progress: Food 393
Surgery Enters the Ice Age 235
Western War-time Thinking 313
What Kind of Place is Teheran? 234

**FOREIGN PERIODICALS**

Aviation is 40 Years Old 320
Baltimore Paper Applauds India's Post-war Planning 398
"British Orientalists" 238
Bukhara To-day 240
Delegate to I.L.O. Conference Comments on India's Future 479
Enough Penicillin for All in Six Months 320
India in 1943 319
Indian Scientists Making Notable Contributions toward Winning War 159

Page

Mexico Plans a University in Every State 160
New Education Bill of England, The 478
(27) Nobel Prize Winners Now Living in U.S.A. 159
*One World* by Wendell Willkie 79
Panama and U.S. Fight Malaria 80
Pan-American Relations 79
Research Expert, Born in India, Aids American War Industry 400
(Dr.) Saklatwalla Addresses American Electro-Chemical Society 80
Science Editor Exemplifies India's Contributions to the United States 160
Science in Soviet Russia 78, 158
Stalin May Dictate Terms to Germany 238
Sun Yat Sen, Founder and First President of Republican China 398
U. S. Book Reviewers Praise Story of Tata Steel 80
Uzbekistan Oil 478
Wallace Proposes Highway "Across Roof of the World" 400

**NOTES**

Abolition of Prohibition in Madras 1
Absurd Claims of Representation 414
Accommodation Difficulties in Calcutta 411
Agricultural Education in Great Britain 333
Agricultural Income Tax in Bengal and Profits of Jute 336
Agricultural Machinery from America 253
Allahabad Chief Justice on Abuse of D. I. R. 26 15
All-India Library Conference 335
American Trade Will Move to Asia 248
"Angli in Oriente" 11
Anti-malaria Drugs 166
Appeal for Brojendranath Seal Memorial, An 256
Asia and Africa in Post-war World 96
Assembly Refuses Supplies to Viceroy's Council 241
Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms Shelved 246
Australian as Bengal Governor, An 7
Australian Sermonises India, An 410
Ban on Bombay Sentinel 329
Ban on Mrs. Naidu 172
Bengal Budget 174
Bengal Food Situation 325
Bengal Sales Tax on Handloom Cloth 255
Bengal Secondary Education Bill 327, 403
Bernard Shaw on India's Battle for Freedom 8
Birth Centenary of the First President of Indian National Congress 16
(Sir) B. L. Mitter on Indian Constitution 164
British Attitude in Africa 248
British Control over Indian Education 402
Britisher as Director-General of Archaeology in India, A 90
British "Expert" Method of Arithmetic 167
British Policy of Divide and Rule 10
Cause of Capt. Hyat Khan's Dismissal 323
Causes of Rise in Cloth Prices 89
Central Budget, The 243
Central Supplies Voted Down 242
Challenge to Social Conscience 415
"Charge Sheet" to Gandhiji 245
Citizenship Rights for Indians in America 326
Communal Problem not an All-India Question 12
Condition of Hindus in Hyderabad 176
Congress Attitude on the Separation of Congress and Judiciary 412

Page

Congress League Settlement Talk 331
Constitutional Conflict in Sind 7
"Crown not Helpful to Court"—Sir T. Harries 15
Dacca Riots, The 405
"Death in Bengal Famine Did not Exceel One Million" 82
Denial of Education in India 401
Detenus not to Write Letters in Hindi 95
Drug Control 89
Dumping of British Consumer Goods on India 251
Dwarakanath Ganguli Centenary 253
Economic Consequences of British Trade in India 249
Economic Plan for India, An 81
Economic Planning in Egypt 14
Economics of Control, The 86
"Era of High Prices Has Ended" 89
Even Liberals do not Believe the Government 96
Ever Depreciating Value of Britain's Promises 86
Exemplary Punishment, An 416
Exhibition of Chinese Art 408
Extensive Cultivation 9
Fight for Education 403
Fighting for Empire and Freedom at the Same Time 92
Firoz Khan Noon in the Empire Conference 411
Frontier Assembly Bye-election 250
Frontier Congress Leader's Challenge 334
Further Lights on the Bombay Plan 162
Future of Indian Industry 10
Governor-General's Speech, The 163
Greater Rise in the Cost of Living at Calcutta 256
Gross Breach of International Convention 173
"Grow More Food Campaign" a Veritable Farce [illegible]
Growth of Penicillin in India 175
(Mrs.) Gunther on Cripps Offer [illegible]
Half the World in Deepest Poverty [illegible]
Handloom Committee, The [illegible]
Harold Laski on British Labour Party 9[illegible]
Health and Wealth 414
Hindu Marriage Bill 251
Horace Alexander on Bengal Famine 85
How Australia Vindicates Freedom of the Press 330
Humanity and Post-war Plans 88
Hutchings' "Clumsy Effort to Mislead Anglo-Americans" 13
Increase in Railway Fares 165
Indian Revolution—Major Event of World War II 249
India's Army Viewed through American Eyes 407
Indore's Lead in Food Rationing 335
Inequity in Jute 168
Inhuman Treatment in Jail 247
Injustice to Indian-owned Collieries 416
Inner History of Jute Price Fixation 323
Introduction of Vicious Elements in the Bill 404
Ireland's Help in Indian Famine 13
Is Present Year's Crop a Bumper One? 83
(Dr.) Jayakar's Revelation about Cripps Negotiations 16
(Mr.) Jinnah and Panjab Politics 322
"Jinnah Built up by the British" 249
Jute—Bengal's Curse 84

| | Page |
|---|---|
| Jute Industry and Price Fixation, The | 175 |
| Jute Prices Unremunerative | 325 |
| (Shrimati) Kamala Debi's Address | 334 |
| Karachi Session of the Muslim League | 7 |
| Kasturba Gandhi | 161 |
| (Dr.) Katju's Reply to Sir John Beaumont | 411 |
| Khadi in Tamil Nad | 247 |
| (Dr.) Khan Sahib on Unity of India | 95 |
| (Mr.) Kirby on Rationing | 253 |
| Lahore Judgment on Court Martial | 326 |
| Land Mortgage Banks and Rural Economy | 91 |
| Let not the Voice of Karl Marx Speak—Smuts | 409 |
| Living Hindus and Dead Hindus in Bengal | 255 |
| Madras A.I.C.C. Member on 1942 Movement | 250 |
| Making Paper from Castor Plants | 407 |
| Manmohan Ghosh Centenary | 253 |
| Medical Aid to the Village | 90 |
| Military Training in Universities | 8 |
| Minister's Complicity in Allah Bux Murder Alleged | 244 |
| Misuse of D. I. R. | 244 |
| Monopoly of Foreign Trade for Foreigners | 244 |
| Moulana Hasrat Mohani on Pakistan | 9 |
| M. P. Advocates Public Indictment of Amery and Linlithgow | 12 |
| National War Front's Grow More Food Campaign | 335 |
| Nationalist Muslims Demand National Government | 412 |
| Nationalist Muslims Oppose Pakistan | 413 |
| New Statesman on Gandhiji's Release | 413 |
| Need for a Free Press during War | 332 |
| Need for Co-operative Research | 87 |
| Need for Milk Supply | 86 |
| Nepal Chandra Roy | 88 |
| New Fishery Adviser, A | 405 |
| New Plans for Education | 91 |
| No Shortage of Cloth Stock | 327 |
| Ocean-going Ships not to be Built in India | 87 |
| Officialisation of Education and Its Results | 402 |
| Organisation in the Frontier Province | 95 |
| People's Food Council for Bombay | 246 |
| Physician, Heal Thyself | 406 |
| Poll Tax in South Africa Contested | 407 |
| Postal "Efficiency" | 327 |
| Post-war Education in England and India | 10 |
| Post-war Educational Development in India | 87 |
| Pramathanath Tarkabhusan, Mm. Pandit | 407 |
| Present-day Condition of the Indian Civilian, The | 321 |
| Price and Supply of Soft Coke | 254 |
| Price of Indian Co-operation | 245 |
| Primary Education in Bengal | 402 |
| Priority of Race Horse Transport during Famine | 414 |
| Profit-making by Government | 334 |
| Profulla Kumar Sarkar | 328 |
| Proselytisation of Aboriginals | 14 |
| Prospects of Research on Indology | 94 |
| Quinine as Essential as Food | 85 |
| Railways—the Arteries of British Imperialism | 252 |
| Rationing in Calcutta | 168 |
| Rau Committee | 88 |
| "Reign of Terror" under Defence of India Rules | 170 |
| Report of the Special Committee on Education in Ceylon | 16 |
| Reprisals at Midnapore | 164 |
| Responsibility of the Adviser Regime | 94 |
| Retired Official's Anti-Indian Propaganda | 13 |
| (Sir) Richard Acland on Revolution in Britain | 331 |
| Roosevelt on India War Effort | 246 |
| (Mr.) Roosevelt's "Messenger" to Asia | 408 |
| Root of Communal Disunity | 96 |
| Sale of the Kanheri Caves | 405 |
| Sasikanta Acharjya, Maharaja | 407 |
| Satish Chandra Mukherjee | 328 |
| Scheduled Castes Denounce Vivisection of India | 12 |
| Scheme for Voluntary Rationing in C. P. Villages | 415 |
| Schools in America | 167 |
| Security Deposit Order on "Sylhet Chronicle" Set Aside | 245 |
| Servants of India Society's Anti-malaria Campaign | 9 |
| Slaughter of Cattle in Bengal | 166 |
| Slaughter of Milch Cows | 9 |
| Stamping Out of Indian Concerns | 322 |
| Sufficient Notice Defined by Bombay High Court | 250 |
| Supply of Soft Coke | 336 |
| (Dr.) Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Speech | 8 |
| Tata Plan a Camouflaged Demand for Gandhiji's Release | 248 |
| Teachers' Training in India | 93 |
| Terrible Food Situation in Malabar | 334 |
| University of Music for Allahabad | 332 |
| Unworthy Attack on China, An | 406 |
| U. S. A., Russia and Britain—the new Trinity | 2 |
| U. S. Responsibility on Indian Freedom | 249 |
| Vagaries of Indian Censors | 410 |
| Vijayaraghavachariar, Dr. C. | 331 |
| Voice of Industrial Australia, The | 84 |
| Wagon Allotment Scheme | 332 |
| "War Effort Plea is Rank Hypocrisy" | 329 |
| Watson's Plea for British Direction in Indian Industry | 94 |
| Wavell on Indian Economic Uplift | 5 |
| Wavell on Indian Politics | 7 |
| Wavell on Inflation | 5 |
| Wavell on Rationing | 4 |
| Wavell Speaks | 3 |
| Wavell's Suggestions for Remedying Food Situation | 4 |
| What About India? | 409 |
| What Does England get out of India? | 410 |
| What will Russia Do after the War? | 16[illegible] |
| Withdrawal of Madras Prohibition | 333 |
| "Within Five Years India Will Quit Empire"—Acland | 330 |
| Women in Coal Mines | 174 |
| "Worst Crime of Congress Leaders is They are Supreme Patriots"—Sorensen | 331 |

# CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS


Page

Aziz, Wahida
Chitrasalas (*illust.*) 34

Bagal, Jogesh C.
Rajnarain Bose and Indian Nationalism 444

Banerjee, Abani C.
Lin Yutang's "My Country and My People" 298

Banerjee, Arun Chandra
Irish Neutrality in the Present War 459

Banerji, Bepin B.
The Co-operative Movement 391

Banerji, Chandikaprasad
Poland as a Political Unit 187

Banerjee, Prakash Chandra
The Agricultural Income Tax 222

Banerjee, Rajani
Post-war Aviation Plan and India 341

Bhawani Dayal, Swami
Mata Kastur Ba in Natal 308
Suleman Nana of Transvaal, The Late 467
Swami Shankaranandji 152

Bose, J. K.
A Survey of the Calcutta Destitutes 427

Bose, Sunil Kumar
Brave Dark World 64

Burman, Debajyoti
Early History of Sugar in Bengal 106

Chakravarty, Bisweswar
Bengal: A Gangetic Delta ? 139

Chatterji, Kedar Nath
The World and the War (*illust.*) 24, 127, 207, 286, 367, 447

Chattopadhyaya, Bijoy Lal
Ramananda Chatterjee As I Saw Him 138

"Chittagonian"
Money—Master or Servant? 449

Clerk, S. I.
Sandalwood Carving in Surat 432

Datta, Gauri Sankar
Indian Women in Science 216

Datta, Jatindra Mohan
Decay of the Lower Castes in Bengal is more Apparent than Real 145
Relative Efficiency of the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Bengal 369

Day, J. Wentworth
Farming in Wartime Britain (*illust.*) 37

Durdin, Tillman
The Road from India to China (*illust.*) 281

Dynowska, Wanda
Some Facts about Poland 377

Gangoly, O. C.
Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, F.A.S.B. (*illust.*) 124

Ganju, M.
India Ruled the Waves 337

Ghosh, Kali Charan
The Deluge and After 30
Portentious Outlook 111
Bengal's Food Front 189
In a Quandary 305
Famine's Toll in 1943 356

Page

Ghoshal, U. N.
The Passing of a Great Explorer—Sir Marc Aurel Stein 56

Golding, Claud
Slate from Welsh Mountains (*illust.*) 276

Gorrie, Maclagan
How India Can Reclaim 170 Million Fresh Acres (*illust.*) 41

Gubil, L. N.
Kodaikanal (*illust.*) 278

Gupta, Sadhana
A Note on the Position of Agriculture in India 58

Isely, Bliss
America's Winding Furrows for Victory 225

Kala, S. C.
An Interesting Piece of Sculpture in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (*illust.*) 280

Kocheryants, Anna
The Tashkent Institute of Eastern Manuscripts 206

Lehmann, John
The War and the Younger Writers in Britain 433

Majoomdar, Nripendra Mohan
The Deaf-mutes in India 388

Mallik, Gurdial
Rabindranath and Literary Ethics 431

Mathur, Shanti Swarup
The Chinese Renaissance 42

Matthews, Noel H.
Ramananda Chatterjee (*a poem*) 196

Mehra, Pran Nath
The Kaghan Valley (*illust.*) 361

Mishra, Umesha
Indian Philosophy and Religion 212, 292

Mitra, Siva Sankar
The Naga Tribes on Our Frontier 385

Modak, Cyril
Bengal, 1943 (*a poem*) 224
Holi (*a poem*) 273
Rabindranath Tagore (*a poem*) 424

Mookerjee, Ajit
1944 Art in Industry Exhibition (*illust.*) 199

Mookerjee, H. C.
Non-official Europeans in Indian Legislatures 25
British Business in Indian Legislatures 257
Our Obligations to the Non-official European—I 417

Mookherjea, Sailoz
The Walls of Benares (*illust.*) 118

Muir, Augustus
British Farm Workers (*illust.*) 39

Mukherji, Bijoy Bihari
Sir Gurudas Banerjee Centenary 54

Noble, Mrs. Robert
The King's Daughters (*illust.*) 121

"Onlooker, An"
A Nest of Artists 311

| | Page |
|---|---|
| Paramanand, Bhai | |
| Late Babu Ramananda Chatterjee | 104 |
| Pawar, A. G. | |
| How Calcutta Prepared to Defend Itself in 1742 | 465 |
| Pithawalla, Maneck B. | |
| Planning for India's Unity | 389 |
| Pramanik, Sudhindra | |
| Implications of the Change in the Soviet Constitution | 349 |
| Proctor, A. H. | |
| The British Postgraduate Medical School (*illust.*) | 441 |
| Puntambekar, S. V. | |
| A Critique of Nazism | 49 |
| Ranjanam, K. Lakshmi | |
| The Andhra Mahabharata and Ancient Methods of Warfare | 468 |
| Ray, Mrs. Renuka | |
| A National System of Education for India | 44 |
| The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 | 425 |
| Ritchie, J. M. | |
| The Education of the Blind (*illust.*) | 440 |
| Russell, Paul F. | |
| Malaria and Its Influence on World Health (*illust.*) | 266, 354 |
| Sardesai, G. S. | |
| The Rise of Mahadji Sindhia | 209 |
| Sarkar, Jadunath | |
| The Battle of Merta, 1790 (*illust.*) | 17 |
| The Battle of Lakheri, 1793 (*illust.*) | 97 |
| Mahadji Sindhia's End | 111 |
| Sahu, L. N. | |
| The Poraja | 228 |
| Sama Rao, P. | |
| Anatole France | 132 |
| Schwarz, Daniel | |
| The Mold That Fights for the Life of Man (*illust.*) | 437 |
| Sen, Priya Ranjan | |
| Indians in Mauritius (*illust.*) | 274 |
| Sinha, J. N. | |
| Tagore in Foreign Lands | 363 |
| Singh, R. P. | |
| The Milk Problem in India | 386 |
| Singh, St. Nihal | |
| Ramananda Chatterjee | 180 |
| Sorcar, P. C. | |
| Magic | 230 |
| Srinivasarao, N. | |
| Art Movement in the Twentieth Century | 129 |
| Stephen, P. L. | |
| The Colonization of Australia | 457 |
| Subrahmanyam, T. V. | |
| Smugglers of the Store House | 226 |
| Surya Rau, R. K. M. | |
| Ramananda Chatterjee | 48 |
| Tagore, Mrs. Hemalata | |
| Kasturba Gandhi | 360 |
| Tagore, Rabindranath | |
| The Price of Hunger (*a poem*) | 126 |
| Tampy, K. P. Padmanabhan | |
| Udayagiri Fort and the Valia Kappithan (*illust.*) | 193 |
| Tandon, P. D. | |
| Late Mr. R. S. Pandit | 150 |
| Uppal, K. D. | |
| Price-control—Methods and Difficulties | 71 |
| Varma, Rajendra | |
| The Writer in a Changing World | 289, 372, 453 |
| Veriga, I. | |
| Leningrad Scientists and War | 60 |
| Whyte, Adam Gowans | |
| British Airmen and High Altitude Flying (*illust.*) | 435 |
| X. | |
| American Farmer: The Soldier of the Soil (*illust.*) | 114 |
| How Yellow Fever, Once a Deadly Tropical Disease, has been Controlled (*illust.*) | 201 |
| The Late Maharajah of Dewas 2 (*illust.*) | 43 |
| The Story of Boulder Dam (*illust.*) | 283 |

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS


| | Page |
|---|---|
| Allied planes blast Japanese shipping in South Pacific | 121 |
| Allied scouts build shelter for the night in the jungles of Northern Burma | 449 |
| *American Farmer* (*6 illustrations*) | 114-117 |
| American troops embark for thrust south of Rome | 289 |
| *(1944) Art in Industry Exhibition* (*6 illustrations*) | 199-200 |
| Boulder Dam (*2 illustrations*) | 284-285 |
| *British Airmen and High Altitude Flying* (*4 illustrations*) | 434-436 |
| *British Farm Workers* (*2 illustrations*) | 41 |
| *British Postgraduate Medical School, The* (*4 illustrations*) | 441-443 |
| Buddha and a Devotee (*in colours*) Sarada Charan Ukil | 1 |
| Buddha and Sujata (*in colours*) Manindrabhusan Gupta | 321 |
| Chandalika (*in colours*) Tilak Banerji | 81 |
| Chinese workers construct a new Allied airport in China | 129 |
| *Chitrasalas* (*4 illustrations*) | 34-36 |
| Civilian residents of Naples welcome U. S. troops | 128 |
| Commander Islands, on the way from Alaska to Asia, The | 449 |
| Council of the U. N. R. R. A. in Atlantic City, The | 177 |
| Crossing the Indus River in the shadow of the cool Himalayas | 449 |
| Dikshit, Rao Bahadur K. N. | 125 |
| *Education of the Blind, The* (*4 illustrations*) | 440-446 |
| *Farming in Wartime Britain* (*5 illustrations*) | 37-39 |
| Fierce U. S. artillery barrage drives Germans from an Italian town | 208 |
| Forsaken Sakuntala (*in colours*) Ramgopal Vijayabargiya | 241 |
| (A) fragmentary piece of sculpture, Municipal Museum, Allahabad | 280 |
| Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek inaugurated as President of China at Chungking | 129 |
| (A) general view of the famous Braemer games of Scotland | 273 |
| *How India can Reclaim 170 million Fresh Agres* (*3 illustrations*) | 41-43 |
| *How Yellow Fever has been Controlled* (*4 illustrations*) | 201-205 |
| Hunger (*in colours*) Khagen Roy | 161 |
| *Indians in Mauritius* (*5 illustrations*) | 274-275 |
| Japanese anti-craft positions on Boram Airfield at Wewak in New Guinea | 448 |
| *Kaghan Valley, The* (*12 illustrations*) | 360-364 |
| Kasturba Gandhi | 161 |
| *King's Daughters, The* (*5 illustrations*) | 122-123 |
| *Kodaikanal* (*3 illustrations*) | 278-279 |
| Landing in Anzio Harbour (*2 illustrations*) | 369 |
| Maharajah of Dewas 2 | 43 |
| *Malaria and Its Influence on World Health* (*5 illustrations*) | 354-358 |
| Members of the Chinese Aeronautical Affairs Commission on a tour of inspection at an advanced air base in China | 209 |
| Normandie, the former French liner | 121 |
| Penicillin (*2 illustrations*) | 437-438 |
| President Roosevelt signing for the United States the agreement of the U. N. R. R. A. | 177 |
| Ramananda Chatterjee | 16, 17 |
| Ramananda Chatterjee (*2 photographs*) | 176 |
| *Road from India to China, The* (*3 illustrations*) | 281-282 |
| Royal Naval Training College at Dartmouth, The (*2 illustrations*) | 368 |
| School-children of Britain during their holidays, The | 48 |
| Shasta Dam, The | 49 |
| *Slates from Welsh Mountains* (*4 illustrations*) | 276-277 |
| (A) soldier is spraying oil on a swamp in the South Pacific | 49 |
| Soviet soldiers in defence of Stalingrad | 128 |
| Town of St. Albans in the midst of its Farm Sunday, The | 48 |
| *Udayagiri Fort* (*6 illustrations*) | 193-197 |
| U. S. Army Engineers with a Malaria Control Unit on the Southwest Pacific Island of New Guinea (*2 illustrations*) | 272 |
| U. S. Marine Gun Crew fighting for Tarawa Atoll in the South Pacific Gilbert Islands | 208 |
| U. S. planes fly over a German airport | 28[illegible] |
| U. S. trained Chinese soldiers in Eastern India addressed by Chiang Kai-shek | 209 |
| Village Scene, A (*in colours*) Maniklal Banerjee | 401 |
| *Walls of Benares, The* | |
| Ganesha | 118 |
| Hanuman greeting Sree Ramchandra | 119 |
| The Golden Deer | 119 |
| The Warrior | 120 |
| Hanuman brings Rama's message to Sita | 120 |
| The Preceptor | 120 |
| The Writer | 121 |
| "Women Seamen" helping stevedores with the unloading of essential supplies | 273 |
| *World and the War, The* | |
| Chinese troops on the new Ledo Road | 286 |
| U. S. troops land South of Rome | 287 |
| The Bazooka, as an anti-tank gun | 288 |
| Allied forces land 30 miles South of Rome | 288 |
| The Ledo Road | 288 |

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY  1944

VOL. LXXV, No. 1 WHOLE No. 445

# NOTES

*Abolition of Prohibition in Madras*

The Madras Government has repealed the Prohibition Act enacted and enforced by the Congress Government of that Province. This insidious measure has roused a storm of protest in Madras. The Madras Government seems to have found only one supporter in Bengal, the *Capital,* an organ of British trade, industry and commerce.

Condemning this Act, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, under whose premiership prohibition had been enforced, addressing a public meeting in Madras held under the auspices of Madras Provincial Trade Union Congress, Madras Students Organisation, Madras Communist Party and 23 labour organisations in the city, said :

"I do not know who advised the Governor of Madras to pass this odious measure (Repeal of Prohibition Act). Lakhs of peasant women will be weeping on January 1st. Thousands of mothers and wives of industrious handloom weavers and other craftsmen will be cursing the Government on New Year's Day.

"For a paltry additional revenue and for most inadequate reasons, H. E. the Governor has taken a great odium on himself.

"The Government of Madras came to a first class inheritance from me. While other provinces are suffering from all sorts of financial difficulties on account of war effort charges, civil defence expenditures, etc., this Province is enjoying financial comfort. I gave them a first class Ayrshire cow which they are greedily milking. The Tobacco, Motor Spirit and General Sales Taxes, the odium of which all I took on my devoted head for a great and good object, is going to yield to the Government this year a sum nearer to four crores. This was intended to give the people of this Province freedom from toddy and arrack."

Gradually, by 1943, he would have made the whole of Madras Presidency free from this drink menace, and thus set an example for the whole world. New industries would have absorbed the capital and labour wasted on the production of drink. A savings drive would have brought twenty crores into the Banks every year, instead of going into the coffers of rentiers and others engaged in the trade for a paltry return of one-fifth of it to the Government along with universal domestic misery and squalor and corruption.

In another huge public meeting Mr. Alla Pichai said that all the religiously minded Muslims of this province would give their unstinted support to this agitation against the Government. Personally he thought that *if the order was not revoked in time all the jails in the Presidency would be filled by the public.* Concluding his speech, Mr. Pichai said, "Our religion is on trial. The dignity of Islam and Hinduism is involved. We can no more tolerate this law." Mr. Malang Ahmed Pasha, M.L.A. (Muslim League), said that the entire Muslim community was bound to support Mr. Rajagopalachariar on this issue. At present their religion, morality and purse were at stake.

A crop of orders under the all-pervasive D. I. R. have been issued to stop all agitation against suspension of prohibition.

Liquor Traffic in India continues with unabated zeal from the beginning of British occupation of this country. The memorable words of Keshub Chunder Sen, which he said before a big gathering at Trevelyan Hall, Manchester, in 1870, holds good even to this day. He said :

"The British Government has shown our people that for the sake of money great evils could be encouraged. I wish my countrymen could believe that such a thing was impossible with a Christian Government; but no, things have come to pass which no longer allow this evil to be veiled from their eyes. They see clearly that the British Government is actuated by sordid motives of filthy lucre; and *for the sake of a few millions of pounds, is really doing prodigious mischief by encouraging this great evil of intemperance in India.*"

## *U. S. A., Russia and Britain—the New Trinity*

In a speech to the United Kingdom branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association, General Smuts suggested that after the war there would be a Trinity of the U. S. A., Russia and Britain, and that this Trinity must retain leadership in war and peace. The address was delivered on November 25 last, at a private meeting of the Association. Just after a week, on December 2, the speech was issued as a pamphlet and was broadcast throughout the world. General Smuts said :

LONDON, Dec. 2.

After the war in Europe three of the great powers will have disappeared. That will be quite a unique development. We have never seen such a situation in the modern history of this continent. France has gone, and if ever she returns it will be a hard and long upward pull for her to emerge again. We may talk about her as a great power, but talking will not help her much. France has gone and will be gone in our day, and perhaps for many a day.

Italy has completely disappeared and may never be a great power again. Germany will disappear, perhaps never to emerge again in the old form. Nobody knows. But after the smash that will follow this war Germany will be written off the slate in Europe for long long years, and after that a new world may have arisen. We are, therefore, left with Great Britain, and with Russia. Russia is a new colossus in Europe—a new colossus that bestrides this continent. With others down and out and herself mistress of the continent, her power will not only be great on that account, but it will be still greater, because the Japanese Empire will also have gone the way of all flesh, and, therefore, any check or balance that might have arisen in the east will have disappeared.

GREAT BRITAIN

Then you will have this country of Great Britain, with glory and honour and prestige such as perhaps no nation has ever enjoyed in history, recognized as possessing the greatness of soul that has entered into the very substance of world history. But from the material economic point of view, she will be a poor country.

Then outside Europe you have the United States, the other great world power. Many people look to a union, or closer union, between the United States of America and Great Britain with her Commonwealth and Empire as a new path to be followed in future. I myself am doubtful about that. I attach the greatest importance to Anglo-American collaboration for the future. To my mind, it is beyond all doubt one of the great Hopes of mankind. If you were to pit the British Commonwealth plus the United States against the rest of the world, it would be very lopsided. You would stir up opposition and rouse other lions in the path. I do not see human welfare, peace and security along those lines.

Britain must stick to the trinity to which he had referred in which she would have two partners of immense power and resources—Russia and America. General Smuts said, the idea had "repeatedly floated before my mind whether Great Britain should not strengthen her European position by working closely together with those smaller democracies in Western Europe which are of our way of thinking, which are entirely with us in their outlook and their way of life and in all their ideals. Should there not be a close union between us? Should we not cease as Great Britain to be an island? Should we not work intimately together with these small democracies in Western Europe which by themselves may be lost, as they are lost today, and as they may be lost again? Neutrality is obsolete, is dead. They have learned a lesson that, standing by themselves on the Continent dominated by one or other great power, as will be the future position, they are lost. Surely they must feel that their place is with this member of the trinity. Their way of life is with Great Britain, their outlook and their future is with Great Britain and the next world-wide British system."

It was for Western Europe to say whether they should not help themselves by helping to create out of a closer union with Great Britain a Great European State. "I think this Trinity will be a stabilising factor, a walk of power behind which freedoms and democracies of the world can be built up again. But I should like to have that Trinity a trinity of equals. I should like to see all the three of them equal in power and influence and in every respect. I should not like to see an unequal partnership."

FUTURE OF EMPIRE

General Smuts then turned to the future of the Empire and Commonwealth which he described as "the best missionary enterprise that has been launched for a thousand years." He suggested that it was a question whether "we should not abolish the number of units and group others and so tidy up the show. Then in such a case you can decentralize and you can safely give larger powers and greater authority to those larger groups that you will thus create."

In the African continent it seemed feasible to group British colonies and territories into definite groups. "In that way you will overcome the difficulty of a highly centralized system centring in London which is irksome to local people, is perhaps not serving their highest interests and their best development, and gives outsiders an occasion to blaspheme and to call the Colonial Empire an Imperialist concern run in the economic interests of this country." It would be quite possible to bring these new groups closer to the neighbouring dominion and thereby interest the Dominion in the Colonial group. "I think the suggestion is very well worth considering. Perhaps a new link could best be introduced by means of a system of regional conferences which would include both the local Dominion and the regional Colonial Group of the area concerned. Perhaps, to begin with nothing more is needed than a merely organized system of conferences between them where they could meet and exchange ideas by means of which they could settle common problems, discuss common interest and in that way link up the dominions and colonies with the mother country in more fruitful co-operation."

Smuts' speech startled the world, particularly the peoples on this side of the Suez. It is a custom with British politicians that unpalatable official intentions are first broadcast as private pronouncements of high personages, which receive the hall-mark of official approval in due course after Big Business and Profiteerdom have showered their blessings on the original speech. Mr. Attlee attempted a feeble disclaimer of Smuts' speech, but within less than a fortnight,

the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Eden, officially confirmed the principle underlying the South African Premier's speech when he said in the House of Commons :

"More than once before the Allies have stood together in war and fallen apart in peace. In the last year or so many members in all parts of the House must have said : Is this going to be our experience again ? That certainly will be Germany's aim. Once again she will play it for all she knows from the moment the last shot is fired. To sow confusion and doubt will be Germany's aim and thus prepare for the next chance. This recurring threat of war can only be met if there is an international order firmer in strength and unity than any enemy who can seek to challenge it.

"Do foundations for such an order exist ? Six months ago I could not have given you any certain answer. Today I can. It is an emphatic yes. The foundations do exist, and I am fully confident that there is a possibility, and more than a possibility—a desire—among the three Powers for continued co-operation, not only during the war, not only in reshaping the world when the Armistice comes, but also thereafter in maintaining in the world an orderly progress and continuing peace.

"The foundations of that understanding were laid at Moscow. They have been strengthened and confirmed in Teheran. The "Three" can work together. We have set our hearts to the task. Heavy is our responsibility to ensure that we do not fail."

Asia and Africa may now rest assured that they are not going to gain anything in this war in spite of the terrible sacrifice in men and money they have been called upon to make. Empires will remain as they were : only one Trinity is going to be replaced by another with no prospect of emancipation for the subject peoples of the East. Just as General Smuts has forgotten that his country was saved by Indian troops in the last war—as also in this war—it will not take British Cabinet a moment to forget that India shed her blood and treasure without stint to save the integrity of the "Great British Commonwealth."

### *Wavell Speaks*

Viscount Wavell has made his first public utterance in Calcutta. The speech undoubtedly has a soldierly directness and a ring of sincerely in it. It must be admitted that the first visible minimum attempt to face the Bengal famine had been made by the new Viceroy immediately after his arrival in this country. He did this at a time when his predecessor Lord Linlithgow and the Governor of Bengal Sir John Herbert had not only not done anything to save Bengal from this terrible scourge, but had deliberately shelved things in such a gross irresponsible manner that it set intelligent people furiously thinking whether this famine was merely a result of negligence, incompetence, muddle-headedness and corruption, and not a deliberate creation. Only a few weeks back, speaking at Cork, Mr. De Valera said : "People could be coerced by starvation and they must make their position such that there would be no temptation of that kind for anybody." Every moment Bengal feels that, she at any rate, is not on the good book of British politicians.

Viscount Wavell tried his best to clarify the food position of Bengal. He said :

The food problem must be our first concern. I do not propose to enter here into long consideation of how we reached our present difficulties; our business is not to look back but to look ahead. Briefly the main elements in the situation are these.

India as a whole is normally almost self-suffiicent in the principal foodgrains. But the majority of Indians are certainly under-nourished rather than over-nourished. So that there is no margin or possibility of tightening the belt in an emergency.

No attempt at intensive production on a scientifically planned all-India basis has ever been attempted. Costly grow more food advertisements in English dailies in a country of less than 10% literates cannot produce any result.

Also the production of food in India is not evenly distributed, and the producers are mainly small men farming on a subsistence basis. The position was one which might easily be dislocated by an unexpected shock. The entry of Japan into the war, and our reverses in Malaya and Burma, which brought the war to the borders of India, provided the shock. Anxiety about the outcome of the war, and the loss of our rice imports from Burma caused the small farmer to hold more of his crop than usual, and the ordinary consumer to buy more than he really needed for immediate consumption. Lack of consumers' goods was a contributory factor to the tendency to hold on to food. In short, the first main cause was a widespread loss of confidence. which was natural enough, and in itself quite innocent. Unfortunately there are in India, as in other countries, people who are not innocent; who were thinking of advantages for themselves very different from a mere assurance of their daily bread, and who were prepared without scruple to make money out of food scarcity, careless of the misery and death they might cause. There was undoubtedly hoarding and speculation on a large scale by such people. So that the second main factor was human greed. The third was the difficulty in overcoming the tendency of each province, division or district to treat food as a local matter instead of as an all-India problem; in distributing food over vast distances; and in establishing control over prices.

Hoarding, speculation and price-control still remain unsolved problems.

This was an immense problem of administration, for which the additional resources required were not easily available. It is small wonder that some mistakes were made in assessing the problem and in devising means to deal with it.

Not some mistakes, but dangerous blunders have been committed one after another in quick succession following the introduction of the utterly defeatist denial policy of Sir John

Herbert. The encouragement accorded to speculators, even to the extent of granting huge amounts of non-recoverable "loans" from the public exchequer has finally created a situation which has led to a virtual breakdown of the civil administration in Bengal.

### *Wavell's Suggestions for Remedying Food Situation*

Viscount Wavell continues :

In Bengal, the abnormal causes were aggravated by the natural disasters of cyclone and floods; by nearness to the war; by the poverty of communications; and by the sparseness of the administration due to the permanent land settlement.

I should like to express my deep sympathy to the people of Bengal on the sorrows that have fallen on so large a portion of a frugal hard-working population. This disaster has struck those least able to bear it, and the principal sufferers have been the weakest—the children, the women, the old men. It is the duty of us all not only to lessen their present sufferings but to take such steps as will ensure that such suffering does not occur again.

I have tried to outline the main elements which led us to the present position. The main remedies are obvious; to restore general confidence; to deal sternly with those who attempt to withhold food from the people for purposes of undue profit; and to arrange for equitable distribution over India of the available food at a reasonable price.

It is with the last of these aims that I want to deal in a little more detail.

The first thing to get clear about food is that it is not a provincial problem. It is an All-India, and even a world problem. India must have the food she needs; and the other countries of the British Commonwealth, and the United States, are prepared to help her to import food to supplement her own production. But if by administrative negligence we are compelled to ask for more help from abroad than we really need, we are expecting other countries, whose people are already rationed and whose prices are properly controlled, to deny themselves unnecessarily, and to send up ships which are urgently required for direct war purposes. It is our plain duty to set up an efficient food administration, more or less uniform throughout the country. If we fail to do so, we may cause distress in other countries, and prolong the Eastern war.

The policy accepted by the Central Government is that recommended by the Foodgrains Policy Committee of last summer. The object is to ensure that foodgrains are available in adequate quantities all over the country at prices which will give the producer a fair, even a generous profit, and at the same time place food within the means of the poorest consumers. We must not aim to depress prices in favour of the town so as to deprive the agriculturist, who is the backbone of India's economy, of a profit which will encourage him to grow the maximum amount of food crop; but he must not be greedy or he will cause distress amongst his less fortunate brethren. The middleman is entitled to no more than a reasonable profit on his work; he cannot be allowed to make a fortunte out of the cultivator's labour and the labourer's poverty.

Uptil now, the Central Government has shown little effective indication to treat food as an all-India problem. Provincial barriers o food movements have still been allowed to re main in force in contravention of an expres provision in the Government of India Act. Some expression of strong-mindedness, however, appears in the case of Sind, and this attitude must be taken in the case of other province as well.

### *Wavell on Rationing*

The new Viceroy made the following obse vation on rationing :

Key points in our plan are full rationing in tl larger towns and control of prices, both backed l adequate administrative arrangements. As Mr. Burc has said, you cannot control prices by the mere iss of paper notifications.

I may say here in parenthesis that I hold person touch a far better solvent for any problem of Govern ment than paper. As a military commander I trie never to issue instructions on paper where I could vis my subordinate commanders and discuss operations wit them face to face; and I encouraged my staff to do th same. So far as possible, I hope to follow simila principles in civil administration.

You can control food prices only if every deale from the village up to the main market and down agai to the retail shopkeeper is subject to personal super vision and inspection, if the procurement operations o Government are rationally conducted, and if movem nt are strictly regulated.

It is said by some that urban rationing is unnecessary and impossible in India. This is nonsense. It is both very necessary and quite possible. In spite of all the difficulties of the past few months provinces such as Madras and Bombay, and States such as Travancore and Cochin, have kept the situation under control b rationing and by control of prices. For these province and States. which are in deficit, stern necessity dictate these controls. In surplus provinces, the controls are necessary to enable India to be as self-supporting as possible, and to stand the strain both of war and of the immediate post-war period, when the world food situation is likely to be tighter even than now. Sind, the Punjab, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province have recognised the need, and have practically subordinated their provincial interests to the interests of India. Actually, India's interests are their interests, since on this food problem we must stand or fall as a whole.

Measures are being taken to introduce urban rationing all over India, and a system of price control uniform for groups of provinces. These measures will take a little time. We shall need all the support we can get from public opinion, and from the Press. If all peopl could be induced to realise that war shortages must b evenly distributed, and that those who think only o themselves and their profits are despicable and unpatriotic we should make a great step forward.

We have a food policy for India as a whole. I am quite clear that we can carry out this policy, to th great benefit of India, if we have, as I am convince we shall have, the willing co-operation of the province and States. I am prepared, if necessary, to take th most drastic action in support of our policy.

In Bengal, the aid given by the Army coupled with the prospects of a bountiful *aman* harvest, have eased the position perceptibly. But there are no grounds for complacency. We still have to fight lack of confidence

and greed, and to see that administrative action is adequate for the future. The Army cannot remain indefinitely to do the work of the civil administration. Bengal has the sympathy of the world at present, but this will not continue unless it is obvious that she is making every effort to help herself. The next six months will be the testing time, during which the Bengal Government's policy must be energetically pursued, and its administration strengthened.

You are aware of the main outlines of that policy, which aims at the restoration of confidence, the strict enforcement of the foodgrains control order to prevent speculation and hoarding, and the regulation and control of prices.

The solution of Bengal's food problem now lies in Bengal's hands. The Central Government has provided a generous measure of assistance in undertaking to supply food for Calcutta during the next few months. But the Central Government cannot continue indefinitely to "carry" a province to which nature has vouchsafed so generous a crop, if through administrative inefficiency the province fails to secure that it is properly procured and distributed.

I am in earnest in this matter. To my mind there can be no condemnation too severe, no penalty too stern, for those who attempt to make unauthorised profits out of food—or out of drugs—at a time of national crisis. Nor can lethargy and procrastination be tolerated; nor must political animosities be allowed to interfere with a fair food deal for everyone.

The manner in which Calcutta rationing is proceeding is not, to say the least, encouraging. The only redeeming feature is that the Centre is taking a strong hand in this matter, and contrary to the advice of the Bengal Ministers, proposes to keep the normal retail shops functioning side by side the Government shops. Calcutta rationing may be a success only if it is taken completely out of the hands of the present incompetent Ministers and allowed to proceed along the following lines as, according to a special report in the *Statesman*, the Central authorities propose to do :

It is gathered that the Central directive to the Bengal Government in connexion with the Calcutta rationing scheme lays down that not less than 1,000 retail shops shall be set up by the end of January and that Government-owned and controlled grain stores shall not exceed 450. It is also provided that at least 400 of the food shops in the Calcutta municipal area shall be those of private retail dealers. It is thus left to the Bengal Government to open more than 1,000 shops for Greater Calcutta provided Government stores do not exceed 450.

## *Wavell on Inflation*

About inflation, Viscount Wavell said :

Mr. Burder has rightly linked inflation with food. The inflationary problem is incapable of solution if food is not subject to effective control, for food affects the whole price structure of our economy. This battle is everyone's battle. It will profit a man nothing to gain large increments by forcing up prices and thereby causing inflation, since the value of his gains will be thereby reduced, and he may cause untold misery to others. The Central Government is determined to check the inflationary tendency by all means in its power. There is no occasion for undue optimism, but no need to accept Mr. Burder's somewhat pessimistic view. The general price-level has been relatively stable for several monhts now.

An increased supply of consumers' goods at controlled prices is a necessary factor in the fight against inflation. A start was made some months ago with cotton textiles and, owing to excellent co-operation between the industry and the Government of India, considerable success has been achieved. Medicines and drugs have now been taken in hand. There are many other articles of which the Indian consumer is short owing to war demands—such as wollen goods, footwear, and iron and steel for the village manufacture of agricultural implements. Of these and other goods every effort is being made to obtain an increased supply, by import or release from war purposes.

On taxation, which is another method of reducing the waist-line of inflation, I will not speak here. It represents the compulsory absorption of financial adipose deposit. The voluntary method is increased saving, which is much to be recommended. If the Chambers represented at this meeting will advise their constituents to redouble their efforts to support the provincial savings campaigns, and if all other employers in India will do the same, it will be a great assistance.

Inflation in India has some vital differences with that in the western countries. A comparison between index numbers of wholesale prices of cash crops in India and the cost of living index numbers will reveal that it is impossible for any producer in the countryside to have any surplus money with him. A comparative study of banking statistics shows how deposits in Scheduled Banks and the Imperial Bank have increased :

| | On 1st Sept. 1939 | On 26th Nov. 1943 | Excess |
|---|---|---|---|
| Scheduled Banks— | Rs. (crores) | Rs. (crores) | Rs. (crores) |
| Demand and time liabilities | 237 | 637 | 400 |
| Imperial Bank— Deposits | 88 | 207 | 119 |

Total excess deposits Rs. 519 crores.
Total excess note issue Rs. 622 crores.

It is therefore clear that $^5/_6$ths of the total inflation money has been concentrated in hands capable of depositing them in big banks and these men are certainly not village cultivators. We have repeatedly asserted in these columns that Indian inflation has put fabulous sums of money in the hands of a few, namely contractors, industrialists and middlemen, and if surplus money is intended to be drawn out, attention should be directed to those people, and not to the poor villagers.

## *Wavell on Indian Economic Uplift*

Viscount Wavell has discussed at length the aspect of Indian economic advancement during and after the war. He said :

I pass on to the longer term problems of which Mr. Burder spoke, which may be grouped under the

heading of post-war reconstruction. This is a very big subject and a very vital one. The years after the war are going to be of immense import to India's future. The problems and dangers are obvious. There will be a period of liquidation of the war effort, during which the fighting services will be demobilised, industry will return to a peace footing, sticks of war material will be for disposal, and the various economic controls will be gradually removed. Unless these processes can be prepared and undertaken in an orderly manner, great confusion, or worse, may result.

Then must come a deliberate effort to restart the national life on a better and more efficient footing, to provide an improved standard of living for all Indians, in which account has to be taken of the rapidly increasing population at a present rate of some four to five millions a year.

In making this restart India has very great advantages. Her natural resources are large, there will be plenty of labour available; and there will be a higher proportion of trained labour than before. In fact, India's supply of labour will be almost inexhaustible, while the events of the war have proved that Indian labour, under training, rapidly acquires a high degree of skill. India has many efficient men of business with wide experience. India will be a creditor country : she has suffered comparatively little in the greatest cataclyzm in the history of humanity; and there is a great sympathy and will to help towards her, both in Great Britain and in America. There will be ample markets for her increased production, both at home and abroad. In fact, there is nothing to prevent India growing to be the strongest and most highly developed nation in the east, if she can solve her internal problems and make a united contribution to peace and prosperity in the post-war world.

The Government has in hand the preparation of plans to take advantage of India's opportunities in as great a measure as possible. In this the Government and industry must work very closely hand in hand. It is quite clear that development must be on an Indian basis and by Indian methods. But it is also evident that India will require assistance and advice at the first to help her to realise the great possibilities that are hers. While recently in England I saw some of the leaders of British industry who are interested in India, and I found in them a spirit of most helpful co-operation towards India; there was certainly no desire to dominate or control Indian industry, but a desire to help on a basis of mutual advantage. I am sure that a visit by some of the leading Indian industrialists to the United Kingdom, in order to see the developments that have arisen during the war and to discuss India's problems with leading British representatives would be of the greatest possible advantage, and I hope that it may be arranged. The sooner the better; because other nations are already beginning to think about their post-war needs and to place orders for machinery and material.

So far as I have been able to discuss the problem with people of knowledge and experience, it seems to me that one of the first necessities is to develop power schemes throughout India so as to provide the driving force for industries. In some instance it may be possible to combine this with irrigation schemes for agriculture, the improvement of which by all possible means must be our principal aim. Agriculture is India's main industry and is capable of very great development. The land can be made to yield more, the livestock can be improved, and the whole standard of our rural community raised.

The development of industry and improvement of agriculture must go hand in hand in order to provide for India's growing population and to raise the standard to living. The problem of labour, to which Mr. Burder referred, is naturally linked with these developments. I do not propose to go into any detail here of the relations between labour and industry, but I know you will realise that there is much to be done.

The other great aim of post-war development is the improvement of the social services, of which the principal are education, the health and medical services, and communications. These are mainly unproductive in the short-term sense, though in the long run of course both fully productive and essential. The improvement of communications falls into the sphere both of economic development and social progress; I have here classed it with the latter, since most communications schemes, especially roads, of which India has such need, are not immediately productive.

I propose to join issue with Mr. Burder, who was inclined to place education in the forefront of his plans. I am the last person to undervalue education, but I think it is clear that from the practical point of view the full realisation of a scheme such as that outline in the Sargent report must wait on other developments. India at present has simply not the money for such a scheme. As the country acquires increased riches by industrial and agricultural progress, so it can afford to spend larger sums on education and health. This is, I think, the way in which the social services have developed in other countries; certainly it has been so in Great Britain, where industrial development went a long way ahead of educational development and of public health.

From the practical point of view, which is the view by which we must be guided, whatever the theoretical advantages of a different course would be I think that the main social services must be developed in the following order; communications, health, education. I put communications first since I do not see how it is possible to effect any great improvement in health or education in the villages of India until they can be reached surely and quickly at all times.

What I have said must not of course be taken to suggest that we must not allot as much effort and money as we possibly can to health and education, merely to indicate practical limitations which may be summed up as "full bellies must come before full minds."

The sincerity of the Viceroy's desire to improve the economic condition of India and to raise the standard of living of the masses is appreciated. But on a proper assessment of his speech one cannot help thinking that he is treading on grounds which is not his own. Divorcing of economics from politics is an impossibility in the modern world. Western examples are needless. In the East, China has succeeded in reconstructing her economic life even in the midst of a devastating seven years' war only when she was able to gain complete mastery over her own politics and was free from all extra-territorial foreign interventions. In India, politics has been invoked, in the form of safeguards in the Government of India Act 1935, for the protection of British economic interests. It is common knowledge today that politics

played a vital part in killing Indian shipping, motor car and other big industries. Political attempt to kill the Tata's in embryo had been made when London refused to subscribe to its capital. It was solely through the boldness of its great entrepreneur and Bombay's generosity in supplying the entire amount of the capital that this great Indian industry came into existence. Even today we find politics playing a very important role in crushing down Indian economic life, by incessant applications of the D.I.R. on persons beginning from the biggest industrialist or merchant down to the village fisherman. Politics *has been* and even now *is being* applied in the Indian economic field, not to foster our economic life but to protect the British and to kill the Indian industries. Indications are sufficiently clear that post-war "reconstruction" will proceed along these very same lines.

### Wavell on Indian Politics

The new Viceroy had nothing much to say about the constitutional deadlock in India. His exact words are :

> I have attempted to review for you the progress of the war and the policy of the Government of India on our immediate economic problems; and to place before you some ideas on post-war reconstruction. I have said nothing of the constitutional or political problems of India, not because they are not constantly in my mind; not because I have not the fullest sympathy with the aspirations of India towards self-Government; not because I consider political progress impossible during the course of the war—any more than I believe that the end of the war will by itself provide an immediate solution of the deadlock—but because I do not believe that I can make their solution any easier by talking about them just at present.

Less talk and more action is no doubt expected from a Soldier-Statesman.

### Constitutional Conflict in Sind

A conflict has begun in Sind between the Governor and the Ministry. It appears that the order issued by the Governor on December 18, making it illegal for anyone in Sind except licensees to be in possession of more wheat than is required for consumption upto the next harvest in April 1944, was without the concurrence of the Ministry. The Premier Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayetullah has publicly expressed his resentment against the Governor's action when he said, "Let the Governor exercise his special responsibility and we will tell our people. We will not resign. Let the Governor dismiss us. We stand united and the Assembly is with us."

The stalwarts of this Ministry are loud in their protest against the Governor's unconstitutional act but they had kept mum when a gross violation of constitutional principle and decorum had been made by turning out a Premier, Mr. Allah Bux.

That time-servers do not win the admiration even of those whom they serve is illustrated from the portion of Sind Governor's speech delivered at Hyderabad (Sind) on November 25, in reply to an address presented to him by the Sind Work Merchants' Association : "Sind is at the moment a land of great opportunities but it is sadly lacking in leadership. In the sphere of religion there is fanaticism where we need piety; there are pedants where we need educationists; financial enterprisers where we want industrialists; wire-pullers instead of politicians and politicians where the call is for statesmen."

### An Australian as Bengal Governor

Mr. R. G. Casey, an Australian, has been appointed Governor of Bengal. The appointment of a dominion national as governor of an Indian Province involves a question of principle which cannot be lightly passed over. Such an appointment becomes all the more objectionable when it is given to a South African or Australian, the two dominions most hostile to India. Pandit H. N. Kunzru voiced the mind of the country when, commenting on this appointment, he said:

> "The appointment of Mr. R. G. Casey as Governor of Bengal should not be passed over in silence as it raises an important question of principle. The qualifications of Mr. Casey for the appointment are not relevant to the appraisal of the policy involved in the appointment. Mr. Casey comes from Australia, a Dominion, which has imposed restrictions on the entry and residence of Indians in the Dominion. While Indian visitors to Australia are subjected to no disability and are well treated socially, *Indians cannot go there as settlers. Before the war, while a quota was fixed for Germans and Italians, not a single Indian was allowed to settle down permanently in Australia.*
>
> "If Indians are not fit for Australian citizenship, the appointment of Mr. Casey, however eminent he may be, cannot but be taken strong exception to by us.
>
> "When Australian officers were appointed to important positions in the Indian Army, which enable them to command Indian troops, the country strongly protested against such a policy. Yet H. M. G. has appointed an Australian to exercise authority over 60,000,000 Indians. We are being treated as the footstool of the Empire.
>
> "The appointment is an insult to India and the country should register its vigorous protest against it and the policy behind it."—*A. P. I.*

The Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party has protested against this appointment.

### Karachi Session of the Muslim League

The All-India session of the Muslim League has met at Karachi and Mr. Jinnah has delivered his Presidential address in the usual style. The

basic policy underlying Mr. Jinnah's speech has been expressed in one sentence when he said, "We shall never rest content until *we seize the territories that belong to us and rule over them.*" What are the territories that "belong" to the Muslims?

The following resolution has been passed in the open session in order to translate Mr. Jinnah's threat into action:

Whereas the Muslim League in its annual session held at Delhi in April, 1943 had, in view of the vague, indefinite and unsettled policy of the British Government towards the Muslim demand of Pakistan on the one hand and the unpatriotic, short-sighted and antagonistic attitude of the Hindus on the other, resolved to rely on the untiring efforts, grim determination and willing sacrifice of the Mussalmans of India generally and the Muslims of Pakistan zone in particular for the attainment of their cherished goal, this session of the League hereby resolve to appoint a Committee of Action of not less than five and not more than seven to be nominated by the President to prepare and organize Muslims all over India to meet all contingencies, resist the imposition of all-India federation or any other constitution for one united India and prepare them for the coming struggle for the achievement of Pakistan.

No action against this open threat has been taken, probably because it was not needed. The *confreres* are well-known to each other.

## *Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Speech*

The Presidential address of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee at the All-India Session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Amritsar is most noteworthy for its wide nationalist tone. Probably for the first time the Mahasabha has transcended above communal levels and has unequivocally declared that independence of India is its goal. Dr. Mookerjee has not claimed any special privilege for any community but has demanded equal political citizenship for all without any distinction. Assuring the communities who are afraid that their interests might suffer, he said, "The constitution itself should guarantee the preservation of religious, social and cultural rights of different classes." He was perfectly right when he pointed out with blunt directness that "Disunion had been kept alive by a well-regulated policy of divide and rule."

The Mahasabha deserves the gratitude of the nation for having demanded the release of all political prisoners. Dr. Mookerjee said:

The political deadlock continued and there was no sign that the British Government was going to end it during the war." Will the situation improve after the war? If the Allied powers do not win the war, what will happen to India need not be discussed at this stage. But consistent with recent events, if the Allied powers win the war, there is no guarantee given by Great Britain that India will get a fair deal, even though there may not be a previous communal settlement due to the obstructive tactics of the Muslim League. At the peace conference every nation will have its own problems to look after and India, if represented by the favourite nominees of the British rulers themselves, specially tutored to prove the much advertised diversity of Indian life, may well become an object of pity and contempt in the eyes of the rest of the world. India will not then become a lost dominion to England but will be safely restored to her perpetual care."

So long as communal considerations loomed large in the field of Indian administration and sinister Anglo-Muslim conspiracy continued, said Dr. Mookerjee, the Hindu Mahasabha must function as an active and fearless political organisation which could both defend the rights of the Hindus and of India as a whole. The Indian National Congress had undoubtedly played a valiant part in the battle of Indian freedom during the last forty years.

There could be no political settlement in India without the Congress and the continued detention of its leaders and workers retarded the well-being of the country.

## *Military Training in Universities*

In the annual meeting of the court of the Allahabad University, the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Amar Nath Jha said:

So far as the general position in regard to military training was concerned, it was very much more satisfactory now than it had been at any other time. They had now one more company in the U. T. C. The Government of India had decided to turn the U. T. C. into the O. T. C. and cadets for commissions in the army were now entitled to apply direct to the central interview board and not through the provincial board. *Then they had in the University an air training course started some weeks ago.* The air headquarters had deputed a flying officer and two N. C. O.'s belonging to the I. A. F. and batches of 50 students at a time were receiving training.

## *Bernard Shaw on India's Battle for Freedom*

*Janus* writes in the *Spectator*, London, September 3, last:

I do not always agree with Mr. Bernard Shaw. On the contrary on the whole. But a reply he has sent to some body called "The Council for the International Recognition of Indian Independence" in reply to an invitation to join its council deserves quotation. "I cannot give my support," says Mr. Shaw, "because, though I am probably at one with the signatories of the invitation as to making India a separate and self-governing Power [I am not one of those who] imagine that Independence, called in America Isolation, is possible between the Powers. On the contrary, what needs rubbing-in is their dependence on one another for the peace, friendly co-operation and political integrations without which they will destroy one another. . . . Also, India's business is not my personal business; my intrusion into India's affairs would be an impertinence. India's battle must be won by Indians and not by Europeans with their eyes in the ends of the earth." This is very sound sense. (The words between brackets are conjectural; the sentence as circulated does not read).

Indian National Congress has expressed its desire to fight and win India's battle for freedom. She has never looked for help to any European or other Power "with their eyes in the ends of the earth."

### *Slaughter of Milch Cows*

The United Province Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry met for the first time since its reconstitution at Lucknow during the last week of October. The question of increasing the number of milch cattle and draught bullocks was considered by the Board. Emphasis was laid on the desirability of restricting or stopping the harmful practice of destroying good milch cattle during their dry period and work bullocks in general and it was recommended that no work-bullock be slaughtered which is below 12 years of age.

Slaughter of milch cows is a crime in an undernourished country where per capita milk consumption is extremely low. This practice continued throughout the Linlithgow regime and a beginning has been made to stop this vice immediately following his departure from India. Other Provinces should also follow the example of U. P. in this respect. In East Bengal the small-holder is faced with calamity due to the slaughter of cows, and bullocks to the point of extermination, but the Bengal Government seems to remain somnolent.

### *Servants of India Society's Anti-malaria Campaign*

The *Leader* reports that the Servants of India Society has organized an anti-malaria campaign in 70 villages around Khiri in the Allahabad district for the fourth year in succession. Besides the vaidya in charge of the Society's dispensary at Khiri five assistants are working on a whole time basis. *They visited the villages in their circles and supplied medicines free to all.* During the period September 15 to October 14 nearly 3,000 patients were treated for malaria. Of these people 2,315 received medicines in their villages.

What has the Bengal Government, with its great resources, done besides keeping a few ill-equipped village dispensaries open and callously waiting for the patients to come to them instead of providing doctors to visit the villages ?

### *Moulana Hasrat Mohani on Pakistan*

CAWNPORE, Nov. 26.

Moulana Hasrat Mohani, member of the Muslim League Council, does not favour the idea of Pakistan "as conceived or propounded by Mr. Jinnah."

Mr. Mohani favours the provision of a clause in the constitution to the effect that election to legislatures should be held on the basis of a *joint electorate system and that candidates should contest elections on political labels and not on communal labels.—A. P. I.*

Even in the last session of the Muslim League Mr. Jinnah has failed to enunciate the basic principles of his Pakistan. The idea still remains in a nebulous state notwithstanding the sharpness of the slogan. Meanwhile, saner people within the League have begun to walk out of the blind alley and offer their own suggestions for the solution of the communal problem. Maulana Hasrat Mohani's views reflect the dawn of good sense.

### *The Handloom Committee*

MADRAS, Dec. 3.

The Handloom Committee of the Indian Textile Board this afternoon decided, it is understood, to request Mr. Doak not to press his resignation, and set up a Central Board to co-ordinate its activities throughout the provinces.

At today's meeting of the Committee Sir Frederic Stones presiding plans were recommended to the Central Control Board and to the Government for stabilization of yarn and cloth prices to enable efficient weavers to earn reasonable wages while protecting the consumer through the ceiling prices which would not admit of profiteering. They also discussed the problems relating to other phases of handloom industry, such as supply of dye-stuffs and chemicals and the proper marketing of handloom products.

Year after year, discussion on handloom cloth is going on with unabated zeal. Nobody knows when any action worth the name will be taken. Sufficient encouragement in time for the handloom cloth would have saved India from the present acute cloth problem. Some money would also have flowed into the country-side by providing additional employment to the village folk.

### *Extensive Cultivation*

In a paper recently read before the crops and soils wing of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Institute at Baroda Dr. Maclagan Gorrie stated that with large-scale planning and in concert with central and provincial Governments, the Army and soil conservation experts, 170 million acres of land dependent on rain alone and waste could be brought into full cultivation. In his view large areas of land which are unproductive at present can be made productive by ridging, terracing and sub-soil ploughing, and collective action under the control and assistance of Government was the only way to ensure success.

The emphasis laid on extensive agriculture by British experts in India is regrettable. It is now common knowledge that an enormous increase in India's food production is possible without any loss of time by the application of manure to the soil and an all-round introduction

of scientific agriculture leading to intensive farming. The Government's apathy to intensive agriculture is really inexplicable. Of course long-term projects for reclamation should also be taken in hand in due course, after the Government has convincingly demonstrated to the public that it is capable of carrying out large-scale projects beyond the stage of providing fat-salaried jobs to imported experts and home-grown dependants.

### *Future of Indian Industry*

In his presidential address at the third quarterly meeting of the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation at Bombay, Sir M. Visvesvaraya said :

> The best test of the industrial advance of a province is its progress in heavy industries. In India, however, heavy industries have suffered special discouragement and neglect in the past.
>
> In the absence of Government interest in the progress of industries, it had become necessary for industrialists and leading citizens in various parts of the country to do by co-operative effort what the Government would not do and to start suitable agencies and organisations for the purpose.
>
> He warned that there would be fierce international competition in matters of trade and industry in the post-war period.
>
> The first requisite of industrial progress was to obtain from Government an assurance that the country was free to develop its industries and agriculture on lines best suited to its advance and that Government would help, and not hamper such efforts. The announcement should be direct, frank and unequivocal.

The Commerce Member of the Government of India made the position clear when he told the Post-war Reconstruction Policy Committee on Trade and Industry, which met on October 21 and 22, that " With so many limiting factors, the profitability of industry does not depend merely, or perhaps even mainly, on the degree of protection afforded." The grant of protection for Indian industries during the period of post-war reconstruction is thus a remote hope.

The industries themselves have also shown utter disregard of sound business principles. Some of them of the more important consumption category have betrayed an insatiable greed for profit and a ruthless apathy to the consumer's purchasing power. Most of them have refrained from keeping their products fresh in the consumers' mind either by supplying them at reasonable prices or by other means.

### *British Policy of Divide and Rule*

*The News Review*, London, for July 29 last, gives some idea of how Britain's activities in Yugoslavia are looked upon by the Serb people by quoting *Nova Vreme* (Yugoslavia) :

> One day the British support Mihailovich. the next day they favour Tiso, but the result is always the same : more dead Serbs. One day Britain must account for all her crimes, and for that reason she prefers that Serbs should be exterminated, since it is unnecessary to account to the dead.
>
> Poland best illustrates the value of British friendship, now abandoned to the Soviets. Sikorski was recalcitrant, and was therefore murdered by the Secret Service, as were Chiappe and Darlan, whom the British previously called friends.
>
> Britain's only object is to subdivide Europe and set all the nations quarrelling in order better to govern them. The Serb people utter a cry of despair to Britain: Oh, leave us in peace.—*Nova Vreme* (Yugoslavia).

### *Post-War Education in England and India*

During the war, education in India, particularly in the danger zones of the East, has received a rude setback but England has never diverted her attention from this important problem. Even in the midst of bombings, her President of the Board of Education had had time, energy and zeal to think over post-war educational problems and provide solutions for them. In India, an isolated scheme by an educational Adviser, Mr. Sargent, has been drawn up but it has merited little attention in the country and bears no sign of authoritative association with it. The Butler Scheme in England envisages not only a reorganisation of primary school, but *free secondary education for all* at three main types of secondary schools : grammar, modern and technical. The outline of the Scheme, as reported in the *News Review*, London, for August 5 last, is given below :

> The Board of Education's President Richard Austen (" Rab ") Butler has offered an answer in the Government's recently published White Paper on Educational Reconstruction. Idea is " to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life, to ensure a fuller measure of education for young people, and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed."
>
> By last week many Church dignitaries, not a few Tories and a considerable number of teachers were trying to tear the Paper to pieces. Reactions had at first been mainly favourable, but it was evident by last week that the Bill's passage through the Commons would be tempestuous. The £67,000,000 plan sets out to:
>
> Provide nursery schools wherever needed for children under five.
>
> Reorganise primary education and the elementary schools.
>
> Abolish " special place " examinations or scholarships and classify children at the age of 11 on their individual aptitudes.
>
> Provide *free* secondary education for *all* at three main types of secondary schools : grammar, modern and technical, with transfer to one of the two other types of schools at 13 if desired.
>
> Provide religious instruction in accordance with an agreed syllabus.

Extend health and leisure services with extra supplies of milk, meals, and clothing.

Raise the school-leaving age to 15, without exceptions, "as soon as possible after the war," and later to 16.

Establish "continuation classes" for all between the ages of 15 and 18.

Improve facilities for enabling poor students to proceed to universities.

Set up adequate and co-ordinated facilities for technical and adult education.

On the teaching side are drastic recommendations affecting the recruitment and training of teachers, the whole system of local education administration. and the position of independent schools.

Up to now one of the biggest obstacles in the path of State educational reforms has been the Dual System of control. Some of England's oldest schools have been built and kept going by the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. They have been aided financially by the State since 1902, but have not been fully controlled by the local educational authorities, though some of them have been classed as blacklisted for years. The existence within the public system of these voluntary (non-provided) schools with their divided authority has been an embarrassment to most Education Ministers. "Rab" Butler offers the voluntary schools these alternatives.

(1) Where school managers cannot meet half the cost of necessary improvements the financial responsibility will be turned over to the local authority, who will then become responsible for appointing teachers.

Denominational instruction will only be given to children whose parents desire it. These schools will be known as "controlled schools."

(2) *Where managers are willing to meet half the cost of improvements, the other half will be met by the Exchequer. Managers will then retain their power in the way of appointing staff* and giving what and as much denominational instruction as they please. These schools will be known as "Aided Schools."

*By far the most revolutionary of the reforms advocated in the White Paper is that relating to the Free Secondary Education for all.* The importance the Government attaches to this section is illustrated in the Norwood Report, which deals entirely with the curriculum and examinations in secondary schools, and which came swiftly on the heels of the White Paper. Father of the report, Sir Cyril Norwood, President of Oxford's St. John College and one time headmaster of Harrow, has packed nearly 150 pages with recommendations in contrast to the White Paper's 36 pages. Norwood and his Committee lay special emphasis on the proper teaching of English, the modifying of the School Certificate examination.

The Secondary Education Bill of Bengal may be compared with the Butler Scheme. While Britain herself is prepared to encourage and help private schools to function, the Bengal Bill aims at their destruction and to bring the entire educational system under the grip of a communal Government, if it survives the wholesale disorganisation—created "demi-officially" under the plea of war-exigency—consequent upon the war.

### *"Angli in Oriente"*

Major J. M. Collard has given a good account of the past, present and future position of Englishmen in the Orient. In an outspoken article, "Angli in Oriente," in the *Spectator*, London, for July 9, 1943, he writes :

The renunciation of extra-territoriality in China, the abolition of capitulations in Egypt, and the probable independence of India after the war will make it necessary for the Englishman whose work takes him to the East to revise his attitude to, and his relations with, the inhabitants of these countries if he is to continue to live and work there.

*The privileged position enjoyed up to now by Englishmen and other Europeans in Eastern countries has not been due to any respect felt for Europeans as such by the heirs of civilisations many thousands of years older than ours, who are possessed of intelligence and perceptions not inferior to our own. It has been the result partly of the enterprise and unscrupulousness of our forefathers in the past, and partly of the strength of our national armaments in the present.* These factors are no longer sufficient to keep things as they were. This fact was recognised in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty and at the Montreux Conference, in the Cripps Mission to India, and in the voluntary renunciation of extra-territorial rights in China. The implications of the new state of affairs have not yet been fully recognised.

In future, if we are to maintain our financial and commercial interests in these great Eastern countries, we have got to convince their inhabitants and governments, not only that these interests are advantageous to them as well as to us, but also that the presence of large numbers of Englishmen in important positions among them is not so objectionable as to outweigh any material advantages that accrue from their presence. And in trying to convince them we shall start with the handicap bequeathed to us by thousands of Englishmen who have lived their lives in the East *under the delusion that the strength of their country's armaments has conferred a moral superiority which lifts the lowest among them higher than the highest of the inhabitants of the country in which they live.* Fortunately, there is something on the credit side as well. There have been, and are, Englishmen in the East respected for themselves alone, who have not found it necessary to hide behind the respect conferred by "prestige." To some people it may seem a matter of indifference whether or not we are able to maintain our connexions in these Eastern countries. But to hundreds of thousands of Englishmen, most of them living and working all their lives in England, these connexions are of vital importance for their livelihood. It is no mere matter of the interests of Englishmen living in the Orient.

*We have to get rid of those notions of racial superiority which seem shocking enough when enunciated by Hitler, but which are calmly accepted by most Englishmen when comparing themselves with Africans or Asiatics.* And at the same time we must display more of our best racial qualities of energy, morality, technical skill, modesty, incorruptibility, kindliness and fair dealing. The enforced and unwilling respect with which we have hitherto been surrounded in Eastern countries has led to a degeneration of some of these qualities. Individuals have not been under the necessity of justifying their existence by their work and their behaviour. They have occupied privileged positions which in many cases they had done nothing to earn,

and in which they were protected from the free competition of the local inhabitants. *In future, Englishmen will be able to maintain themselves in the East only in so far as they are regarded as useful by the governments and peoples of those countries.* If they can be adequately replaced by nationals, they will be, whether in administration or business. Usefulness will not be the only standard that will be applied. The Englishman will have to see to it not only that his work is an asset to the people among whom he lives, but that his behaviour in no way affronts their dignity or independence. He must be not only temporarily tolerated out of necessity, but permanently welcomed out of friendship.

This is not a counsel of perfection for the enlightened individual; it is a policy of necessity for English communities living in the East if they are to remain and prosper there. It cannot be left to the individual; it must be initiated, encouraged, and where necessary imposed, by organised public opinion. What was once a matter of courtesy and good feeling is now a matter of necessity and national urgency. It is not the Colonel Blimps and the political die-hards who are going to be the main trouble in the adjustment of our relations with the inhabitants of the coutries of the East. The trouble is going to come from those second-rate people who have "come East" in the hope of enjoying a better standard of living and a better social position than their own efforts would have won for them at home.

People in the Orient have, however, reasons to apprehend that the days of Colonel Blimps and political diehards are not yet over, nor any sign is visible that they will be over in a near future. It may now be said without fear of contradiction that not a single nation in Asia or Africa, cherishes political connection with Britain, which has proved almost everywhere to lead to political, economic and social subordination. Nowhere in the Orient did Britain enter into a political friendship on equal terms unless compelled to do so. Only a voluntary liquidation of her Empire may succeed to recover Britain's prestige which she has lost on this side of the globe.

### *M. P. Advocates Public Indictment of Amery and Linlithgow*

Mr. W. G. Cove, Labour Member of the Parliament, is the Chairman of the Indian Famine Committee of London. Addressing the Committee on November 28, he said :

LONDON, Nov. 29.

"There is only one principal way of solving the Indian problem and that is by recognising now in practice the right of India to self-government, self-determination and independence."

"I should be false to my own profound convictions, after an extensive study of the Indian situation, if I do not say quite frankly that relief, although essential and immediately necessary, is not enough. *There must be something more than relief.* We want food, clothes and medicines to be sent but after we have done that the Indian problem still remains."

"I have not felt that *the late Viceroy* has shown much foresight or called forth great sympathy for India. I have an impression that he *was the most wooden and unresponsive Viceroy England has ever seen.* I cannot remember Mr. Amery either flowing with the milk of human kindness. *If there is personal responsibility in this situation, it lies heavily on the shoulders of the late Viceroy and Mr. Amery and both of them ought to be indicted publicly for what has happened.* It is not many months ago that Mr. Amery assured the House of Commons that there was no need to fear the Indian food situation. Not long after, famine stalks India. I ask where was the information which ought to be put at the disposal of the Secretary of State for India? It seems to me to indicate how remote and aloof the India Office and Mr. Amery are from real life and conditions in India."

There was something wrong in our political relations in India. *The fact was that we had not established trust and confidence there.*

"*You will not solve the Indian problem merely by bread, and the British Government cannot have the goodwill of India when the leaders are in gaol.*"

*The real Indian problem was not over-population, but the fact that there was an alien Government governing India.* It was the social and economic conditions which obtained in India and which would yet be changed until India got her political independence. That was the first condition to allow India to solve her economic and social problems before she could emerge to a higher standard of life.—*Reuter.* (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

Mr. Cove deserves congratulations for his attempt to focuss public opinion on the political side of Indian famine which has been deliberately suppressed both in London and in New Delhi. No lasting solution of famine conditions in India is possible without solving the political problem.

### *Scheduled Castes Denounce Vivisection of India*

Presiding over the Executive Committee meeting of the All-India Depressed Classes Association at Nagpur on December 15, Dr. Manakchand of Agra said :

"Pakistan is harmful move—harmful to India and to the Indians and I do not want that the Scheduled Castes should lend any support to this dangerous scheme. The Scheduled Castes are the original inhabitants of the country and nothing would be more disgraceful to them than helping the vivisection of the motherland."

"There is also another move among a section of the Scheduled Castes—a move to peel off the Scheduled Castes from the Caste Hindus and is akin to Pakistan. We do not want to be a distinct community. We will fight the Hindu orthodoxy—fight unto death but not be a party to the disintegration of India."

Public opinion in India against attempts at vivisection is continually gaining momentum and may be expected to overwhelm the Pakistan-walas in no distant future.

### *Communal Problem Not An All-India Question*

BOMBAY, Dec. 14.

The problem of communal disunity, was not basically Hindu-Muslim one and the solution was "not a

Congress-League Pact. Those who advanced that remedy were responsible for not only a futile but also a misleading slogan, said Mr. M. R. Masani, Mayor of Bombay, presiding at the lecture delivered by Mr. Baig, ex-Sheriff of Bombay, on "The problem of Communal Disharmony" at the Tata Graduate School today.

What was really needed was the widest possible union of all good Indians for the achievement of their country's freedom. Paper pacts based on the acceptance of the communal principle could never take India to her goal. If there was to be a community of Indians, communities of Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Sikhs must first cease to exist.

"Feel and think Indian" was the slogan that Mr. Masani suggested for the attainment of the end. In the Congress fold Hinduism and nationalism were mistaken for each other. Unless people ceased to think of each other in terms of their respective sects the communal question would never be solved.

Mr. Baig in his speech said that *there was really no all-India communal problem. The problem was different in different provinces.* In the Punjab it was a triangular contest, in Bombay, Madras and N.-W. F. P. there was really no communal problem because the minorities were far too small in number.

No pacts between the Congress and the League would ever solve the problem.—*A. P.*

Mr. Jinnah himself failed to formulate an All-India policy for the guidance of the conduct of the stalwarts of his own party. Participation of League Members in the Viceroy's Council and the National Defence Council was banned. Sir Sultan Ahmed was expelled from the League for having joined the Government at the Centre. But participation of League leaders in the Provincial Governments and their wholehearted prosecution of war efforts was not only permitted but encouraged. Communal conditions are basically different in different provinces and do not admit of the formulation of any all-India policy on communal lines. This explains Mr. Jinnah's frantic endeavours to appear consistent by clouding the real issues by a tornado of words when the actual conditions are exactly the reverse.

### *Retired Official's Anti-Indian Propaganda*

The *Leader* reports :

One Mr. Bean, a retired officer of the Government of India, is now utilizing the opportunity afforded by the free time at his disposal to malign the Indians in South Africa. In one of his speeches he has been reported to have said that "the repatriation of Indians is the only means by which Europeans in South Africa can be saved from extinction by Indians." He draws attention to the huge population of India and says, "If allowed to, this great host would overflow into Africa's empty spaces." How India's hosts will overflow South Africa's empty spaces, when Indians are not allowed to enter South Africa we cannot understand. The 200,000 Indian settlers whom Mr. Bean wants to be expelled from South Africa know no other home. Their forefathers who went to South Africa at the invitation of the Government and the people of South Africa have contributed enormously by their labour to the development of the Union. It is obvious that whatever other qualities Mr. Bean may have, *namak halali* and gratitude are not among them. He is a British citizen, but evidently he believes in the Herrenvolk cult.

One agrees fully with the opinion expressed by the *Leader* : "It is bad enough that we should be maligned. But must India's traducers be also financed by the Indian tax-payer ?" Mr. Bean however is not the only traducer financed by the Indian tax-payer, other similar careerists have recently been exported to Britain and the U. S. A. for similar purposes.

### *Hutchings' "Clumsy Effort to Mislead Anglo-Americans"*

A Special Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* reports :

LONDON, Dec. 20.

Press reports from India say that the Food Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. Hutchings, said, in an interview that "famine no longer exists in Bengal which has passed out of the stage of acute food shortage. Some people, only comparatively few, are still going hungry, but even in normal times some people go hungry." The majority of the Indian and British people dismiss Mr. Hutchings' statement as a clumsy effort to persuade the Anglo-Americans not to believe in the existence of famine.

Immediately after Mr. Hutchings' statement was received here the Swaraj House to-day issued a statement to the Press saying that "the famine is not over; and thousands are still dying."

As Secretary of the Food Department, Mr. Hutchings has shown nothing which can bring him any credit; his speech in the Central Legislature had been a miserable performance, and now he has come out with a statement which may again lead to dangerous results. Complacency in high quarters before the famine had been alleged and substantially proved. Mr. Hutchings' statement shows that the same complacency is still there and the same mischievous efforts to minimise the virulence of the famine is still being made.

### *Ireland's Help in Indian Famine*

With deep gratitude India acknowledges Ireland's gift of £100,000 for famine relief in Bengal. This amount forms a substantial part of Ireland's normal budget. No contribution from any other Government having astronomical figure budgets has yet been announced. The U. S. A. expects to put 1500,000,000 dollars into the U. N. R. R. A. pool which will go direct to relieve distress in Europe and not in India.

Mr. De Valera has remembered Bengal's help to the Irish famine of 1848. We were unable to trace any such contribution in 1848, but

Maharshi Devendranath Tagore had made two contributions, one of Rs. 1350 through Rev. Charles Voysey and the other Rs. 100 direct to Mr. Wood, Secretary of the Irish Famine Relief Committee during the Irish famine of 1879. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Prince Dwarakanath Tagore was the first Indian to visit Ireland which was later followed by several other notable Indians, specially from Bengal.

### *"Grow More Food Campaign a Veritable Farce"*

The Special Correspondent of *Tribune*, Lahore, reports :

BOMBAY, Nov. 13.

Sir Vijay Anand, Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram in a cable to the *Daily Herald* (London) says : "I wish I could share the self-complacency of Sir John Anderson and Mr. Amery who have been singing the same tune that the primary responsibility for the present situation does not lie with the British Government or the Government of India. It is true that India's population has been increasing by leaps and bounds; it is also true that India is an agricultural country, but have the Government, adorned by these worthies, followed any national policy of agriculture? I would like to emphasise that the "grow more food" campaign, started by the India Government, is a veritable farce. *The Central Government allotted two crores of rupees for this campaign to feed 400 millions, while England has been spending 202 crores by way of sundries to feed 40 millions*—one-tenth of India's population. England has expanded her food production by 70 per cent. since the war. There is no use Sir John Anderson saying that England cannot be compared to India. It is true that India is poor, but the problem of the world today is that the rich are living on the poor.

"It is criminal negligence on the part of the authorities here and in Whitehall that has brought about the Bengal situation. There is no getting away from this truth. The real war effort lies in curing India's famine and in revising the uneconomic policy hitherto followed by the powers that be."

Judging from the visible results, these two crores of rupees may also be considered to have been completely wasted.

### *Economic Planning in Egypt*

*Daily Herald*, Lahore, quoting London *Times*, gives a good account of how Egypt is forging ahead with economic planning. The following relevant extract will illustrate :

Plans for the utilization of the great hydro-electric potential stored behind the Assuan Dam have been under consideration since 1935, if not earlier. The possibility of thus supplying the country with power, light and heating—for even sunny Egypt has imported large quantities of fuel, especially British coal for many purposes—is attractive enough in itself. But there are other more important aspects of the Assuan Hydro-electric Scheme.

Thoughtful Egyptians recognize the gravity of the problem presented by the steady increase of population in the face of serious limitations imposed on the extension of agriculture by the topography of the lower valley of the Nile.

Industrialization is one remedy for a situation which may become acute after the coming of peace and departure of the armies which have brought money and employment to Egypt. Another is supply of fertilizers. The system of perennial irrigation, now virtually universal in Egypt, has unquestionably impaired the once proverbial fertility of its soil as the importation of Hileno nitrates in recent years testifies. Electric power applied to local mineral resources can do much to repair this impoverishment which threatens to increase in spite of the annual deposit of the Nile mud.

Even Egypt has begun to think in terms of fertilisers and electricity for the improvement of her agriculture, but not India. Already her productivity is four times that of Bengal.

### *Proselytisation of Aboriginals*

The administration of aboriginal areas have, under the Government of India Act 1935, been entrusted to the Governors as their special responsibilities by stamping these areas as excluded and partially excluded areas. Legislatures have no voice in the administration of these areas. The life of these aboriginal people have thus been made a matter of personal discretion of men recruited six thousand miles away and having no knowledge of their culture, character or way of life. The manner in which this responsibility is being discharged has recently come to light and more may be expected. Mr. Verrier Elwin, a life-long worker among aboriginals and Mr. A. V. Thakkar, a renowned Social Service worker, have issued a joint statement published in the *Hitavada*, Nagpur, the English organ of the Servants of India Society, in which they have condemned the present policy pursued by the Government of India in relation to these Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas. The statement reads :

Mandla District, an ancient kingdom of the Gonds, the classic home of the Baigas, is a Partially Excluded Area. But in the last few years, since the Government of India Act was passed, the missionaries of the Catholic Apostolic Mission in Jubbulpore have been permitted to open some sixty schools in the District. Furthermore, Government has handed over the running of an Aboriginal Teachers' Normal School to the same mission, locating it at Sijhora in the Mandla District. It has made a grant of Rs. 20,000 for buildings and will, we understand, bear half the cost of running the institution. It has also made grants for a boarding hostel and a middle school in the same place. Not only has this very emphatic official support been given to missionaries in a Partially Excluded Area, but an official memorandum was issued about the school which did not say a word about the not unimportant fact that it is a missionary institution.

It is an open secret that Mr. W. V. Grigson, I.C.S., in his capacity as Aboriginal Tribes' Enquiry Officer,

has recommended the establishment of a special Normal School for aboriginal teachers, insisting that it should be run by Government with a special syllabus and located in the bilingual Gond-Korku area in the Betul District. Dr. G. Hunter, when D. P. I. of the Province, was equally keen on this Government-run Normal School. Many of those who received the prospectus about the Sijhora School were naturally under the impression that this was the institution recommended by Mr. Grigson. It is not easy to understand why Government should have been so coy about the support they have given to this missionary enterprise. For the implications of this support should be understood. At a time when the legislature is not sitting, without consulting anyone—least of all the aboriginals themselves—in contradiction of the advice of the expert which Government itself appointed, against the whole purpose of Government's own aboriginal policy (as embodied in the Government of India Act), in complete secrecy and even camouflage, this most controversial step of handing over the training of aboriginal teachers to missionary hands has been adopted.

We believe that the considerable official assistance given to the missionaries in Mandla District and elsewhere is contrary to the spirit of the Government of India Act, and we desire, therefore, as men who have devoted our lives to the service of the aboriginals, who have not always agreed in our policy but who are entirely at one in our feeling here, to put on record our serious and emphatic protest against the present policy of permitting foreign missionary infiltration (or almost anyone helping proselytization) into the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.

## *"Crown not Helpful to Court"— Sir T. Harries*

The *Tribune*, Lahore, has published the judgment delivered by a Full Bench of the Lahore High Court consisting of the Chief Justice Sir Trevor Harries, Mr. Justice Blacker and Mr. Justice Munir, on the petition of two detenus whose detention was held illegal.

The Chief Justice, with whom the two other Judges concurred (though Mr. Justice Munir wrote a separate judgment), in the course of his judgment said: "If the personal satisfaction of the Governor of the Punjab is a condition precedent to the validity of these orders no presumption should be made or could safely be made that the Governor was personally satisfied in these cases. An order of the Government of the Punjab must be made in the name of the Governor and in the orders of detention now in question the concluding words "By order of the Governor of the Punjab" may well mean "By order of the Punjab Government." The document (detention order) is actually signed by Mr. F. C. Bourne who describes himself as Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab. The form of the order is to say the least of it ambiguous. It may well be not an order of the Governor but an order of the Provincial Government of the province.

"The court offered to give the Crown an adjournment to produce an affidavit establishing the Governor's personal satisfaction in these cases. But the Advocate-General neither pressed for an adjournment nor did he offer to tender any such affidavit in evidence if an adjournment was granted. I do feel constrained, however, to say that the attitude of the Crown has not been helpful to the court. The production of an affidavit stating what had occurred before the orders were made in these two cases, would have made the task of the court much easier. In cases where the liberty of the subject is at stake, the responsibility of this court is great, and it has, I think, a right to expect that the Crown will frankly place all the facts before it.

"Holding as I do that no presumption as to the accuracy of the recital can be made, the onus lies on the Crown to prove its accuracy. No evidence has been adduced on behalf of the Crown. . . . The orders must be held to be invalid. They afford no answer to the allegations of these two detenus that they are illegally detained and that being so they must be released from custody forthwith."

The Executive's unhelpfulness to the Judiciary in this country is nothing new. Executive legislation by means of Ordinances or D. I. Rules has in many cases striven to curtail the powers of the Judiciary, and even that of the High Court. An independent judiciary is the strongest guarantee against personal liberty. The only silver lining on the dark horizon, created by the present-day tendency of the Executive to arrogate all powers to itself is the Judiciary's strive for maintaining its independence.

## *Allahabad Chief Justice on Abuse of D. I. R. 26*

A second case of equal importance has been reported from Allahabad. While reserving judgment in the *habeas corpus* application moved on behalf of Pandit Baijnath, a leading advocate of Agra, who challenged the validity of Sec. 2 of Ordinance 14 of 1943, the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, addressing the Government Advocate, said:

"I would like to hear you in particular on the question as to whether if I am satisfied that the particular order means abuse of provisions of Rule 26, I have justification to quash that order. I know that it is not within the competence of this Court to inquire into the propriety or otherwise of an order under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules passed by the Commissioner or Provincial Government. Therefore, you have my authority to say to the authorities concerned that the Chief Justice is unhappy about this case and is too much to expect that the Commissioner will see his way to remove my unhappiness?"

In the application of Pandit Baij Nath it was stated that he did not take part in politics, that he was neither a member of the Congress nor of the Hindu Mahasabha, that his health had greatly deteriorated and for that reason he was also released on parole for some time.

In the course of arguments on behalf of the application, His Lordship the Chief Justice said: "Under cover of Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules they want to destroy the liberty of the Bar. You can tell the Commissioner that the Chief Justice in open court made the observation that Rule 26 is being abused with a view to destroying the privileges of the Bar. He would like the production of all the documents in this case. If you refuse to produce the documents, I shall order the Commissioner to come here and give evidence. If he is the protector of public peace, I am the protector

of the Bar. You may get instructions as to what the executive authorities intend to do in this matter."

The Chief Justice further observed : "The ugliest part of this case is that this gentleman was appearing in a series of cases for the defence in which the accused were charged with subversive activities arising out of recent disturbances and then he is arrested. The police at times create obstacles in the way of counsel for the defence and they thought the best thing was to get rid of this man and have him behind prison bars."

Judgment has been reserved. A similar case occurred in the Punjab when Mr. Pardiwala, Counsel for Jayprakash Narain, who had come to move a *habeas corpus* petition on behalf of his client in the Lahore Court, was arrested. He was however released following the agitation after his arrest.

## *Dr. Jayakar's Revelations about Cripps Negotiations*

Unveiling the portrait of Dr. Raghavendra Rao at Madras, on December 5 last, Dr. M. R. Jayakar made some revelations about the Cripps negotiations. The following is an extract from his speech :

> But he would like to speak of the memorable interview which Dr. Rao had with Sir Stafford Cripps as narrated to him by Dr. Rao. On the memorable evening Dr. Rao came back thoroughly exhausted and told him he had met Sir Stafford and talked things with him. "Dr. Rao told me," the speaker said, "I do not feel strong enough to tell you the whole story but *Cripps soon found that we Indians are not quite so gullible as he thought.*" Sir Stafford realised that the ease with which he thought he would conquer the Indian situation was not quite so real. Sir Stafford lengthened his stay. Things were becoming more and more difficult. "He went on giving press talks. The document with which he came—a short brief one, which we lawyers clearly understood—spoke for itself. If Sir Stafford Cripps had stuck to the terms of that document, no trouble would have arisen at all. But what did he do ? He went on giving press conferences and speeches on the radio—one of the most deceptive things in the world is the radio—with the result that the document began to be augmented—and it is a dangerous thing to augment a precise document; the words were there as a result of most judicious selection and you understand English; it is deceptive to substitute one synonym for another and a lot of sense will be taken away. Now we found to our horror, listening in night after night, that this gentleman (Sir Stafford) was acting as Mallinath to Manu for the purpose of illustrating what was going on. The second thing which defeated Cripps was as Dr. Raghavendra Rao found out, that *he spoke different things to different men.* We suggested that there should be a discussion not in isolation from one another, as did take place, but together so that one Indian could say and persuade another as to which should be taken, which rejected and which modified. That was never done. Each party was met in isolation. What he spoke to X. Y. and Z, was different from what he spoke to A. B. and C, and when X. Y. and Z. met A. B. and C. in the evening they found that different things had been said to each of them.

The practice of conversations with Indian leaders in isolation has been followed by almost all British politicians.

## *Report of the Special Committee on Education in Ceylon*

In the thick of the war, Ceylon has applied her mind to examine the entire education system of the island with a view to evolving a system suited to the needs and requirements of the country. A Special Commission was appointed for the purpose in 1940 under the Chairmanship of Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara. The report of the Committee has now been published. A thorough investigation of the defects of the present educational system has been made and measures of reform have been recommended. The Committee had been strengthened in 1941 by the inclusion of Dr. Ivor Jennings, the Vice-Chancellor of the Ceylon University. This Special Committee of Ceylon, like the British Board of Education, has proved that constructive measures may not be put off where there is a sincere will to serve the country.

## *Birth Centenary of the First President of Indian National Congress*

A Committee with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee as President and Dr. Kalidas Nag and Miss Sadhona Bonnerjee as Jt. Secretaries has been formed with the object of arranging fitting steps to pay tribute to the achievements of W. C. Bonnerjee, and to perpetuate his memory. The centenary celebrations were inaugurated by holding a meeting at the Oriental Seminary on December 29. The Centenary Committee has chalked out a programme which includes : (*i*) the preparation of a commemoration volume, (*ii*) founding a lectureship at the Calcutta University and (*iii*) presentation of a life-size portrait to be hung up in a public building.

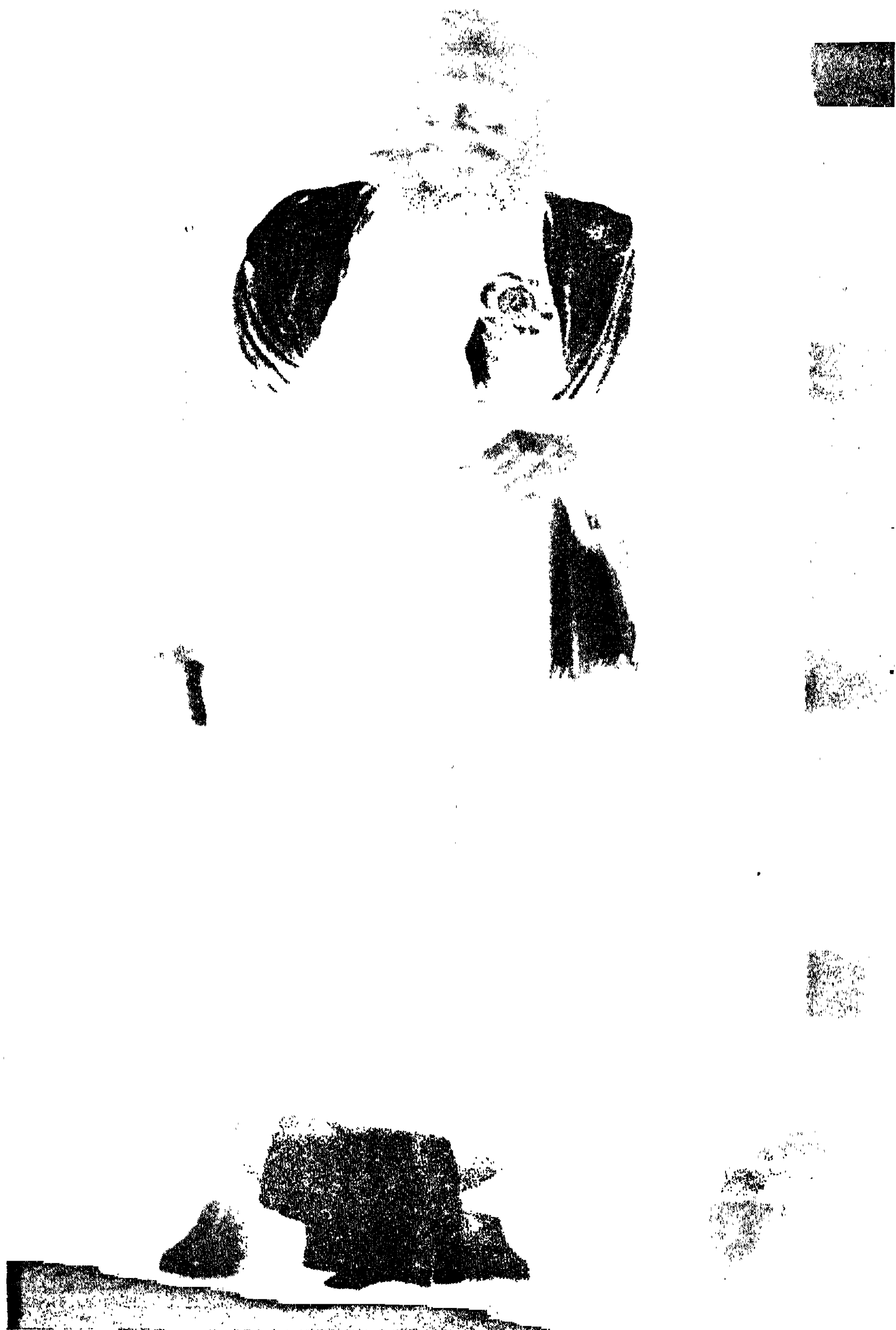
### Special Notice

Owing to extreme stringency in the paper market we are obliged to restrict our print. We regret therefore our inability to supply complete voucher copies of *The Modern Review* to agents or advertisers booking less than ½ column or ¼ page in one issue. A tear-page containing the advertisement inserted will in future be sent as voucher. We shall resume the old practice as soon as the paper market is easier.

RAMANÁNDA CHATTERJEE



1940 *Photo : Benarsidas Chaturvedi*



**1940** *Photo : Benarsidas Chaturvedi*

# THE BATTLE OF MERTA, 1790

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

### 1. Events Leading to the March on Merta

The battle of Merta was the hardest fight in General De Boigne's career and showed his military genius at its best. It will also be remembered for all time as a classic example of the utter futility of mere courage against discipline and of the sword against bullets. It proved the superiority of the European system of warfare over the old Indian beyond the possibility of doubt.

The battle of Patan, fought on 20th June 1790 (and described in our May 1943 number), had not really put an end to the Kachhwa-Rathor combination. From that fatal field the vanquished general Mirza Ismail Beg and most of his soldiers and captains escaped, though at the sacrifice of all their guns and property. And now from his refuge in Jodhpur territory he began to assemble a new army by calling together his scattered followers. A national levy of the Marwar kingdom was ordered by its Rajah. Money only was wanted to equip Ismail Beg and make him as great a danger to the Marathas as before Patan. The Maratha cause was further weakened by the incurable quarrel between Sindhia and Holkar, and their failure to collect enough war indemnity for meeting the daily cost of their inflated army.

Thus, the resounding victory of Patan proved in the end to be a "great illusion" for Sindhia. The Jodhpur Rajah refused to restore the fort and district of Ajmer (which belonged to the Marathas under a grant from the Emperor of Delhi). And he of Jaipur, while professing to have made peace with Sindhia, openly intrigued with Jodhpur for a war of revenge and began to send money and men to Ismail Beg.

So, Sindhia's generals, after making some little money collection in the Shekhawati district, by-passed Jaipur and laid siege to Ajmer fort (on 21st August). At the same time, Mahadji Sindhia, by a master stroke of strategy, terrified and neutralised the Rajah of Jaipur by pushing a large detachment from his camp in Mathura, on to Bhusawar (15th Aug.), on the eastern frontier of the Jaipur State, in readiness to invade that country if its troops marched west to aid the Marwar army then defending Ajmer. Finally in order to strike even greater terror, he announced that he would join the campaign in person, and as an earnest of it, left his cantonments in Mathura (28th Aug.) and entered his "marching tents" outside that holy city, and a few days later advanced to Shāntanu-kund.

The Rajah of Jodhpur set himself to collect an army under the brilliant leadership of Mirza Ismail Beg for raising the siege of Ajmer and expelling the Marathas from his territory. He might have succeeded but for his absolute lack of money and the worthlessness of his ministers, —from which delay and incompleteness of equipment resulted, when time was everything. It was a question of life and death to Mahadji Sindhia to strike the first blow.

No time was to be lost in breaking up the relieving Marwar army posted at Merta before it could be doubled by the arrival of the reinforcements which were gathering at Nagor, only 40 miles away. This strategic blow was immediately put into execution. Leaving two thousand Deccani horse and a small body of trained musketeers to hold the siege trenches before Ajmer and prevent any succour from reaching the beleaguered fort, the main army of Sindhia under Gopal Hari Raghunath (popularly known as Gopal Bhau Chitnis) set out for Merta on 4th September. The Maratha horse moved one march ahead, forming a screen before the more slowly moving guns and trained infantry under De Boigne, and arrived at Netariā four miles east of Merta, on the 7th. De Boigne had to take a more circuitous route, south of Ajmer, then west and finally north, by way of Pisāngāon and Govindgarh, to Alniāwās, on the southern bank of the Luni river, and ploughed his way across its broad sandy bed on to the town of Riān, 15 miles south-east of Merta, on the 8th. His arrangements were perfect; a large number of camels carried skins of water for his men over this dry region, and others transported his infantry to lessen their fatigue.

At midnight between the 8th and the 9th, De Boigne resumed his march and arrived at dawn at the Maratha camp in Netariā.

### 2. Description of Merta and its Environs— the Rival Forces

The town of Merta covers an irregular square, each face of which is about a mile

length and the base or southern side a little longer. The whole is surrounded by a thick mud rampart and parapet, twenty feet high, with a deep wet ditch before it. All the houses are *pucka,* and the town itself is described by an officer of De Boigne as "much larger than Benares" in those days. A large number of perennial tanks with stone-faced banks, cluster round its northern and eastern sides, outside the walls but close to them. Half a mile south of it stands the citadel, a small cross-shaped fortalice, with a long narrow tank separating it from the city. A mile due east of Merta city is the village of Dāngāwas, with two large tanks east of it. Three miles beyond Dāngāwas, in the same easterly direction lies another village, Netariā, (11 miles north-west of Riān and the Luni river) with a similar water supply. This Netariā, served as the base of Sindhia's army before the battle, and the battle began with an attack upon the northernmost point (or the left extreme) of the Rajput trenches which extended from the tanks east of Dāngāwas westwards in a semi-circular line along the south of Merta city.

Merta has been rightly called the Gateway of Marwar, and here every invader of the Rathor kingdom has been first opposed.

A mutual cannonade began at 9 A.M. on the day of De Boigne's arrival (9th September), with no other result than the waste of munition, as was usually the case in those days. Gopal Bhau wished to attack immediately, but De Boigne wisely refused to employ has worn-out troops in the intense heat of the desert noon and also lose the chance of an effective pursuit by beginning the battle so late in the day. He spent that afternoon in reconnoitring the enemy's lines and planning his blow.

Sindhia's army consisted of about 25,000 cavalry of his own with two auxiliary but detached bodies of 2000 each supplied by Holkar and Ali Bahadur. De Boigne's division was made up of 12 infantry battalions (totalling about 6,500 rank and file), together with 50 pieces of choice artillery. The Jodhpur army was made up of about 26,000 cavalry and a body of irregular infantry not more than ten thousand strong, a few of whom were armed with matchlocks and the bulk with sword and spear only. Their artillery consisted of some 25 antique and almost useless guns. Sindhia's superiority in fire power was made tenfold of this numerical difference by the greater mobility, efficiency and rapidity of his brass guns, light 3 and 6 pounders, which were worked by highly trained Indian gun crews under one European gun-layer for each piece, and supplied with enormous quantities of powder and shot brought into the firing line by well-organized bullock transport. Thus it happened that within an hour of the commencement of the fight, the Jodhpur infantry was broken and driven out of the field, so that the rest of the battle, for two more hours, was a contest between cavalry armed with the sword on one side and disciplined infantry armed with modern flint-locks and bayonets and highly efficient artillery on the other. During this second stage the Marwari guns were silent. The Maratha cavalry made an advance only after the issue had been decided by De Boigne's infantry and guns and the blown and battered remnant of the Rajput cavalry had fallen back to their own position.

### 3. Plan and Tactics of the Jodhpur Army—Causes of Their Defeat

The battle of Patan, fought less than three months before this, had proved beyond doubt the futility of swords against cannon-balls. The Rathor tribal levy was entirely made up of tumultuous bands of horsemen, with a few rusty old cannon of position. Their national infantry was a despised arm and consisted of wild Nāgā monks, poorly armed and utterly ignorant of discipline, and some servants too poor to keep a horse. Therefore, before challenging Sindhia's new model army again, the Jodhpur Government wisely decided to stiffen its national cavalry with the Mughalia matchlock-men and gunners of Mirza Ismail Beg, who were semi-modernised and fully experienced in a life of fighting as a profession, and also to secure his celebrated and impetuous leadership on its side. This General alone was worth ten thousand men. The Jodhpur army at Merta was strictly ordered to avoid a contest with Sindhia's troops till Ismail Beg's force should join it and raise it to a parity with De Boigne's musketeers and gunners. This decision was due to sound military policy and not to treachery on the part of the Jodhpur ministers as Tod credulously asserts. Ismail Beg was timed to reach Nagor, only 40 miles off, on 11th September.

So, it was the interest of the Marwar army to lie on the defensive and gain the necessary three or four days respite for the junction of Ismail Beg's army. Sindhia's interest lay in not giving the enemy this time. And knowing the habits of the opium-eating Rajputs and the indolent unruly Nagas, De Boigne decided that

a surprise attack at peep of dawn would catch them at the greatest disadvantage.

The Jodhpur army was distributed in a semi-circle round the southern side of Merta city, from Dāngāwas westwards, each of its groups having taken post round one of the many tanks outside the city.

In the actual battle of 10th September the Maratha army made an oblique approach, their front slanting 45 degrees towards the enemy line instead of moving upon it at right angles. Thus, the first impact of the day was between the Maratha right of vanguard and the enemy's extreme left wing. The general engagement along the entire line took more than an hour to develop, on account of the initial distance between the Maratha left and the Rathor right wings opposed to each other, and the lazy habits of the Rajput cavaliers.

Therefore, De Boigne's surprise attack was very quickly successful in crushing the isolated left wing of the Rajputs. This result spread confusion and some dispersion among the rest of their army. The Rathors, ordered to be solely on the defensive pending Ismail Beg's arrival, had formed no plan of action, no concert for the movement of the different limbs of their vast sprawling army; they had no supreme commander even who would be obeyed by all. The Jodhpur chronicle, written in Dingal, tells a sad tale of confusion, mismanagement, disobedience and even cowardice on the part of the leaders, which easily explains the butchery of their brave but unguided clansmen. The Rathors fought not under one general, but were led into the fight by two or three scores of family heads of small bands of blood relations, each acting for himself. Against such primitive tactics were opposed the towering military genius of De Boigne and the exact discipline which he had perfected among his troops by long months of drill under his own eyes and the help of a band of the ablest European officers who had distinguished themselves by long experience of Indian warfare and who were most handsomely paid and supplied with lavishly organised transport and equipment.

### 4. First Stage of Battle—Marwari Left Wing Routed

A day's rest having refreshed his men and given him time to work out the details of his battle plan, De Boigne silently marshalled his line of battle about two hours before daybreak and delivered his attack on the extreme left of the Rajput lines, at the first streak of dawn, on Friday the 10th of September, 1790. Here the tanks of Dāngāwas were held by a body of fighting monks called Nāgās, who belonged to the Ramanandi and Vishnuswāmi sects. Their arms were mostly sword and spear with a few rusty old matchlocks and 25 very old cannon.

De Boigne's 12 battalions formed two lines with 50 pieces of light field guns before them. Some distance behind them the Maratha horse was drawn up, in a far elongated line, Lakhwa Dada on the left, Gopal Bhau in the centre and Jivva Dada on the right. A full mile behind these stood the small sulky contingents of Holkar's horse under Bapu Rao and Kashi Rao Holkar and Ali Bahadur's men under his diwan, Balwant Sadashiv Aswalkar.

Moving obliquely to their right, the trained battalions came upon the enemy and opened fire with grape on the Naga lines all of a sudden. The surprise was complete; the Nagas were utterly unprepared; many of them had dispersed to the fields for the necessary operations of nature after the night's sleep, some were brushing their teeth with chewed twigs, some bathing in the tanks, and some still in bed. For some time the Rajput guns replied but without stopping De Boigne's advance, who shot down the Nagas running about and trying to assemble for combat. Nothing could stand before such superior fire at close range. The few Nagas who tried to make a stand were overwhelmed by the well-directed musketry of De Boigne, and at last fled away towards the fort of Merta, leaving everything behind. The Naga lines were forced and their artillery captured in an hour's time.

Then the tide of battle suddenly turned and an unforeseen disaster threatened the victors. Captain Rohan, who commanded the three battalions forming De Boigne's right wing, flushed with his easy victory and tempted by the rich camp of the Nagas lying close ahead, advanced too far to the right without his general's orders, and thus created a wide gap between his men and the rest of De Boigne's line. Into this opening the Rathor cavalry poured with lightning speed and overwhelming numbers.

For, by this time the alarm had spread throughout the Rajput army, where the chiefs were even more unready than the Nagas. Indeed, these leaders in the centre and right of their long unconnected line, had at first refused to believe that the campoo had attacked and that it was necessary to bestir themselves in self-defence. But how could they? Many of them were undressed, many were just preparing

their morning draught of opium, and they knew not what to do as they had formed no plan of action beforehand. And now under the stress of enemy fire the Jodhpur army had to improvise a plan of defence.

But a race of brave men cannot perish in utter inaction even through the folly of its leaders. Many individual heads of families gathered their relatives together and got ready to do and die on their personal initiative, though their supreme commander (*Bakhshi*) Bhimraj Singhavi had at first vacillated and at last fled away.

### 5. Charge of Rathor Cavalry—Maratha Horse Broken

De Boigne's attack had progressed for an hour before the Rathor preparations were completed; they had held what counsel they could amidst the alarm and confusion of that surprise in a half-awakened camp, their chiefs had now dressed, drunk opium together in sign of brotherhood in the deadly enterprise, given the last puff to their *huqqas* after vaulting into saddle, and got ready for the combat. Therefore, when an hour after dawn, the three battalions under Rohan were seen to have moved far away from their centre, one large body of Rathor cavalry from the south of Dāngāwas quickly seized this tactical blunder, rushed into the gap in the campoo line, enveloped these battalions, cut up nearly half of the men, and threw the entire wing into disorder, though after the flood of horsemen had passed on, Rohan managed to rejoin De Boigne's main body with the remnant of his force, himself mortally wounded. Taking advantage of this confusion and check to the Maratha side, the full force of the Rathor cavalry, forming seven large bodies, charged Sindhia's army at the gallop. No time was wasted by them in the customary skirmishing and parade of individual swordsmanship in the open space between the two hosts, but the entire body of attackers hurled themselves headlong upon their enemy in one mass.

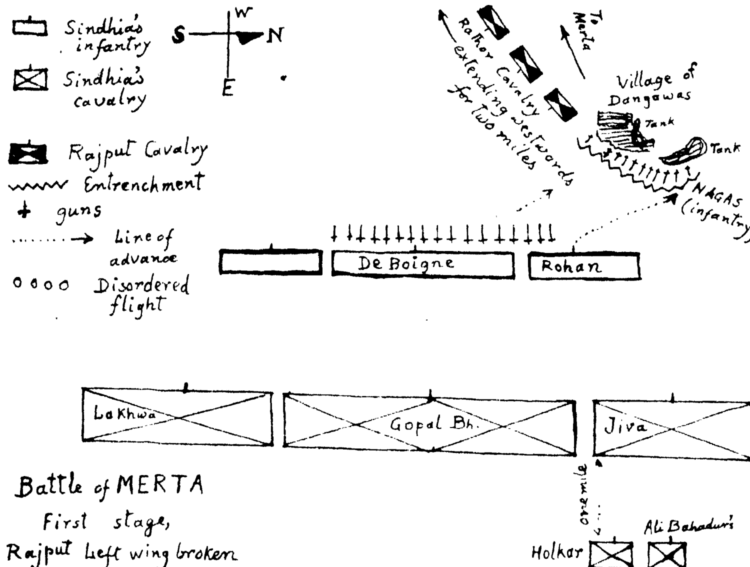
Regardless of their losses from the first salvoes of grape from De Boigne's fifty guns, the Rathor horse swept tumultuously through the line of these guns, sabred such of the gunners as stood in their way, made a mere threat of attack against the front of the battalions and quickly wheeled right and left in order to strike at the flanks of the campoo in two pincer movements. At the first impact of this whirlwind of cavalry the Deccani horse standing in three huge divisions at the back of the campoo was driven away like chaff before the wind. Then the Rajput cavalry whirled round the two wings and rear of De Boigne's force seeking an opening for crumpling it up and riding down the foot. But what they found facing them everywhere was not the uncovered flanks of a line formation but a square.

The genius of De Boigne and the perfect discipline of his troops saved the day. As soon as the General saw his right wing engulfed by one body of Rathor cavalry and another body, heaving and roaring like a mile-long wave, getting ready before their camp to launch themselves upon his own command, he at once drew his first line of infantry back on its supports and ordered the whole to form a hollow square. This manœuvre was carried out without the least confusion or delay, thanks to the ability of De Boigne's European officers (carefully selected from the most experienced and efficient mercenary captains then present in India) and the perfect discipline of his troops whom he had himself daily drilled.* Thus, when the victorious Rathor horsemen turned the flanks of the campoo, they saw opposed to them a four-sided human castle, every face of which presented a line of bristling bayonets and the platoon fire of musketry from rapid flintlocks to the massed cavalry approaching it. As time passed, the checked Rajputs continued to fall in heaps all over the plain.

Unable to shake the campoo, the Rajput cavalry turned aside and struck the Maratha horse ranged behind. The Deccanis who had been long stationary, could not resist the momentum of the Rathor charge and fled far away to the rear. Their left wing under Lakhwa Dada halted and turned round after fleeing some distance, chiefly because it was not pursued in force by the enemy horse on its heels. The whole body of Rajput assailants now wheeled to their own left and poured in a resistless flood on Gopal Bhau (Centre) and Jivva Dada (Right), who were swept off their posts and did not draw rein till they had got behind the stationary squadrons of Holkar and Ali Bahadur, a mile or more to the rear. Here some confused hand to hand fighting took place. And then, after two hours of such breathless exertion, the fury of the Rathor onslaught was spent, their horses and men were quite blown, their ranks were woefully thinned by the ceaseless fire of the

* The fifty guns had necessarily to be abandoned for a time some hundred yards in front of the now retired campoo position, as they could not be dragged into the square by their bullocks.

campoo behind them; so, when the fresh horsemen of Holkar and Ali Bahadur boldly faced the enemy coming against them and backed by such of Sindhia's troopers as could be rallied, fell pellmell upon the crowd of Rathor cavalry on the Maratha right wing, they pushed them back.

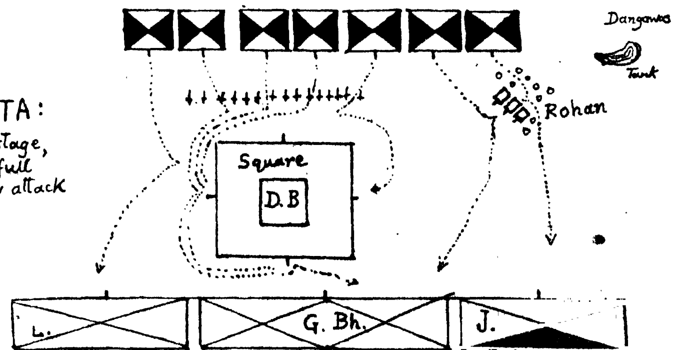



After failing to break the trained infantry, failing to annihilate the southern cavalry, the baffled Rathors turned their faces to their own lines, being helplessly butchered during the return journey by the campoo artillery firing on their flank and rear. For, in the meantime, at the first respite in the attack upon his infantry, De Boigne had personally advanced and reoccupied his fifty guns, and now plied them under his own eyes upon the enemy. His quick volleys of grape tore bloody lanes among the confused mass of tired men and horses retiring westwards.

## 6. Death-Ride of the Saffron-Clad Rajput Desperadoes

But the battle was not yet over. There was fighting still left in the Rathors. The last desperate charge for which they had long prepared, had still to be delivered. Rajputs who vow to fight to their last breath and never to leave the field except with victory, are invested by their kings with a full suit of robes dyed in saffron,—the colour put on by the Hindu bride-groom when he goes forth to his bridal bed. Such fighters were called *Kesariā*, *i.e.*, saffron-clad, and in Hindustani, *zard-kāprā-wālā* (red robed), and they used to form the forlorn hope of Rajput armies. Seven thousand of these robes had been distributed before this battle, but only 3000 of the men could be mustered at the start.

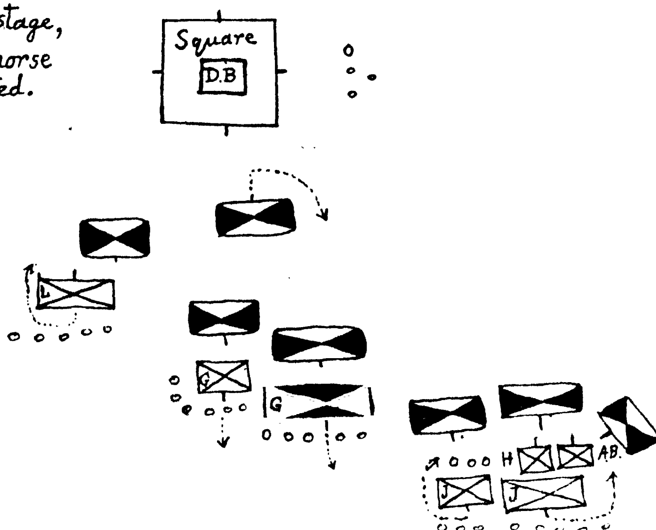
The last sacrifice of Rajput heroism was now to be performed. The morning sun had been already up for three hours. The all-saffron column, three thousand strong, set itself in motion at the far western end of the fatal plain. Facing them, at the eastern end stood a granite wall of scarlet coats with black leather belts, surmounted with blue turbans parted at the crown by red coxcombs, and fenced round by a glittering line of steel. The horsemen gathered speed; louder and clearer could be heard that roaring cry of "Hān ! Hān ! seize them! kill them!" the ground shook under the tramp of the cavalcade, as the flower of Rathor chivalry swept on nearer and nearer, their long red skirts fluttering and




their red tasselled turbans dancing like a field of tulips in bloom when struck by a strong wind. Then De Boigne's quick firing brass guns vomitted fire, making woeful gaps in that dense crowd of horses and men. Of the three thousand who

had set out on that death-ride to save the honour of their clan, only one-third survived to reach the front of the campoo. And then the scarlet wall tipped with blue stirred; the French-led infantry, by their steady and well-directed platoon fire at such close range shot down the foremost Rathor desperadoes. The attacking line of horsemen was torn up at every successive volley. But the fury of the Rajput charge was not yet spent. Again and again, only ten or fifteen of their horsemen, regardless of their hopeless inferiority in number and arms, charged up to the bayonets till they were all laid low.

A British officer of De Boigne gives an eyewitness's account of this charge:




"It is impossible for me to describe the feats of bravery performed by the *Zard-kapra-walas* or forlorn hope of the enemy. I have seen, after their line was broken, fifteen or twenty men only return to charge one thousand infantry, and advance within ten or fifteen paces of our line, before they were all shot." "It is but just to the enemy to acknowledge that, considering the situation in which they were found, and the disorder consequent thereto, they behaved very valiantly, as they actually cut down some of our people at their guns, and two of them with a desperate fury and intrepidity, made at De Boigne himself and might possibly have killed him if they had not been hewn in pieces by his body guard."*

* This officer was most probably Lewis Ferdinand Smith, who used to send valuable reports from De Boigne's camp to the Calcutta newspapers,—the *Calcutta Gazette* (not yet an official paper), the *Bengal Journal*, the *India Gazette*, and the *Calcutta Chronicle*. The name *Rohan* has at places been misread as *Bahor*, and so printed.

### 7. Complete Defeat of Jodhpur Army—Losses

The last effort of Rajput valour was quenched in blood. All over that level plain leading up to the gates of Merta, the yellow sand was littered with white heaps of men, looking from a distance like shaken bundles of cotton cloth, with inert or writhing horses near them. This scene was now variegated, as saffron robes, darkened with a warmer and more crimson fluid, mingled with the earlier white masses. Then Sindhia's entire army advanced. The dispersed Maratha cavalry had by this time taken heart from the example of the campoo and forming up on the two wings and rear of the infantry, joined in the pursuit. There was none left to oppose them. The enemy's guns and camp were captured by 10 o'clock in the morning, and the walled city of Merta with all its stored wealth capitulated at 3 P.M., when De Boigne came up with his guns and threatened bombardment. The fort itself surrendered† four days later.

After four hours of such incessant fighting with hopelessly inferior arms in their hands, no staying power was left in the Rathors. All their active leaders had fallen in the field, and their highest officials— who had shown no courage or patriotism throughout the day, had fled away, being drawn up with ropes into the fort of Merta, whose gates had been shut against them.

The loss on the victorious side was slight, and would have been slighter still, but for Captain Rohan's reckless advance. Rohan himself, a Creole of Bourbon, aged 61 years, with 40 years' experience of Indian warfare, was shot through the thigh; he lingered till the 17th

† During the battle Bhimraj Bakhshi fled away to Nagor with 4,000 Rathor horse. Gangaram Bhandari who had hidden himself somewhere during the fighting, came out afterwards and arranged with De Boigne for the capitulation of Merta fort, from which the 2,000 Rajputs who had entered it, were allowed to go away with their arms. [Chandra, ii, 81] De Boigne by his personal interposition, saved the large body of Rajputs who had fallen into his hands from being transfixed on the bayonets of some auxiliary Marathas. (*Calcutta Chronicle*, 1790).

September, when he died and was buried on the bank of a tank outside Merta, where his obituary tablet still stands. The only other officer casualty was Lieutenant Roberts wounded, who recovered. Two of Rohan's battalions were badly cut up and this fact helped to swell Sindhia's losses to about 650 in killed and wounded. In the Maratha section of the army about 50 men were killed and 250 wounded,—their only officers being Majoji Pingle and Sukji Shinde killed and Shaikh Sharif wounded.

The havoc in the Rājput ranks was appalling. Over two thousand of their men fell dead on the field and the wounded must have numbered at least another five thousand. But mere numbers cannot truly indicate their loss. Not a house of note among the Rathor clan or their feudal retainers, but mourned the death of its head, and sometimes of the sons and nephews along with the head. Loyal retainers of lower rank lay clustering thick round the bodies of their chieftains or their chieftains' heirs, the foremost in the charge and the first to fall. The noblest among the noble slain were Mahesh-das *Kumpā-ot* the chief of Asop, and Shiv Singh *Chāmpā-ot* the chief of Auwa,—the latter being wounded all over his body and dying after a period of treatment. These had rallied the clansmen and led them on to a sure death after all had been lost save honour, and their official General Bhimraj Singhavi faltered. In addition to Mahesh-das and Bhimrāj's brother (?) three chiefs, with the rank of commanders of 5,000 horse, namely, Sur Singh, Ram Singh and Fath Singh, fell and were permitted to be cremated in De Boigne's camp. "These, finding they could not make their escape, quitted their horses, and fought with eleven of their followers on foot, till they were all cut to pieces, within a musket shot of the fort of Merta." [Letter of an English officer of De Boigne]. The band of monks who bore the first brunt of De Boigne's attack, sacrificed 40 Rāmānandi *bhagats* and 50 Vishnuswāmi *bairāgis*. Muslim mercenaries (retainers of Ala Yār Beg and Shaikh Imām Ali) though in small numbers, also paid the price of their loyalty to their chieftain.

The city of Merta was plundered by the victors, though it did not yield so much booty as Patan. After three days, peace and security were re-established in the city. In one of its mosques opium worth Rs. 50,000 was found stored and confiscated.



**SOURCES**

(1) English: Letters published in the *Bengal Journal* (18 Sept. 1790), the *India Gazette* (11 Oct.), the *Calcutta Chronicle* (14 Oct.)—best. (2) Marathi: From Sindhia's camp: Historical Papers, Gwalior, No. 579, Satara volume i. No. 251. Also *Dilli-yethil*, Supplement No. 40, 30, 34. (3) Holkar's agents: *Chandrachur Daftar*, ii. No. 79, 81, and Ali Bahadur's—(ed. of Parasnis), No. 70. (4) Persian: *Ibratnamah*, iii. pp. 382-386, hearsay. Incredible brag in *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* (ed. of Sane), pp. 56-57. The Peshwa's envoy at Jodhpur, in a letter to Nana Fadnis (*Jodhpur-yethil*, No. 17), after giving the story wisely adds, "You should ascertain from a detached or impartial source, whether this claim is true or false." (5) On the Marwari side, I have used a contemporary narrative written in Dingal (or the Rajasthani dialect), which I find to be straightforward and highly credible; it throws a significant light on the doings of the Rathor Government and its officials. Col. J. Tod (*Personal Narrative*, Ch. 28-29), passed over the battlefield 29 years later (26-28 Novr. 1819), but in the reverse direction. The story of the battle given by him is not supported by this Rajasthani narrative. The French *Memoire* of De Boigne is useless, having used no independent source. The Persian *akhbar* on the battle, if still preserved among the Government of India records, ought to furnish first rate information, but it is wanting among the surviving Poona Residency papers.

# THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE year 1943 is nearly over and 1944 is at our doorstep. Fifty-two months have nearly elapsed since the start of this world-wide holocaust and as yet there is no sign anywhere of the end. The last Great War lasted fifty-one months and a few days and the end was in view for some four months before the finale. All that can be said of the present war now is that the tide is definitely on the turn. But time and tide wait for none, and democrats and totalitarians alike are subject to the inexorable laws that govern the destinies of Nations. Circumstances may favour a party—or a group of parties—today, to-morrow the very same circumstances may militate against the chances of success of the identical group in a different way.

If the war be viewed in perspective, it will be seen that in Europe the Axis has been badly battered, pushed back for a considerable distance in Russia and partially disrupted in Italy. But taken as a whole the Axis grip on continental Europe is substantially as strong as it was at the end of 1942, for it has not yet suffered any major disaster in any sector. The Axis retreat—or Russian advance—can now be seen clearly as the part of a plan laid down by the Axis High-Command for the defence of the European continent against the Allied offensive. The retreat has been orderly so far, although the Soviets have succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the withdrawing forces through fierce assaults on many sectors of the front. That the Soviets' forces themselves have suffered considerable losses in these actions seems to be indicated by the slackening of the pace towards the end of the autumn campaign and by the local successes gained by the Nazi forces in the counter-thrusts against the Kiev salient. The failure of the Second Front to materialize gave the Axis the chance not only to retreat according to plan but also to stiffen the defence at some of the most vital points in the Russian battle-line. In Italy also matters have not turned out to be as good as was hoped for by some Western war-commentators at the outset. The only thing that has happened is that it is now admitted by the Anglo-American Group that the Italian front is not the Second Front and that Russia's demand for the lessening of her burden has not yet been satisfied. It is true that in Italy the Allies came within an ace of a major success but through some unforeseen developments the German defence organization managed to stave it off. But all this does not explain why the major offensive against the "Fortress of Europe" was not staged in 1943. Germany is now definitely on the defensive and as such time is not entirely on the side of the Allies as some commentators would have it. It also allows the Axis in Europe to plan out counter-measures and to work it out in detail. It took the Allies full two years and a half to solve the problem—minor as it was in comparison with that of Europe—of North Africa. How long will it be before that of the Second Front is definitely tackled ? The war against Japan has again been relegated to a secondary position and as such every day that the Germanic forces can hold out for, is a day gained by Japan.

There can be no doubt that the American and Australasian forces under General MacArthur deserve every word of praise bestowed on them by their publicists. But all the same the rate of progress in that offensive is still exceedingly slow. Indeed at the present rate of progress it would be a good twelve years before the main stronghold of Japan is faced with a direct assault. On the Indo-Burmese front there is no progress whatsoever reported as yet. Meanwhile, Japan has had eighteen months of extremely valuable time in which to expand and to consolidate and it is more than certain that not many minutes of this time have been lost. And it is equally certain that given another eighteen months of time with no more distraction than at present, Japan will become at least twice as formidable as she is now.

This war started with "Boredom," then followed a period of feverish action by the Axis on a stupendous scale. 1943 was a period of sluggish meandering with very occasional bursts of action. Stagnation followed by a long, long war of attrition—which would spell definite ruination for all concerned—seems to be pointed at by all portents, unless the Teheran Conference alters the Allied calendar. The world in general, and we Indians in particular, have been kept in virtually complete ignorance about what actually did transpine at Cairo and at Teheran, but somehow or other we have got an impression that concerted action against Japan has not come any nearer and that the plans for the Second Front Offensive have not yet acquired a definite shape, and further that much that is vital for the Allied peoples to understand is being hidden behind a smoke-screen of war production and enemy losses figures. If the latter does consist in the fullest measure of undiluted truth then this all-round delay in concerted action becomes a veritable riddle.

# NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEANS IN INDAN LEGISLATURES

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D. M.L.A.

It is a well-known fact that non-official Europeans took the leadership in establishing Chambers of Commerce and various kindred associations. The first of these, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, was founded in 1834. Two years later, came those organised in Bombay and Madras. These were followed by the establishment of similar associations in places such as Cawnpore, Lahore, Karachi, etc., where Europeans were conducting business operations on a large scale. It was in 1920, that these different chambers came together and formed themselves into the (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. The aim of the provincial or local chambers is the protection of European business, that of the All-India association the closest possible organisation of European commercial interests throughout India.

In 1883, Europeans organised the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association. In time, it died a natural death and was resuscitated in 1912 under the title of the European Defence Association. Next year, the name was changed to the European Association. According to the statement made at the time when it organised itself on an All-India basis, it had for its objects "the general protection of European interests and the promotion of European welfare." It was also said that this had led the Association "to organise European influence in Indian political life."

While the (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce is supposed to present the point of view of European business as such, the European Association professes to express the opinions of non-official Europeans, whether engaged in business or not, on public matters. It should, however, be stated here that the presence of leaders of European commerce and industry in the chambers of commerce and the influence they naturally enough carry there has made them the centres of the political influence of non-official Europeans which, it may be added, is nearly always expressed through the European Association and its branches.

The aim of the present article is to give the reader some idea of the increasing representation of non-official Europeans in our legislatures in order to protect their interests and promote their welfare.

### Early Indifference to Politics

As the majority of British businessmen are located in Calcutta which, up to the transfer of the capital to Delhi, was the headquarters of the Governor-General, a word in season to their countrymen was enough to safeguard their interests. The correctness of this view is proved by what Sir Hubert Carr, one of those representing non-official Europeans at the three Round Table Conferences, has said in his contribution entitled "The British Commercial Community" in *Political India* (p. 141) :

> "When legislation or the administration interfered unfairly with British interests, appeal to a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council was as a rule sufficient to get an injustice corrected, an iniquity removed, or to secure legitimate facilities for opening up the country to commerce and industry."

With this advantage in their favour, British businessmen did not, in the early days, care to take any active part in politics. The only exception to this was in 1883, when resenting the proposed abolition of their privileged position in criminal law, non-official Europeans came together and conducted a campaign against the Ilbert Bill introduced that year in the course of which they indulged in language which even the most rabid among Indian journalists would hesitate to use. It is on record that some among them incited something like mutiny and others planned to get rid of Lord Ripon by forcibly placing him on board a vessel bound for England.

To complete the story, after being under consideration for more than one year, the proposals made under the Ilbert Bill were largely withdrawn. The efforts of European non-officials to maintain their privileged position were successful but even a so-called die-hard British official was compelled to admit that

> "Nothing could be more lamentable than the animosities of race that the whole controversy aroused."

The lack of interest displayed by Europeans in Indian politics in those days was referred to in the following terms in paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, where it is said that

> "Like commercial people all the world over, Englishmen in business in India are frankly uninterested in politics; many of them would readily admit that they have taken insufficient part both in municipal business and the business of government."

### Indian Councils Acts of 1861 and 1892

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 may be said to have brought into existence the framework of the internal administration of India which lasted till the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Among the

important new features introduced under it may be mentioned the enlargement of the Council of the Governor-General when functioning as a legislative body by the inclusion in it of not less than six or not more than twelve additional members of whom not less than one-half were to be non-officials. Further, the Governor-General in Council was, with the approval of the British Government, allowed to extend to the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces (now known as the United Provinces of Oudh and Agra) and the Punjab who ruled without Executive Councils, the power to create their own Provincial Councils and to nominate members thereto, not less than one-third of whom would be non-officials. It may be added that Bengal had her Legislative Council in 1862, the North-Western Provinces in 1886 and the Punjab in 1897.

An examination of such records as are available shows that British businessmen were occasionally but not regularly nominated to the Governor-General's Council. It also appears that, from time to time, they were nominated to the Provincial Councils of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. The present writer may be mistaken but the conclusion he has drawn from such materials as are available to him is that nomination to the Provincial and the Governor-General's Councils was something like a recognition of the high position occupied by the nominees in the business world. Not much was expected from these nominees nor was much contributed by them.

The next landmark, from the point of view of the present discussion, is the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The one feature of this Act with which we are concerned here is that, under it, out of the ten non-officials to be appointed to the Governor-General's Legislative Council, one was nominated on the recommendation of the (European) Calcutta Chamber of Commerce. British business may be said to have commenced to occupy a permanent place in Indian public life from this time.

This Act also sanctioned the inclusion of a certain number of non-officials in the Provincial Councils. These were nominated on the recommendation of bodies such as Municipalities, Universities, groups of District Boards, classes of large landholders and associations of merchants, manufactures, etc. Here too, European businessmen appeared from time to time but there was no provision under law for their systematic inclusion in the Provincial Councils.

### Indian Councils Act of 1909

Among the changes introduced under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, popularly known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, the sizes of the various Legislative Councils were increased and the principle of election as a method of selecting members for them was given statutory recognition. Regulations framed under the Act fixed the proportion of the elected to the nominated elements in the different legislatures and they were such as to ensure the presence in fair proportions of different classes and interests.

The elected portion in the Viceroy's Council consisted of persons returned by the non-official members of the Provincial Councils, by the landholders, by the Muslims in various provinces and the (European) Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay. It thus appears that European business got two seats where formerly it had one at the centre.

So far as the Provincial Councils are concerned, it appears that the elected seats were filled by persons returned from constituencies of landholders, Municipalities, District Boards, the Muslims, Universities, Chambers of Commerce and special interests such as the tea planters of Assam and the tea and coffee planters of Madras. It therefore appears that it was under the Morley-Minto Reforms that British business was given a number of seats in the different Provincial legislatures also.

Such scrutiny of the proceedings of these legislatures as have been made by the present writer goes to show that, whether at the centre or in the provinces, the representatives of European business were generally content to offer their advice on such industrial or commercial matters as were discussed in these legislatures.

It is to be noted that, up to the passing of the Montagu-Chelmsford Act of 1919, Europeans occupied seats in our legislatures not as a minority but as representatives of European business whose suggestions as experts were supposed to be required by the British administration.

### Reactions to Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 1918

The celebrated pronouncement of Mr. Edwin Montagu made in August, 1917, in which the increasing association of Indians in the government of their motherland was promised, made it clear to the European community that at last the time had come when it must no longer rely exclusively on its racial affiliations but must

take active part in politics in order to maintain its position in our economic life. In addition to attempts towards either altogether stopping or seriously curtailing political concessions to Indians, to which no reference will be made here, there were two methods it could adopt to ensure this. The first of these was the obtaining of guarantees that no inroads would be permitted on property and the second to strengthen its influence on our public life by securing as large a number of seats as possible in our legislatures. The latter it could do easily by entering its claims to representation as a minority community thus placing itself in the same class as the Muslim, the Sikh, and the Indian Christian minorities. We shall now see how recourse was had to all these methods.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report published in 1918, accorded due consideration to the claims of the non-official European community giving the following assurance which should have comforted British business.

> "It is our duty to reserve to the Government the power to protect any industry from prejudiced attack or privileged competition. This obligation is imposed upon it, if not by history, at least by the duty of protecting capital, credit and indeed property without discrimination."

This guarantee, however, was not regarded as sufficient. The Secretary of the European Association issued a manifesto from which the following is taken:

> "The Council of the European Association is emphatically of opinion that European non-officials are entitled to substantial representation as a community in the Provincial and Imperial Legislatures in addition to the representation already given through Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations and Planters' Associations. Representatives of those specialised bodies naturally cannot receive any general political mandate from their constituents, and that is a strong reason for according an adequate measure of communal representation to Europeans. But there is a further reason in the fact that so long as representation is merely through a Chamber of Commerce and sectional bodies, a considerable number of Europeans engaged in the legal, medical, journalistic, and other professions, or resident where specialised bodies do not exist, are denied all representation."

With reference to the amount of political advancement to be conceded to India under the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the European Association made it clear that it was opposed to the simultaneous increase of Indian political control and the Indianisation of the services. One of these, it considered, was enough to meet the needs of the situation.

We shall now proceed to consider the success which rewarded the efforts of the non-official Europeans to secure a larger number of seats in our legislatures.

### European Representation Under the Government of India Act, 1919

Under the Government of India Act, 1919, the non-official European community was accorded 12 seats in the Central legislatures and 46 seats in the different Provincial Legislative Councils.

In the Council of State, the Upper House at the centre, 3 seats were occupied by representatives of British business while in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Lower House at the centre, 8 seats were filled by Europeans elected from "general" that is communal constituencies. A seat in this house was also occupied by a nominated representative of the (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce.

It thus appears that the Council of State did not contain any communal representative of the European community and that the Central Legislative Assembly did not elect any representative of British business.

We shall see, very soon how in 1924, the European Association utilised the opportunity afforded by the appointment of the Muddiman Committee to enter its demand for representation of British business in the Lower House at the centre in addition to the representation the European community was already enjoying there on a communal basis.

Coming to the Provincial legislatures, we find that what have been called "general" that is communal European constituencies returned 10 members to represent non-official Europeans, a majority among whom were not supposed to be engaged in business as captains of industry or leaders in commerce. Special European constituencies such as Chambers of Commerce, Mining, Planting and Trades Associations which enjoyed 36 seats of which 29 were elected ones may be regarded as those from which European businessmen could seek election—a fact proved by what has been said on this matter in Paragraph 150 of the first volume of the Report of the Simon Commission.

The fact that the number of seats allotted through election and nomination to British business in the Provincial legislatures under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was more than three and a half times the number allotted to Europeans as a minority proves the great importance attached to it as a community whose main preoccupation was business.

### Problem of European Representation Between 1919 and 1935

The problem of the representation of various communities and interests in our legislatures in the interval between the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the Government of India Act, 1935, was considered by various bodies appointed by Government. These are the Reforms Enquiry Committee generally called the Muddiman Committee of 1924, the Simon Commission appointed towards the end of 1927, the Indian Central Committee generally known as the Sankaran Nair Committee of 1928 and the Indian Franchise Committee also known as the Lothian Committee of 1932.

Considerations of space preclude any discussion of the recommendations made by these committees the more so because the statement which appears elsewhere summarises them. It must, however, be pointed out that whether they were all-English as in the case of the Simon Commission or composed partly of Britons and partly of Indians as in the case of the rest, such suggestions as were offered by them though more liberal in the matter of according representation to the non-official European community than under the Government of India Act, 1919, were in every case less generous than that granted to it under the Government of India Act, 1935, and that whatever the reasons, the British Government gave a larger number of seats to the non-official European community than what every one of these bodies had deemed necessary.

### European Representation Under the Government of India Act, 1935

Under the 1935 Act, 7 communal seats were reserved for Europeans in the Upper House at the centre. In the Federal Assembly, they were given 8 communal seats. To this should be added some of the seats reserved in the legislature for commerce and industry. On page 329 of his *Indian Federation*, Sir Shafa'at Khan, who represented his community at the three Round Table Conferences and who is now the High Commissioner for India in South Africa has said that if federation had been an accomplished fact the Europeans would have been able

> "To secure a majority of the 11 seats which have been reserved for representatives of commerce and industry in the Federal Assembly."

Another authority is of the definite opinion that Europeans would have secured not less than 6 and not more than 7 of these 11 seats.

We at last seem to have here the granting of the demand placed before the Muddiman Committee in 1924, when the non-official Europeans had asked for the representation of British business in the Lower House at the centre but not "at the expense of the European general (*i.e.*, communal) constituencies."

In the Provincial legislatures, the number of communal seats for Europeans was increased to 26. They also got 9 communal seats in the Provincial Legislative Councils. Out of the 56 seats in the Legislative Assemblies reserved for commerce and industry, a minimum of 40, according to Sir Shafa'at, was likely to go to Europeans.

When we consider these figures what strikes us is that in the Lower Houses of our Provincial legislatures where legislation concerned with commerce and industry has to be initiated and where there are opportunities of influencing it, European business has been granted representation amounting slightly to more than one and a half times the representation accorded to the European community as a minority. A glance at the Federal, the Concurrent and the Provincial legislative lists of the Government of India Act, 1935, will be sufficient to prove that the presence of representatives of European business in these legislatures for the immediate safeguarding or extension of its privileges is likely to be more effective than its representation at the centre. This, according to many Indians, explains the comparatively large number of seats allotted to European commerce and industry in the Provincial sphere.

There is also the further fact that though the seats occupied by non-official Europeans at the centre on a communal basis is double the number of those occupied as a special interest, all of them, on account of reasons stated elsewhere, are filled by European businessmen. These communal seats though supposed to afford facilities for the return of non-official Europeans who are not engaged in business, are almost in every case occupied by British businessmen. Naturally all the influence, direct and indirect, which these elements command can always be mobilised for the defence of British business interests.

### A Consolidated Statement

The statement which appears below will enable the reader to see at a glance the position of the European community as regards its representation in our legislatures both as a minority and as a special interest. It summarises in tabular form the information which has

appeared in previous pages and includes the recommendations of the Simon Commission and the Sankaran Nair Committee on this point.

The Muddiman Committee which, under its terms of reference, was asked to offer its suggestions for the removal of difficulties and defects found in the actual working of the Act of 1919, within its framework, was precluded from making any recommendation as regards the increase or decrease of representation of any community. Its recommendations therefore find no place in the statement which appears below. Similarly, the suggestions of the Lothian Franchise Committee are not summarised here as it intentionally refrained from offering any recommendations in regard to the representation of the non-official European community as a minority confining itself only to its representation as a special interest. Hence, for the purposes of the present discussion, its recommendations may be regarded as incomplete.

| | Central Legislatures | | Provincial Legislatures | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Upper House | Lower House | Upper House | Lower House | Total |
| Montagu-Chelmsford Act (1919) | 3 | 9 | nil | 46 | 58 |
| Simon Commission Recommendations | 3 | 12 to 14 | nil | 66 | 81 to 83 |
| S. Nair Committee Recommendations | 5 | 20 | nil | 61 | 86 |
| Govt. of India Act (1935) | 7 | 14 to 15 | 9 | 66 | 96 to 97 |

An examination of the statements which appear on pages 134, 167 and 168 of the first volume of the report of the Simon Commission will show that at the time when it was written, that is to say in 1930, and when he Montagu-Chelmsford Act was in operation, there were altogether 56 seats in the Council of State and 140 seats in the Central Legislative Assembly. Of these, 42 in the two Houses were occupied by officials thus leaving 156 seats free for non-officials. Similarly, there were altogether 832 seats in the Legislative Councils of the nine British Indian provinces then in existence, of which 110 were filled by officials thus leaving 722 seats for non-officials.

It therefore follows that, taking the Central and the Provincial legislatures together, 878 seats were occupied by non-officials, Indian and non-Indian, a majority among whom were elected and the rest nominated. The European community which, according to the Simon Commission, constituted at that time about ·06 per cent of the total population of British India occupied 58 seats which works out at a little above 6·5 per cent.

If the Federal, like the Provincial, part of the Government of India Act, 1935, had come into operation, the European community which, omitting the British section of the Indian army which does not enjoy franchise, according to the Report of the Lothian Franchise Committee (p. XI) consisted in 1931 of about 57,000 souls out of a total population of about 255,000,000 in British India and therefore constituted about ·02 per cent of the total numerical strength would have occupied more than 4·5 per cent of the seats in our legislatures, Provincial and Central.

### History Repeats Itself

From what has appeared already, it is abundantly clear that non-official Europeans have secured excessive representation in our legislatures as a minority community and a special interest. It is probable that they feel that they are entitled to this over-representation. Henry Nevinson analysed the mentality lying behind this assumption when referring to his countrymen he said nearly three decades ago :

> "We adopted for our English race all Jewish history, the Jewish psalms, the prophecies and promises to the chosen people. We could not doubt that we were the chosen people ourselves and some attempted to trace our British pedigree to the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel. . . . . Who were the Gentiles but the Indians, Chinese, Negroes, Red Indians and other inferior peoples ? And who were the people of Israel but ourselves ?"

We also come across the exaggerated opinion that Britons entertain about their importance in the scheme of things—recognition of which is demanded in various ways, objectionable and unobjectionable,—in the statements made with regard to the Egyptian nationalists by Lord Cromer. In an address delivered to the Eighty Club and entitled "The Situation in Egypt" published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., in 1908, he refused to recognise the claims of the natives of Egypt to any exclusive right to manage their own affairs. The demand put forward by him was that if at any time Egyptian autonomy became possible, a matter about which he entertained very serious doubts, the Egyptian Government must, in his words, somehow "represent the views and interests of all the inhabitants of the Nile valley." Continuing he urged that if ever there was any Egyptian Parliament,

> "Persons of foreign extraction should be represented on account of their intelligence and the (financial) stake they have in the country."

The Indian contention is that an identical attitude on the part of Britons and the British Parliament had persisted when the former demanded and secured excessive representation in our legislatures and the latter accorded to them financial safeguards under what are known as the anti-discrimination clauses of the Government of India Act, 1935. What India would like to know is whether this will continue when the time comes for the revision of the Indian Constitution. If that is so, it is more than probable that Europeans will continue to be regarded in the same light as at present, as birds of passage the only reason for whose presence here is self-interest.

The advice that the Hindu and the Muslim should enter into some kind of compromise and thus end their differences has been offered more than once by British statesmen and public men in England and by prominent non-official Europeans in India. No doubt this is the one and only satisfactory method of solving the political problem by which we are confronted today. But there is nothing to suggest that it has struck the same people even once that to ensure the disappearance of the conflict between Indian and European economic interests, it is equally necessary that there should be something like an understanding between the contending parties.

If the majority Hindu community is expected to give something more than its dues to the minority Muslim community so as to expedite a compromise, is it not at least arguable that the non-Indian givers of this advice should show the way in such ways as are open to them? One of the most obvious of these would be for this very small and, as the above facts show, this very influential community to at least give up what most Indians consider its special rights and special privileges to only one of which reference has been made in this discussion.

It may be that the non-official Europeans will not admit that they enjoy special rights and special privileges or that they have secured excessive representation in our legislatures. But this should not be allowed to stand in the way once we admit that compromise implies making concessions even when doing so involves financial and political injury. Nor will the advice tendered to the Hindu that he should yield more than his dues to the Muslim when coming from Britons carry much weight so long as they themselves show their unwillingness to follow it.

It is obvious that non-official Europeans will be in a position to carry on their activities indefinitely in India only if they can win the goodwill of the people of this country. One of the best ways of doing so is to voluntarily relinquish the over-representation they were so unwise to demand and the British Parliament so ill-advised to concede. But if non-official Europeans persist in their present attitude of giving advice to Indians which they are not themselves prepared to follow, our reply in the language of the Scriptures would be "Physician heal thyself."

## THE DELUGE AND AFTER

By KALICHARAN GHOSH

THE cup of Bengal's misery is always full and the additional streams, however slender, which discharge their contents intermittently make the cup overflow and inundate the outlying or surrounding tracts. Bengal is a deficit province from the point of her food supply and any additional cause, otherwise negligible, brings about a famine condition in the Province. In fact, the people of the rural areas are half fed, verging on starvation and are always susceptible to malaria and other endemic diseases. It has been truly said that 'malaria is an euphemism for insufficient food and scanty clothing and unfit dwellings.' We have other causes too, epidemic in nature, of high death-rate among the population of Bengal, such as cholera, small pox, dysentery, respiratory and other preventible maladies. They take a huge toll simply because the people have very low power of resistance due to insufficient nutrition derived from unwholesome and scanty food.

Add to this, occasional visitations of famine in all its horror. One may ask, what are the causes of repeated famines in India. The one simple answer is the chronic poverty of the people. Then comes the question what is this poverty of the entire people due to? The explanations that are generally advanced by the Government are that

(*i*) "The population increased very rapidly in Bengal (and India);

(*ii*) "The Indian cultivators are careless and improvident;

(*iii*) "The money-lender is the bane of India; and

(*iv*) "In a country where the people depended al-

most entirely on their crops. they must starve when the crops failed in years of drought."

In answer to such explanations, R. C. Dutt[1] says that 'the population of Bengal (India) never increased at the rate of England,' (*ii*) 'it is known that there is not a more abstemious, a more thrifty, and more frugal race of peasantry on earth.' As regards the money-lenders' influence on the economic life of the peasantry and keeping them 'in a chronic state of indebtedness,' he says that 'the cultivators are forced under the thraldom of money-lenders by the rigidity of the Government revenue demand.' Since the above passage was written, the rural indebtedness has been liquified to a certain extent by the 'Agricultural Debtors Act,' Money Lenders' Act, etc., and long before that the land revenue system had been stabilised to a certain extent by land legislations of various types. As regards the fourth cause, failure of crops in certain areas, it may be said that crops had never failed in a manner that might cause havoc to millions of population. In this connection we must think of the railways, which have been expanded at a huge sacrifice of the taxpayer's money and should meet the deficit from other surplus areas.

The causes mentioned above have been termed 'superficial explanations' of Indian famine by the late R. C. Dutt and he asks, 'What are the true causes of Indian poverty and Indian famines?' [It might be said here that what is true of India is more particularly applicable to conditions in Bengal. and it is safe to deal with the causes of 'poverty and famines' in both Bengal and India in a general way]. Then what are the true causes? In reply, Dutt puts some counter-questions, such as

"Does agriculture flourish? Are industries and manufactures in a prosperous condition? Are the finances properly administered, so as to bring back to the people an adequate return for the taxes paid by them? Are the sources of national wealth widened by a Government anxious for the material welfare of the people?"[2]

In the language of Romesh Chunder Dutt:

"The economic laws which operate in India are the same as in other countries of the world; the causes which lead to wealth among other nations lead to prosperity in India; the causes which impoverish other nations, impoverish the people of India." Further "it is, unfortunately. a fact . . . that, in many ways, the sources of *national wealth in India have been narrowed under British Rule*. India in the eighteenth century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country, and the products of the Indian loom supplied the markets of Asia and Europe. It is, unfortunately, true that the East Indian Company and the British Parliament, . . . discouraged Indian manufacturers in the early years of British Rule in order to encourage the rising manufactures of England. Their fixed policy, . . . was to make India subservient to the industries of Great Britain, and make the Indian people grow raw produce only, in order to supply material for the looms and manufactories of Great Britain. *This policy was pursued with unwavering resolution and with fatal success. . . .*" (Italics mine).

Behind the economic causes mentioned above, other factors perhaps more potent and far-reaching than these and which have been eating into the vitals of the people, reduced Bengal, a 'land overflowing with milk and honey,' to a land of penury, disease and devastation. Eminent people enquiring into the causes of such revolutionary climatic changes in the Province and economic disaster to the people think that an inordinate desire, mainly for military reasons and as an outlet for British capital under a 'guaranteed system,' taking the shape of huge expansion of railways, is the main contributory cause. Then there are high roads and embankments effected without any consideration for the natural courses of rivers and streams, mother 'Nature's own masterful and cunning handiwork,' with the result that the country is occasionally visited, as many as more than dozen times, during the rains, by devastating floods turning it into marshy swamps and dotted with stagnant pools. Dr. Bentley, the then Director of Public Health, Bengal, said about twenty years ago:

"The increase of malarial disease that has taken place in many deltaic areas in Bengal is inextricably bound up with a coincident decline of agricultural production owing to diminished natural irrigation and impoverishment of the soil. The common origin of these associated evils is to be sought in the decay of river systems of the delta tracts, accelerated by the embanking of certain main channels, the mischief being further greatly intensified by the construction of thousands of miles of raised roads and railways." Chas. A. Bentley: *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, p. 65.

He further added:

"Since the flushing of this country has been prevented, agriculture, health and prosperity have suffered. . . ."[3]

The fertility of the soil has been deleteriously affected by the starvation of the manure that was carried in the past by the 'rich red water' of the flood regulated by irrigation canals and now almost choked up by silts accumulating in the course of many neglected years. "*The first thing in Bengal is to give plentifully of the rich red water of the flood and so enrich the soil and combat malaria*," said Sir William Willcocks in 1928.[4]

1. *The Economic History of India (under Early British Rule*'—Preface, vii.
2. *Ibid*, vii.
3. *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, p. 47.
4. Sir William Willcocks: *The Restoration of the Ancient Irrigation of Bengal*, p. 23.

The Indian contention is that an identical attitude on the part of Britons and the British Parliament had persisted when the former demanded and secured excessive representation in our legislatures and the latter accorded to them financial safeguards under what are known as the anti-discrimination clauses of the Government of India Act, 1935. What India would like to know is whether this will continue when the time comes for the revision of the Indian Constitution. If that is so, it is more than probable that Europeans will continue to be regarded in the same light as at present, as birds of passage the only reason for whose presence here is self-interest.

The advice that the Hindu and the Muslim should enter into some kind of compromise and thus end their differences has been offered more than once by British statesmen and public men in England and by prominent non-official Europeans in India. No doubt this is the one and only satisfactory method of solving the political problem by which we are confronted today. But there is nothing to suggest that it has struck the same people even once that to ensure the disappearance of the conflict between Indian and European economic interests, it is equally necessary that there should be something like an understanding between the contending parties.

If the majority Hindu community is expected to give something more than its dues to the minority Muslim community so as to expedite a compromise, is it not at least arguable that the non-Indian givers of this advice should show the way in such ways as are open to them? One of the most obvious of these would be for this very small and, as the above facts show, this very influential community to at least give up what most Indians consider its special rights and special privileges to only one of which reference has been made in this discussion.

It may be that the non-official Europeans will not admit that they enjoy special rights and special privileges or that they have secured excessive representation in our legislatures. But this should not be allowed to stand in the way once we admit that compromise implies making concessions even when doing so involves financial and political injury. Nor will the advice tendered to the Hindu that he should yield more than his dues to the Muslim when coming from Britons carry much weight so long as they themselves show their unwillingness to follow it.

It is obvious that non-official Europeans will be in a position to carry on their activities indefinitely in India only if they can win the goodwill of the people of this country. One of the best ways of doing so is to voluntarily relinquish the over-representation they were so unwise to demand and the British Parliament so ill-advised to concede. But if non-official Europeans persist in their present attitude of giving advice to Indians which they are not themselves prepared to follow, our reply in the language of the Scriptures would be "Physician heal thyself."

## THE DELUGE AND AFTER

By KALICHARAN GHOSH

The cup of Bengal's misery is always full and the additional streams, however slender, which discharge their contents intermittently make the cup overflow and inundate the outlying or surrounding tracts. Bengal is a deficit province from the point of her food supply and any additional cause, otherwise negligible, brings about a famine condition in the Province. In fact, the people of the rural areas are half fed, verging on starvation and are always susceptible to malaria and other endemic diseases. It has been truly said that 'malaria is an euphemism for insufficient food and scanty clothing and unfit dwellings.' We have other causes too, epidemic in nature, of high death-rate among the population of Bengal, such as cholera, small pox, dysentery, respiratory and other preventible maladies. They take a huge toll simply because the people have very low power of resistance due to insufficient nutrition derived from unwholesome and scanty food.

Add to this, occasional visitations of famine in all its horror. One may ask, what are the causes of repeated famines in India. The one simple answer is the chronic poverty of the people. Then comes the question what is this poverty of the entire people due to? The explanations that are generally advanced by the Government are that

(*i*) "The population increased very rapidly in Bengal (and India);

(*ii*) "The Indian cultivators are careless and improvident;

(*iii*) "The money-lender is the bane of India; and

(*iv*) "In a country where the people depended al-

most entirely on their crops. they must starve when the crops failed in years of drought."

In answer to such explanations, R. C. Dutt[1] says that 'the population of Bengal (India) never increased at the rate of England,' (*ii*) 'it is known that there is not a more abstemious, a more thrifty, and more frugal race of peasantry on earth.' As regards the money-lenders' influence on the economic life of the peasantry and keeping them 'in a chronic state of indebtedness,' he says that 'the cultivators are forced under the thraldom of money-lenders by the rigidity of the Government revenue demand.' Since the above passage was written, the rural indebtedness has been liquified to a certain extent by the 'Agricultural Debtors Act,' Money Lenders' Act, etc., and long before that the land revenue system had been stabilised to a certain extent by land legislations of various types. As regards the fourth cause, failure of crops in certain areas, it may be said that crops had never failed in a manner that might cause havoc to millions of population. In this connection we must think of the railways, which have been expanded at a huge sacrifice of the taxpayer's money and should meet the deficit from other surplus areas.

The causes mentioned above have been termed 'superficial explanations' of Indian famine by the late R. C. Dutt and he asks, 'What are the true causes of Indian poverty and Indian famines?' [It might be said here that what is true of India is more particularly applicable to conditions in Bengal and it is safe to deal with the causes of 'poverty and famines' in both Bengal and India in a general way]. Then what are the true causes? In reply, Dutt puts some counter-questions, such as

"Does agriculture flourish? Are industries and manufactures in a prosperous condition? Are the finances properly administered, so as to bring back to the people an adequate return for the taxes paid by them? Are the sources of national wealth widened by a Government anxious for the material welfare of the people?"[2]

In the language of Romesh Chunder Dutt:

"The economic laws which operate in India are the same as in other countries of the world; the causes which lead to wealth among other nations lead to prosperity in India; the causes which impoverish other nations, impoverish the people of India." Further "it is, unfortunately, a fact . . . that, in many ways, the sources of *national wealth in India have been narrowed under British Rule*. India in the eighteenth century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country, and the products of the Indian loom supplied the markets of Asia and Europe. It is, unfortunately, true that the East Indian Company and the British Parliament, . . . discouraged Indian manufacturers in the early years of British Rule in order to encourage the rising manufactures of England. Their fixed policy, . . . was to make India subservient to the industries of Great Britain, and make the Indian people grow raw produce only, in order to supply material for the looms and manufactories of Great Britain. *This policy was pursued with unwavering resolution and with fatal success. . . .*" (Italics mine).

Behind the economic causes mentioned above, other factors perhaps more potent and far-reaching than these and which have been eating into the vitals of the people, reduced Bengal, a 'land overflowing with milk and honey,' to a land of penury, disease and devastation. Eminent people enquiring into the causes of such revolutionary climatic changes in the Province and economic disaster to the people think that an inordinate desire, mainly for military reasons and as an outlet for British capital under a 'guaranteed system,' taking the shape of huge expansion of railways, is the main contributory cause. Then there are high roads and embankments effected without any consideration for the natural courses of rivers and streams, mother 'Nature's own masterful and cunning handiwork,' with the result that the country is occasionally visited, as many as more than dozen times, during the rains, by devastating floods turning it into marshy swamps and dotted with stagnant pools. Dr. Bentley, the then Director of Public Health, Bengal, said about twenty years ago:

"The increase of malarial disease that has taken place in many deltaic areas in Bengal is inextricably bound up with a coincident decline of agricultural production owing to diminished natural irrigation and impoverishment of the soil. The common origin of these associated evils is to be sought in the decay of river systems of the delta tracts, accelerated by the embanking of certain main channels, the mischief being further greatly intensified by the construction of thousands of miles of raised roads and railways." Chas. A. Bentley: *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, p. 65.

He further added:

"Since the flushing of this country has been prevented, agriculture, health and prosperity have suffered. . . ."[3]

The fertility of the soil has been deleteriously affected by the starvation of the manure that was carried in the past by the 'rich red water' of the flood regulated by irrigation canals and now almost choked up by silts accumulating in the course of many neglected years. *"The first thing in Bengal is to give plentifully of the rich red water of the flood and so enrich the soil and combat malaria,"* said Sir William Willcocks in 1928.[4]

1. *The Economic History of India (under Early British Rule*'—Preface, vii.
2. *Ibid*, vii.

3. *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, p. 47.
4. Sir William Willcocks: *The Restoration of the Ancient Irrigation of Bengal*, p. 23.

We have also the views of Sir Arthur Cotton about irrigation, which has been thoroughly neglected, and is one of the main causes of malaria, poverty and famines (in Bengal). Says Sir Arthur Cotton :

"If the careful regulation of water is attended to it answers admirably every requirement of the country, bringing prosperity to the population and revenue to the Government. Its necessary outlay in the cost of works is amply repaid over and over again, not only by the wealth but also the health of the territory where the money is spent."

He was strongly opposed to the extension of Railways in preference to irrigation. His opinion on railways is remarkable :

"Railways do not provide food for man and beast; do not carry the whole traffic of the country, do not carry it cheaply enough; do not pay interest on cost and debt; do not drain the country and do not provide drinking water."

If the mischief is done, it must be the serious attempt of the Government with all its resources to undo it as early as possible. Without seriously tackling the problem of diminishing returns from agriculture, neglect of irrigation and the decaying health of the population it is useless to talk about the prevention of famines in Bengal by any other means.

Says Sir William Willcocks :

"Open up every irrigation canal of 60 years ago and put decent bridges under the railway . . . . and continue the canals through bhil and land, irrigating and blessing and washing out stagnant pools and filthy marshes."[5]

For the benefit of the people and the Government of India Sir William Willcocks further says :

"When reviewing for *Indian Engineering* the work of the Irrigation Commission I noted that the Government of India never identified itself with the people of India, it acted as though it had no duties and no obligations to poverty-stricken people who were often poor owing to the ignorance of the Government itself."[6]

The position of the Government of India, in this respect, "can be compared to the action of the boy who killed his father and mother and then pleaded for special treatment as an orphan." You cannot expect to enrich the people without restoring them to health and you cannot give them health unless you can feed them with what their body wants. In the language of Mr. Whipple :

"Poverty and disease mutually influence each other. We cannot expect to solve the problem by attacking either alone. It is most difficult to separate cause from effect. In fact, *there is a third major factor, which we call ignorance, and three are mutually dependent.*" (Italics mine).

Everybody will agree that under the conditions prevailing in India, famine is but a simple factor for the annihilation of the whole race. It is a slow process of decay only commensurate with the causes that have spread over a century and a half and, may be, just in accordance with a preconceived plan.

R. C. Dutt dealing with the economic decline of India for political reasons remarks :

"Place any other country under the same condition, with crippled industries, with agriculture subject to a heavy and uncertain Land Tax, and with financial arrangements requiring one-half of its revenues to be annually remitted out of the country, and the most prosperous nation on earth will soon know the horrors of famine. A nation prospers if the sources of its wealth are widened, and if the proceeds of taxation are spent among the people, and for the people. A nation is impoverished if the sources of its wealth are narrowed, and the proceeds of taxation are largely remitted out of the country."[7]

Mr. J. Lawrence, C.I.E., Commissioner of Allahabad, asked : "I believe there is very little difference between the poorer classes of the people and semi-starvation; but what is the remedy ?"

The remedies suggested by Mr. Dutt are :

"Retrenchment is the first remedy;
"Promotion of Agricultural Wealth is the second
"Revival of the National Industries of the people is the third remedy. India never depended on agriculture alone under Hindu and Mahomedan rule; India cannot prosper on agriculture alone under British rule."[8]

We may add as corollaries : Reduction in the cost of administration; improvement in the health of the people and of the plants are other remedies requiring immediate attention. "Anaemic plants and anaemic men go together." Improve the condition of both by proper flushing of the country. Due to agricultural decline, and of anaemic fodder, and also perhaps due to malaria and a general deterioration of the health of the country, the cattle population of Bengal has become extremely weak the maintenance of which is daily becoming uneconomic both as plough cattle and the milch cow.

With this background one should try to find out the causes of each individual case of famine that has visited the land during the British rule in India from 1770 to 1943.

The causes that have led to the disaster of 1943 have been stated separately by the Secretary of State, Mr. Amery, Mr. Suhrawardy,

5. *Ibid*, p. 19.
6. *Ibid*, p. 13.
7. *The Economic History of India*, p. xiii.
8. *Ibid*, 436, 437.

the Civil Supplies Member, Bengal, and Mr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of Food, Government of India. These are the main defenders of the Government while a brilliant galaxy of Food Members of the Government of India and other Government supporters have advanced causes that are more or less akin to one another and/or rather explanations for individual conduct chiefly to exonerate himself and to "shroud himself in a white sheet of innocence." In this famine, the Central Government, more than anybody else, must own its share of responsibility. The countless and helpless millions have been taught by regulations, enactments, ordinances, etc., to look upon the Government as their "Ma-Bap." The Central Government was the sole competent authority in matters relating to price-control, restriction on movements of vehicles, inflation, transport, export and import policy, military purchases, political and social security, etc. The Denial Policy and the Boat Control Order are the outcome of Central Government Commands. One knows, on the authority of Mr. Hosain Imam M.L.C. (Central), that the Bengal Government Ministers were forced to say that there was no cause of alarm,—their being sufficiency of foodgrains in the Province,—under the direction of the Food Department. (Can there be a greater slur on the Ministers who act in this fashion and cling to their posts for prestige and personal gains!) This famine has been declared as "quite fundamentally different in character from any famine anywhere at any time in British history in the past" (B. R. Sen). It is true; because nowhere nobody has ever seen war efforts progressing in full swing without any arrangements being måde for food for civil population. It was really military strategy of a high order to move military supplies without making any room for carrying ration. One may be tempted to ask, what was the quantity destroyed by crop pests and cyclone, and what proportion they bear to the ultimate requirements for the civil and military population? Why is any governmental machinery—the costliest institution in the world for the poorest people on the face of the earth,—necessary if nature and chance can work with a method for the feeding of the people and the successful termination of the war?

With the background of ruined industries, declining health and agriculture, extravagant and costly governmrent,' mounting ignorance, causes much lighter than war might have caused the famine of 1943. To add to the general confusion, the "Executive Councillors, Ministers, permanent Secretaries and so forth, with more concern apparently for their reputations and prospects than for the public weal, all striving to pass from one to another responsibility" have contributed, "through complacency and misjudgment, greed and myopia" to what has "now become an obvious all-India catastrophe." "This sickening catastrophe is man-made," wrote the *Statesman* on the 23rd September (1943). The previous famines originating primarily from calamities of nature bear but poor resemblance to the present. The local misfortunes, such as cyclone in Midnapore, flood in the south-west Bengal, etc. "cannot account for a tithe of the present dreadful sufferings." The *Statesman* pertinently asks: "What the Province's state would now be had drought been added to Governmental bungling?" Certainly it "is an appalling thought." Loss of imports from Burma is a big factor no doubt; the rapid growth of population and sudden influx of a very large number of men might have caused internal stresses; but they are just like a drop in the ocean.

The largest factor has "outstandingly" been "a shameful lack of foresight and planning capacity of India's own civil Governments, Central and Provincial." Goes on the *Statesman*:

> "We say with deliberation that the present Bengal famine constitues the worst and most reprehensible administrative breakdown in India since 1930-31. Government, despite its ramshackle structure, has since that date acquired impressive aptitude for handling political troubles. . . . . But it has broken down heavily over a primary economic obligation. The fundamental error was made of stumbling half-heartedly into a policy of controlling food and other commodities, while looking yearningly backward towards free trade, without establishing beforehand the executive machinery by which the controls could be enforced. A spate of paper orders poured from Secretariats, signifying in practice little or nothing, and making Government's fair name a laughing-stock. For more than a year there has been not the least evidence of the authorities having any grip on the war-threatened Eastern Provinces' accelerating food-shortage and soaring prices. Each ugly step towards the actuality of famine has found them staggering along several moves in the rear."

And to the rear the Governmental machinery moved. In every sphere it has moved backward when a forward step, taken successively one after the other, might have removed the perennial causes of famine making it easier for them to tackle the immediate causes that cropped up with the war.



ı oil-painted frieze of a hunting scene on the wall of "Jag-nivas" Palace at Udaipur

# CHITRASALAS

## Picture Galleries of Ancient India

BY WAHIDA AZIZ

THE history of the art of painting in India is a very long one. The want of actual and convincing records makes it impossible to trace that history from the earliest times. There are a few remains of the pre-Buddhist art of painting and it is only from these that the modern student of Indian art appreciates the style of the early Indian artists and makes a fair estimate of the degree of proficiency and excellence attained by them.

Of the earliest paintings, we have life histories—important incidents in one's life—painted to adorn the Chitrasala and we have an instance of it in the *Uttara-Ramacharita* that bases itself in this particular instance on the sloka of *Raguvamsa* for this idea. Scenes from Damayanti's life are painted similarly in Kundinapura. Though not in the Chitrasala, we have a similar painting of life incidents in the pictures of Parasurama executed on the Vimana of Indra.

'Sringara' pictures that are generally to be found in any Chitrasala be it public, private, or royal, are described at length in the *Naishadhiyacharita* wherein Sri Harsha states the love of sages and their amours with celestial damsels as the subjects of exquisite pictures adoring the Chitrasala of the imperial palace of Nala. Similarly, pictures of Kamadeva were kept in bedrooms and were painted in other places too.

Bana gives us some idea of the pictures kept in public galleries. Demigods like Nagas, Suras, Asuras, Yakshas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas and so forth appear to have been prominently represented. Designs of lovely creepers and such other decorative foliage in divers hues seem to have added to the collections of the picture houses. Apart from these, animal and bird studies appear to have been a distinct feature in the art galleries as is evidenced by *Kadambari* and other works, and elephants were favourite subjects with the artists.

### AJANTA FRESCOES

These are, however, the records that we find in books, but the paintings at Ajanta are the oldest specimens of Indian pictorial art which are in existence. Hence they bear ample direct testimony to the continuity of an earlier pictorial tradition.

The Ajanta paintings were executed on the walls, ceilings and pillars of the rock-cut Chaityas or halls of Buddhist worship and Viharas or monastic retreats and apartments. The earliest of these caves have been reasonably assumed to date from 200 B.C. Others which show the early Hinayana form of Buddhism cover a period of about three and a half centuries from 200 B.C. to 150 A.D.

The paintings are not necessarily of exactly the same date as the caves where they are painted. The oldest ones are said to belong to the beginning of the Christian era and the latest ones to the middle of the 7th century. The earliest owe their excellence to the Andhra kings

of the Deccan, while the majority of these, still extant, are credited to the patronage of the Chalukya kings (550-542) after which there seems to be a complete deadlock in this Buddhist ritualistic art-culture.



A beautiful Sigiria fresco of Ceylon

Some of the Ajanta paintings are of great historical interest. One such depicts the life history of King Vijaya of Ceylon. The painting shows him seated on an elephant attended by some of his followers. He is wearing a crown, an insignia of his royal lineage and an umbrella held over his head. The background is studded with glittering spear-heads and cross flights of arrows and chakras which make it very expressly suggestive of active warfare. The picture represents several 'Yakkhinis' fighting. They have tusks, long dishevelled hair adorned with some ornaments.

There are a number of other paintings of historical interest of a quite different nature. They are supposed to be representations of the reception of a Persian embassy of Khusru II in the court of Pulakesi in the 7th century. It is a pity that the bulk of these beautiful art-treasures is now lost and it cannot be ascertained how many more pictures of historic interest and importance once decorated these walls and ceilings.

### Much Damaged

Similar paintings are to be found elsewhere in many places, but the hand of vandalism has been busy with the result that some of the frescoes, which sparkled with life till recently, can hardly be recognised now in their entirety. A few beautiful examples are still intact at Sittanavasal, the home of Jain art and culture, a fairly well-known town in Puddukota State. The biggest is on the ceiling of the verandah, and some others on pillars. The former, being comparatively inaccessible, is not much damaged by mischievous hands as the latter.

The outline of the fresco is in red and in some parts black. Among other colours used are blue, yellow and white, as well as combinations of orange, green, purple and pink. The technique adopted seems to be 'fresco bono,' as it is known in Italy, several layers of paint being superimposed on a wet surface



A beautiful mosaic of an elephant and a horse guarding an entrance to the Maharaja's Chambers in Jaipur

specially prepared, to impart permanence to the frescoes.

The fresco of the 'Dancing Lady' on the pillar possesses marvellous grace and the lady's attitude is a study in itself. The remarkable ability with which her form has been defined has led some people to admire more the excellence of the line-work than the colours composing them. One other painting which merits attention is the portrait of an Indian king, which is described as being quite as good as those at Ajanta.



The fresco of the Dancing Lady at Sittanavasal. Its technique is that of *fresco bono,* as it is called in Italy

Passing on from India to Ceylon, we find some of the most beautiful art-treasures in temples depicting Buddhist legends. The most famous of all are the paintings of Sigiria, which belong to the 7th century, and those of Demala Mahaseya, at Pollonarawa, of the 12th century. These wall-paintings are of different kinds, done on the bare wall without any previous preparation. The colour is mixed with gum, so that it may stick to the wall. It is noteworthy that in Ceylon, starch is generally used as the medium.

The frescoes of Sigiria are well-preserved, while the paintings of Demala Mahaseya were destroyed and have recently been recovered from the debris of the fallen roof. The latter are drawn in coloured frescoes with naturalness, sympathy and technique that tell the story with unerring fidelity. They rival the best at Ajanta.

### Mediaeval Paintings

Of the mediaeval picture galleries, there are no better than the wall paintings of Fatehpur Sikri. Seeing them, one tends to substantiate the theory that Akbar employed, amongst others, Chinese artists upon the embellishment of his buildings. The chief figure, in this palace, almost without doubt, represents Buddha. He is clad in a robe of vermilion and gold, and seated beneath a dagoba (shrine), the sides and bottom of which are of white bamboo. The figure depicts the Chinese idea of Buddha, as Yamatanka, condemning the enemies of Buddhism to eternal punishment. It is the first instance on record of Akbar having concerned himself with Buddhistic doctrines.

A painting on one of the other windows reveals a rock-cave, within which is an angel holding a new-born babe in his arms. The figure is very well drawn, and the flowing robes are of gold, blue and red fastened round the waist by a long white girdle. Another represents a boating scene, but only the outline of the boat is visible. There is a sailor, clad in 'dhoti' and 'pagri,' and it is strange how much darker he is than the men below, who, from their general appearance and costume, belong to the upper classes.

One can hardly judge how rich India is in these picture galleries; and yet, strange to say, many people have the slightest idea that anything of the kind exists. 'They who seek find,' and on careful examination it will be found that many of the temples, caves, palaces and private apartments are just as rich in colour ornamentation as those of the ancient treasures of bygone India.

# FARMING IN WAR-TIME BRITAIN

By J. WENTWORTH DAY

In the following article, the writer, who has recently toured Britain in order to see for himself exactly what is being done to re-establish British agriculture, explains how Britain's farmers are being assisted and encouraged by the Government.

Great Britain, by virtue of her temperate climate and the natural richness of her soil, can grow almost anything. The diversity of soil values is amazing. The county of Somerset, for example, contains more varied types of soil than five thousand square miles of the great Russian wheat lands.



It shows a machine which mechanically plants seedlings. All the girls need to do is to take the seedlings and place them in the "hopper"

There are in England and Wales 38,132,688 acres (15,432,087 hectares) of land of which only 24,710,574 acres (10,000,233 hectares) were cultivated under crops and grass before the war. The rest was mountain, moorland, bog, sandy heaths and, alas, derelict farms, which had succeeded twenty years of adverse farming conditions.

There are about 380,000 farmers in England, of whom 88% farm less than 200 acres. About half of them own their own land. The proportion of owner-farmers, it is interesting to note, increased by more than 30% after the war of 1914-18, when death duties and the temporary boom in the value of agricultural land in 1919-21, caused many land-owners to sell their ancient estates.

Just before the present war began, the average level of British farming had fallen so low that when Cambridge University conducted an examination into the books and training methods of 200 farmers, none of whom farmed more than 200 acres, it was shown conclusively that the average net income of each farmer was 18 shillings per week—less than the wages he had to pay his own labourers. These varied in all counties, but were never less than from 25 shillings to 40 shillings per week.

To-day, the farm labourer is paid a Government-guaranteed minimum of 60 shillings per week. If he is a special worker—shepherd, cowman, tractor-driver for instance—he may earn five or six pounds a week.

The farmer's prices are guaranteed and controlled. He is offered all sorts of assistance, varying from cash credits to the use of tractors and free advice on crop growing and cattle breeding. But he cannot make excessive profits. The incidence of taxation is such that it is reasonable to say that no farmer can make more than £1,500 a year—not a bad living when it is considered that he lives on and from the farm, has all the amenities of country life, and can include his motor car and horse as part of his working expenses.



This tractor is being used for tilling land hitherto covered with woodland shrubs

The methods by which British farming has met the vast problem of feeding the greater part of the nation are roughly summarised as follows :

(*a*) Mechanised farming, using caterpillar and wheeled tractors with three, four and five furrow ploughs, disc-harrows, the latest type of combine harvesters, and the use, where feasible, of deep "digger" single furrow ploughs which dig up and disturb sub-soil which on many farms had never been touched before.



Farmers are being instructed in a method of turning wheat-chaff—formerly regarded as waste material—into a valuable animal foodstuff

(*b*) The proper maintenance of livestock, cattle, sheep and pigs, and the use of their dung and feet to enrich the soil and break up its surface.

(*c*) The compulsory growing of primary crops such as potatoes, sugar-beet and corn, and the adoption of Continental methods of *petit culture* for vegetables and some fruit.

(*d*) Government supervision of all farms by a field-to-field survey and the issuing of detailed orders to each farmer to ensure the growth of the right quota of priority crops, beef, muttom, pork, milk and vegetables needed by the nation. This system has already been tried out with great success in Hampshire and, as the Minister of Agriculture recently announced, will shortly be applied to every other country.



A County War Agricultural Committee is seen touring rich wheat-fields covering what was, not very long ago, derelict land

This last system is operated in the following way. Each farm is surveyed and mapped, and each field numbered according to the Ordnance Survey. The farmer is then given the map and asked to fill up a form showing his two previous years' croppings. He is then told to raise enough live-stock to maintain soil fertility by providing dung, to grow enough crops to feed them, and, after that, to grow priority crops such as corn, sugar-beet and potatoes. Other crops can be grown when he has fulfilled the priority needs.

Farmers are divided into three classes, A, B, and C—good, average and bad. Class A farmers are merely given a summary of the priority crops which the nation needs from them and are left to get on with the job themselves. Class B farmers are encouraged by being given a more detailed summary of the production needed from them. If necessary, trained advisers and agricultural scientists are sent to help them with practical guidance. Machinery is avialable for everybody on application to the local War Agricultural Committee which keeps a stock of tractors and other implements. Class C farmers are *ordered* to do the job. If they fail, trey are put out of their farms. So far, in the county of Hampshire, one per cent of C class farmers have been discovered—a high tribute to the industry.

The system is locally administered in each county, but it is laid down that no local farmer or resident who serves on the administrative side of the survey may survey farms in his own

area. He has to go elsewhere, but to a type of land which is similar to that of which he has had expert experience. It will be seen that the method of administration is sympathetic rather than coercive.

One of the most interesting war-time experiments has been that of the Duke of Grafton, who, on his estate at Euston Hall, Suffolk, has ploughed up hundreds of acres of poor, sandy land which had never before been farmed. It was so valueless before the war that it was let as a rabbit warren at only 2s. 6d. an acre when good farmland rents elsewhere varied from 15 shillings to £2 an acre.



Even the smaller and rockier islands off the coast of Britain are now being used for producing a record harvest. Here both tractor and horses are employed to prepare the land for autumn sowing

The Duke first of all cut down, and then ploughed in, bracken which was growing eight feet high and is now farming on the principle of putting in corn crops two years running, then lucerne for five years, and then corn again. He grazes sheep on the land at regular intervals and says that sheep dung and water is the finest tonic for shady land and that the lucerne will provide it with a humus or " body " to carry on with. He has produced ten sacks of rye and ten sacks of barley to the acre—probably the most amazing war-time experiment of all in light land farming.

To give one example of the diversity of crops grown on one big English farm, Lord Eltisley cultivates 1,200 acres under corn, 300 acres of beans, 100 acres of fruit trees with roots, kale, cabbages, brussel sprouts, blackcurrants, asparagus, sugar-beet, flax, onions, peas, potatoes, clover and carrots, and keeps pigs and cattle..

England is putting food and the winning of the war before historic beauty and her historic love of sport.

## BRITISH FARM WORKERS

### Solving the Man-Power Problem

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

**A large amount of the credit for the enormous revival in Britain's agriculture must go to various groups of people or individuals previously unacquainted with agricultural work. They have given up their free time in order to help farmers deal with their increased crops.**

Hitler's threat that he would starve Britain out was not mere Nazi bluff. He meant every word of it; and he believed it was in his power to tighten the Atlantic blockade to such an extent that Britain would starve. Orders were given for the building of a submarine fleet more numerous and powerful than that Germany possessed at any time in the last war. That the U-boat threat is a potent one can be clearly discerned in the public utterance of responsible Allied statesmen.

Thus a great burden has been thrown on the shoulders of the British farmer, in fact greater than ever before in the history of agriculture.

His problems are many and diverse, but in view of the number of young farm workers now in the armed forces, the labour question is one that thrusts itself continually upon his attention.



A group of members from a Cycling Club is seen arriving to help a farmer near one of Britain's industrial cities

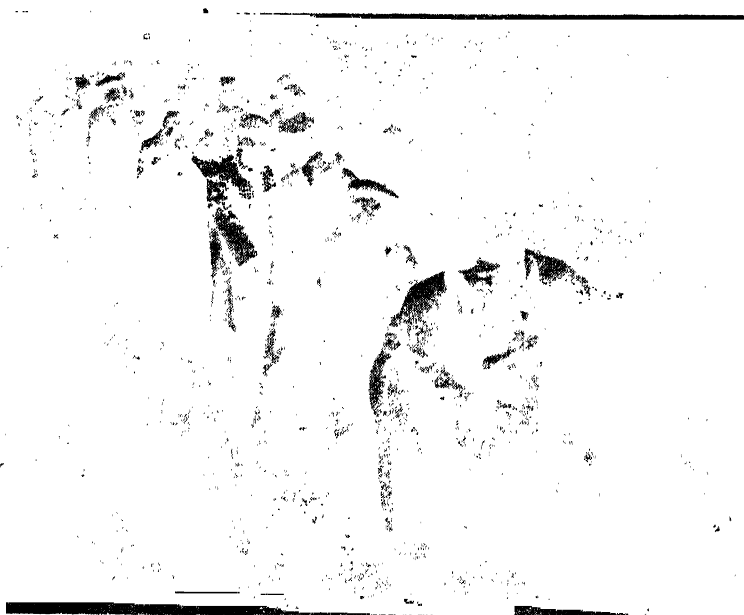
And yet, in spite of what would be regarded in peace time as a shortage of manpower on the land, British farmers last year gathered in the greatest harvest within living memory. How this was achieved, and how the great agricultural drive is being intensified, can be explained only by the energetic way in which all available help for work on the land has been organised.

The number of different types of workers busy on British farms throughout the year is surprising. There is a good nucleus of pre-war farm labourers—men who have been brought up on the land and know the ways of their own soil. Beside them, you will see today the girls of Women's Land Army, whose green jerseys strike a distinctive note of colour in village streets. There were 18,000 of them in the last war; but now there are well over 60,000.

The Land Army girls are not the only women workers to be seen in the fields. There are many thousands of other women of all ages, a large proportion of them being the wives and daughters of the farmers themselves and of their farm-labourers. Of these, many are working continually on the land from January to December. But a proportion of them, particularly those with other urgent duties, help only in seasonable work—at harvest time, for example, and when the root crops are being lifted. They thus form a useful, and indeed vital, reserve of labour upon which the farmer can call when the need arises.

Thousands of old-age pensioners have rejoiced at the chance to go back on the land and show that they can do their duty at the plough and at other tasks. These pensioners had felt before the war that they were on the shelf; but they are now proving that the old muscels are still tough, and they are glad to be playing an important part in the great drive to grow more food on British farms.

Among others whose help might be regarded as seasonable are the school-children. In 1942 there were 40 harvest camps in England and Wales, and many thousands of school boys devoted their holidays to helping in the harvest



This photograph shows a typical group of local part-time helpers in Britain's agricultural drive

fields. Adults also had their holiday camps, which functioned from May to October, and many city workers spent their summer vacations working on farms.

Strangers in London have usually a good word to say for the London police; this fine body of men has also shown an eagerness to help by volunteering to spend periods of leave working on the land. Many London policemen were, of course, country-bred, and are familiar with most of the work to which they are turning their hands while on leave.

The Volunteer Land Corps is a semi-official body that is strong in certain parts of the country, particularly in the North of England. This Corps consists of people who have volunteered to give up their week-ends and other leisure time in order to do land work. The system works efficiently.

Farmers make application to the local headquarters of the Corps, and volunteers are sent out in groups—sometimes of 30 or 40 workers—to help at times when speed is vital. This Land Corps is organised for local requirements, and volunteers are not asked to work far away from their homes. The farmers pay them the standard rate of wages, but workers often pool their wages and give them to the Red Cross. In addition, thousands of men and women from unexpected corners of the community have come forward to offer their services; and at the headquarters of the Ministry of Agriculture there has been a stream of letters and phone calls from individuals who have been eager to spend their leisure hours helping to grow more food.

It is by this nation-wide effort on the land that the acreage under the plough has risen from 12,000,000 to 18,000,000 acres, with an additional 500,000 acres that the Minister of Agriculture called for. Arable farming requires a good deal more labour than grass-milk farming; moreover, much of this new acreage under the plough includes large tracts of land—in the Fen country, near the east coast, for example—which required reclamation and drainage. On the grass-land that remains, a more than normal amount of labour is being expended so that it will produce the maximum yield in grass and hay.

The achievement has been described by Mr. Hudson, Minister of Agriculture, as "staggering." Germany has often claimed to be the greatest organising nation in the world; but the stepping-up of efficiency in British agriculture, as shown by statistics of production, is a clear indication that the democracies can organise on an immense national scale; and the manpower problem of British farms is being solved by the resolute will of the British people.

## HOW INDIA CAN RECLAIM 170 MILLION FRESH ACRES

**From Swords to Ploughshares**

BY DR. MACLAGAN GORRIE

How the weapons of war may serve the needs of peace was described by Dr. Maclagan Gorrie of the Indian Forest Service in a paper which he read before the Crops and Soils Wing of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research at Baroda this month.

Dr. Gorrie, who is at present Director of Woodware in the Suppply Department, was speaking on the scope of absorbing demobilized soldiers on the land.

He estimated that with large-scale planning and in concert with Central and Provincial Governments, the Army, the returned soldier, and soil conservation specialists in the Provinces, some 170 million acres of *barani* land (land dependent on rains alone and not on irrigation) and waste could be brought into full cultivation.

He recalled that in the Tennessee Valley (U. S. A.) a Central Authority with autocratic control, "literally worked miracles in improving the status of what was in 1934 a bankrhpt and down-at-heel agricultural community. When it was started in 1934. the American soil conservation programme gained much ground with doubting farmers when they were offered a free labour force to work for them whenever they agreed to have their farm run on a five year plan."

The days of miracles, Dr. Gorrie said, were not past, and "India can make every one of its villages fit for heroes to live in if it follows the Tennessee Valley Authority's example."

The chief point of his scheme was to ask for the co-operation of the Army—the Engineer-

in-Chief's Machinery Companies, Pioneer Companies, and other Army units.

He said, "the Army already possessed very large forces of men trained to tractor driving and also has machinery suitable for the purpose in road-graders and other earth-moving machinery. These could be employed by lending units and their machinery to Provincial Governments for definite projects in districts which have appreciable numbers of demobilized men returning to them."



Country left literally as bare as a desert and eroding fast, the result of persistent goat browsing, can be made productive if it is closed to grazing and contour-trenched (S. E. of Rawalpindi)

"Much of the realignment of sloping lands could be done by bull dozers and road grader machines. The only additional machinery required would be trailer ploughs capable of subsoil ploughing. This could readily be made up in local workshops, copying the type already in use in the Ingram Estate at Palwal. The tractor power can be provided by Bren Carriers if tractors are not available."

Confining his proposals to non-irrigated lands, Dr. Gorrie estimated that out of 13 million acres of *barani* cultivation and 14 million acres of uncultivated waste in the Punjab, possibly 16 million acres were capable of a higher standard of land use, but only after a great deal of terracing, ridging and subsoil ploughing. From 4 million acres of "current fallow" and possibly 6 million acres of land under intermittent cultivation and taking only half of this, he estimated there was an overall total of improveable land of 21 million acres in the Punjab alone.

Similarly in the U. P. and C. P. and the drier parts of Bombay and Madras and in the broken country of Bihar, taking 10 per cent of the net sown area, half of the current fallow, half of the cultivable waste, a quarter of the non-available waste and 10 per cent of the village forest land, he calculated that a total of 140 million acres for British India and 30 million for the Indian States of improveable land existed.

Dr. Gorrie emphasised three things. Firstly, the improvement of land already cultivated by consolidation of holdings—which he described as a long-term project—and 'collective attack.' He explained that the technique of water conservation field by field on *barani* land and particularly on the gently rolling slopes of badly eroded uplands could not be handled effectively by single cultivators and must be on a community basis.



Contour trenches dug in the Hoshiarpur Siwaliks. The response of the natural grasses to the extra water supply by these contour trenches is truly astonishing

The second point was the extension of fresh cultivation. Throughout our rolling uplands there are many large blocks of land now practically unproductive which could be planned afresh in terms of run-off control, alignment of field terraces and subsoil ploughing. Collective action under the control and assistance of

Government was the only way to ensure success.

Thirdly, there was the question of preparation of "bad lands" for cultivation. The extreme type of derelict lands is seen in the "bad lands" and the northern slopes of the Jhelum salt range and the Rawalpindi districts where whole tracts of country are so cut up by gullying as to be quite beyond re-conditioning, except by the most heroic measures. But even the worst areas of deeply gullied uplands can be brought once again under the plough by the use of mechanical tractors, road-graders, bull dozers, heavy subsoil ploughs and even, where necessary, by the use of explosives.



Common grazing lands now smothered by shifting sands can be greatly improved by ridges ploughed at right angles to the prevailing wind and planted with grass and trees (near Campbellpur)

## THE LATE MAHARAJAH OF DEWAS 2

By the untimely death of Sadashiv Rao Khase Sahib Pawar, the Maharajah of Dewas Junior, (on 2 Dec. 1943) India has suffered a loss the gravity of which is hardly realised outside the circle that knew him. After a good education in India, he was reading for the Bar examination in London, when he was recalled home to work as Diwan of his paternal State under his elder brother (1914-17). This was followed by seventeen years of work as Home Member of the Gwalior Government, where his activity and enlightened spirit of looking forward made him start or support a large number of the most interesting and helpful schemes of popular uplift. Indeed, in the work of modernisation for which H. H. Sindhia's Government is now famous, Khase Sahib bore no small part. Coming to occupy his eldest brother's throne (1934) he initiated a representative Council in his own State, and taking a wider vision, put himself heart and soul into two schemes, which but for him would have remained still in the realm of abstract theory. They are (1) the amalgamation of the Maratha and Rajput ruling clans and (2) social and political uplift and union of the scattered and somnolent Rajputs all over India. On this subject he issued a valuable book of historical information (in English, Hindi, and Marathi) proving, on the highest authority available in India, that "the Rajputs and the Marathas are one." A monthly magazine bearing the title "Maratha-Rajput," was issued by him from Dewas and is now in its 3rd year. We pray that his good work may not suffer in his absence.

At Gwalior he won the fullest confidence both of His late Highness Sir Madhavrao Scindia whom he regarded as his Guru, and the



Sadashiv Rao Pawar, Maharajah of Dewas 2

people of the Gwalior State. The following institutions owe their existence and prosperity more or less fully to his efforts and his name is

sure to endure so long as these institutions exist : New Hospital building at Ujjain, Colonies for the Criminal Tribes, the Museum, Gwalior Sports Association, Lunatic Asylum at Lashkar, Rajput Hitakarini Sabha, Maternity Homes at Mandsur, Shivpuri, Agar, Bhilsa and other places, Gwalior Medical Association, starting of travelling dispensaries, Child Welfare Centres and various funds etc., etc. After less than ten years of his reign, Dewas J. B. of to-day is an altogether different State from what he succeeded to. The revenue is now three times as much. There is social legislation in force in Dewas J. B. which is not to be found elsewhere. The industrialisation of the State has been unusually rapid and a whole host of new social and administrative activities, too numerous to be mentioned in detail, has come into being.

Khase Sahib took an energetic part in many activities of an all-India character. He presided over the All-India Maratha Educational Conference in 1917 and originated the idea of having an All-India Memorial in the name of Shivaji the Great. The Shri Shivaji Preparatory School at Poona and the Statue of Shivaji—are the outcome of his efforts and perseverance to no small extent. His Highness also presided over the Kurmi Kshatriya Conference in Bihar in 1925 and 1933. In 1925 he offered himself as a candidate for the Bombay Legislative Council on behalf of the Poona Rural Constituency and became a member of that Legislative Council. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes till his death and the President of the All-India Maratha League. The C. I and Other States Group which has a membership of nearly 60 States and which has its office at Dewas J. B. is more or less wholly the product of his initiative and efforts.

---

# A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FOR INDIA

By Mrs. RENUKA RAY, M.L.A. (Central)

Post-war reconstruction and planning are in the air today and are engaging the attention of thinking men and women in many parts of the world. A recent move in this direction is discernible in India also, but the pre-requisite for such a planning is a national outlook based upon the real interest of the people of the country. This can only be undertaken by those who consider planning economic, social and educational from the angle of what should be, and not what it will cost. No doubt expenditure and cost are matters of primary importance and to put in a plan or scheme into operation and ensure its success, money will have to be found. But if any plan of reconstruction is considered to be an essential condition for the advance and the growth of a people, no matter what it costs, it will doubly repay itself not only in terms of human welfare but ultimately even from the narrower consideration of profit.

It is a matter of doubt whether under the present circumstances it will be possible to draw up an entire plan of reconstruction for India in all its aspects. As I have said before, it is only those who can tackle the problem from an essentially nationalistic point of view, one that will really benefit the people for whom it is intended, who can hope to achieve any measure of success. However, the post-war plan for education that has already been drawn up by Mr. Sargent and which is under consideration of the Central Advisory Board of Education, is one, which will fulfil the requirements of the India of the future, and should be acceptable to any machinery of government which has a socialistic outlook and wants the benefits of education to reach the entire people. Minor changes or adjustments may be needed to supplement the plan but in the main it is bound to be acceptable. As the introduction to the memorandum has made it clear, this plan includes the immediate provision of a national system. To quote the report, "Such a system predicates that all children must receive enough education to earn a living as well as to discharge their duty as citizens and those with the requisite capacity further trained to fill positions of responsibility in all walks of life."

It is hardly necessary to mention that the present educational system in this country is not only confined to the few but even such as it is, it is entirely unsuited and fundamentally unsound. A national system cannot be built up by enlarging or modifying the present educational structure. The latter will have to be scrapped and entire new system introduced. An educational system has to be developed which while drawing the best from those countries which have evolved satisfactory educational methods, is yet based on the fundamental needs

of India. A perusal of this memorandum will show that those who have been responsible for drawing it up are fully conscious and alive to this. The memorandum has dealt exhaustively with the needs and basic requirements of basic education, pre-basic education, high-school education, university education, technical commercial and art education, adult education in the fullest sense, the training and payment of teachers, the health of the school children, the education of the physically and mentally handicapped and lastly the question of administration.

The Central Advisory Board of Education in India has in recent years spent a good deal of thought and time in regard to educational planning and it will be found that this memorandum is largely based on the findings of the Board on the various stages of education. The chapter on basic education is built upon the findings of the two Committees on basic education set up by the Board in 1938 and 1939 to discuss the Wardha Scheme, and Dr. Zahir Hussain who drew up the Wardha Scheme was also a member of these Committees. The first requisite is necessarily compulsory and free education in the primary stage from the age of 6 to the age of 14, which must be an essential feature of any scheme of education in this country. The other is learning through activity and basic crafts and the need of laying stress on environment on which the Wardha Scheme itself is based, but which today is also recognised as the best method by educationalists in all countries which have progressed in regard to educational method. It follows that the medium of instruction must also be the Vernacular. Basic education has been divided into two stages—covering 5 years from age 6 to 11 and the senior basic covering the next 3 years. This education upto the age of 14 is the national minimum to enable boys and girls to have sufficient education to be useful citizens. Provision is also made for further education through recreative and social activities until such time at least as it will be possible to raise the minimum age of compulsory education to 16. The memorandum has drawn up a detailed statement of cost which approximates 200 crores for the basic stage of education—the most essential stage in regard to the vast majority of the population. This may seem a large figure under present conditions but with the very large population of school-going age, it is in fact a very moderate estimate. It goes without saying that economic advance and progress is entirely impossible without widespread education amongst the people and over a long period, the cost of training citizens will be found to be one which will more than pay itself in the tremendous impetus it will give in increasing the latent national wealth of the country.

Turning to high-school education the memorandum says, "It is relevant to point out that since in future the cost of high-school education will be met largely out of public funds and only partially from fees, every high-school pupil will to some extent be a scholarship holder and it is in the public interest to ensure that the pupils admitted are those most likely to take fullest advantage of the education provided, and so prove a remunerative investment on the part of the community." From the point of view of the State, it is not for those who necessarily come of more wealthy parentage but for all those children who have ability and promise that post-primary education after the senior basic stage is necessary. The memorandum suggests that a selective procedure should be instituted after the junior basic stage at the age of 11 and the abler children enter high schools at this stage while those who will finish their school career at 14 should go on to the senior basic schools. As a great deal depends on the selective test at this stage, due consideration has been given to this question. It has been suggested that previous school records and consultations between the headmasters of schools and inspectors should take place in drawing up lists of examinees, but the test will still be open to all inasmuch as parents who desire it will have the right of having their children included in these lists if they are not there in the first place. At such an early stage the actual test must be one rather of intelligence than of actual attainment. The whole matter of the technique examinations is one which is now engaging the attention of the Central Advisory Board of Education and in view of this the memorandum rightly points out that it has outlined a selective procedure but some method may be found which will be even more suitable. The main points are, that a careful selection must be made based on ability and also that a sufficient number of free places in high schools must be provided for the children of poor parents who are able to pass the selective test and who show promise. This is the only way that we can ensure that higher education goes to those who will be capable of holding posts of responsibility and be an asset to the nation. No doubt this may create some consternation amongst wealthy parents but they are always at liberty to establish private schools for their less bright children but it would be a

tremendous wastage for the State to even partially undertake their further education.

The number of children receiving high-school education should approximately be one in every five of the approximate age group and it is necessary that there should be a sufficient number of high schools to meet this need. Those who are fearful in regard to the selective procedure should remind themselves that this will mean that a far larger proportion of children will receive high-school education than in present circumstancê. The memorandum has discussed the two essential types of high schools that will be needed—the academic and the technical. Both types of high schools must of course endeavour to give a sound all-round education but there must be some preparation in each type particularly in the higher classes for the career the pupil will take up on leaving school. The estimated net annual cost of the high school system of education is 6 crores which is based on minimum requirements.

Turning to University education all educationists in this country will agree that the present system has in many aspects been a complete failure. From the time of Macaulay onwards, it has been pointed out that it is a training for clerkship that education in this country has stressed and this has naturally had its effects on higher education with the gravest consequences. There are of course indications in more recent time of changes, but in spite of this the defects remain. It is hardly necessary to mention that a process of pure cramming cannot produce thinkers and leaders. Hundreds of graduates are being turned out by these universities, who cannot fit into any economic sphere and it has resulted not only in the creation of misfits but in the glaring unemployment that is faced by the middle class in this country. No doubt with an entire re-orientation of the lower stages of education, many of the defects that now exist will disappear, but some amount of planning in regard to university education too is required. The first requisite will be the need of raising the standard of entrance to a university, so that all students who enter universities will be in a position to take advantage of higher education. This will not mean the curtailment of the numbers who will go in for university education in comparison with present standards. On the other hand, it will mean a much larger number approximately 2,40,000 who will be in a position to derive the benefits of university education, *i.e.*, double the existing number. It will debar those whose natural talents would lead them into occupations which do not need the background of a university career. The memorandum has also suggested that it should not take more than three years to obtain a university degree. This will mean that the present Intermediate stage of most universities should be transferred to the high-school stage. One of the fundamental requirements of university education is the introduction of the Tutorial system and the system of Seminars as seen in some of the larger universities in other countries so that university students should be in close contact with their lecturers and professors. This may involve the reduction of numbers in classes but it is well known that the numbers in classes of most of the present universities in India are educationally utterly unsound. The memorandum has recommended the formation of an Indian University Commission which unlike the present Inter-University Board, will not be a purely Advisory body, but will have real power to co-ordinate university developments in the country. This Commission will deal with matters of general policy and will assess and distribute grants from public funds to all Universities, and will co-ordinate university activities according to the economic needs of the country. It will not be a Body that will be under the control of the Central Government either directly or indirectly, although obviously the Central Government will have to make adequate grants to it, to relieve the provincial governments of financial responsibility for university education as fast as possible. It is not proposed that this Commission should in any way interfere in the internal administration of individual universities, and as the memorandum has pointed out the University Grants Committee in England though it has similar powers has had no friction with the universities there, who are extremely jealous of their autonomy.

One of the greatest drawbacks in India has been the almost entire lack of proper facilities for technical and commercial education. Due to war conditions there are some changes but to introduce technical education on a comprehensive scale an entire change of outlook is necessary. Technical education should naturally be the responsibility of the Education Department although in India today there is no unified control and various departments control this type of education with its consequent drawbacks. It will also need unified control in the sense that it should be treated as a Central rather than a Provincial subject except in the technical high school stage. The memorandum has gone into

detailed consideration in regard to this type of education and its authors fully realise the extreme need of introducing technical instruction on a scale which will be necessary for the industrial development of India in the post-war period.

In regard to adult education which for a long time will necessarily mean the education of illiterates the memorandum is based on the findings of the Adult Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education. This report has stressed the need for an entire scheme of education for adults of which adult literacy is only a part. It has gone into detail over the curriculum and the type of teaching that is needed to ensure success in teaching the adult mind. To quote the memorandum again, " Although the main emphasis in the beginning must be laid on the liquidation of illiteracy, adult education in the full sense must be provided for those already literate. The amount of these should progressively increase as illiteracy disappears." The annual cost of the type of literacy campaign that has been suggested is estimated at 3 crores.

The memorandum deals at length on the subject of the education of children who are handicapped, either mentally or physically. This is a subject which has been almost entirely neglected in India and there are very few institutions in the whole country for the education of those who are handicapped. It is extremely desirable that provision for the mentally and physically handicapped should form an essential part of a national system of education. This is needed to train the backward children to a life of useful service to the community and happiness for themselves, but it is also needed because it is extremely necessary for psychological reasons to segregate the subnormal backward child from the average normal child. A good deal of wastage has taken place because this has not been done in India. The memorandum notes that it is impossible in the absence of any reliable data to estimate what the cost of making provision for the handicapped in India will be. A general survey must first be undertaken and then adequate educational arrangements made for them.

The health of the school child, a subject of tremendous importance to the race as a whole, is one which has also been totally neglected in India. The memorandum points out that only those children who are in sound health can be expected to take full advantage of educational facilities and the best method of safeguarding the health of the future generation is through treatment, care and prevention during school life. A fully trained school medical service will be necessary to undertake the work and the memorandum has taken up the recommendations of the Central Advisory Boards of Health and Education in this matter.

The entire scheme of a national system of education depends for its success ultimately on teachers. The best scheme and the most comprehensive plan can never hope to succeed unless those who are to undertake its administration are equipped to do so. To point out that teachers are wholly unsatisfactorily paid, that their training is inadequate, that it is impossible to expect under the present circumstances that they will be capable teachers, or fit guardians to train the citizens of the future, is to minimise the present position. Starting from the primary school stage onwards the pay of teachers is an entire scandal in this country and is no doubt a reflection of the view that a nation-building service such as education is utterly insignificant. In the U. S. A. the pay of teachers is in no way inferior in every grade to that of the best administrative services, for the Americans realise that of all services those who undertake the training of their future citizens are the most important. This is in fact recognised in every country which can boast of progress. This matter has also engaged the attention of the Central Advisory Board of Education and they appointed a Committee on the recruitment, training and conditions of service of teachers, whose report was adopted by the Board in 1943. This report suggests vital changes which entirely scrap the present conditions in regard to the teachers, and this is really the minimum standard on which we can hope to base any scheme for educational development. Amongst other suggestions this report has recommended that in the pre-basic and the basic stages of education, women teachers should be employed as women are best fitted to undertake the care and training of small children. The memorandum points out the need of an adequate number of new training schools and colleges and suggests that at least 20,00,000 of non-graduates and 1,80,000 graduates will have to be trained for a national system of education. Detailed consideration of scales of pay and of the necessary type of training for each stage has been undertaken. The total estimated cost for a period of 35 years of training of the additional teachers for the national scheme, will be Rs. 1,59,93,25,000 or an average of Rs. 4,56,95,000 a year. It is essential to put

these suggestions in regard to the training of teachers into immediate operation if we are to hope for any improvement even in the post-war world. The rapidity with which the national scheme of education can be introduced in the country as a whole, will depend entirely on the rapidity with which an adequate number of teachers can be trained.

No special mention has been made of education for women and girls as the underlying idea is that there should be no differences and that girls should receive equal changes of education and training as boys. It may be that girls or at least the majority of them may tend towards taking up different subjects such as domestic science but the range of the syllabus would be wide enough to allow each one to follow their own inclination. Where every child, whether a girl or a boy has equal chances of education, there will be no reason to treat the education of women or "female education," a term which is much used today, as a separate subject.

In spite of war and abnormal conditions every country which has at heart the well-being of its future citizens continues to lay stress on education. India is perhaps the only country where education is considered a non-essential. Although so comprehensive a plan for a national system of education has been drawn up, the chances are that it will be wholly relegated to the background or so drastically altered as to lose all its efficacy. Thus there is a considerable need for a widespread public demand—an insistent demand that the scheme outlying the training of teachers be put into effective operation without delay, and all the recommendations in this memorandum on post-war education, giving the minimum requirements of a national scheme should not be allowed to be shelved. If today, India is able to spend such a large proportion of its resources for war purposes and the instruments of destruction, then surely it is not too much to ask that at least some portion of this be utilised in the immediate post-war period for the most vital nation-building service. It is only when the people of the country have been trained to undertake their responsibilities as citizens, that a free India, conscious of its power, will be able to go forward from strength to strength.

## RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By R. K. M. SURYA RAU,
*Maharaja of Pithapuram*

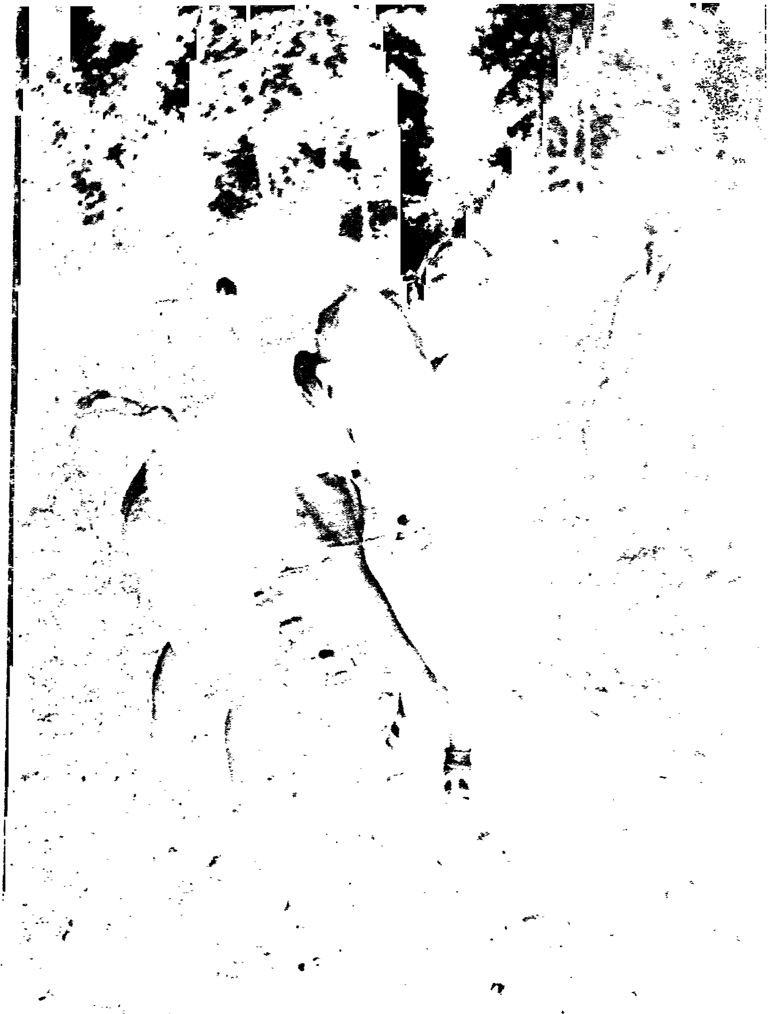
Sreejut Ramananda Chatterjee deservedly enjoyed international reputation. He was, very well-known and highly honoured not only in the whole of India but also in distant countries like Great Britain and America. He rightly received respect from various quarters. A man of great intellectual attainments, independent nature and deep culture, he conducted his monthly magazine, *The Modern Review,* with remarkable ability. An ideal editor, he made his *Modern Review* a model journal. He expressed his views on various subjects frankly and clearly. His editorials and other articles were very edifying and pleasant to read. He wrote without fear or favour. He was refreshingly free from partiality and prejudice. Unselfish in the real sense, he did not allow mean motives to enter his mind. With commendable magnanimity of spirit, he maintained his dignity. He was always fair, courteous, and considerate even to his opponents. Thoroughly truthful he always was. Meticulously correct in giving facts he was perfectly fair in his criticisms. He earned an enviable name for straightforwardness and integrity of purpose. In short, he was strictly honest in all his statements and activities. He had at heart the best interests not only of his own country but of humanity at large. This eminent man was most certainly one of our real leaders. He was a true patriot of a rare order and our country could rightly be proud of him.

Those who knew him intimately admired and honoured him. Even those who sincerely differed from him in certain respects respected him. A genuine gentleman of upright character and honesty of purpose, he commanded great regard. He was a man of purity and piety. Full of kindness he was gentleness incarnate. Leading a simple life, he unostentatiously rendered meritorious services to his country in different directions. Sincerely and silently did he work in various spheres of activity especially in religious, social and political fields. He was a good and God-fearing man who was genuinely religious. A Brahmo of the true type he laboured hard for the real welfare of our beloved mother land. Keenly interested in the great organisation known as the World Fellowship of Faiths (in which he participated in its Madras Session) he took an enlightened and active part in it.

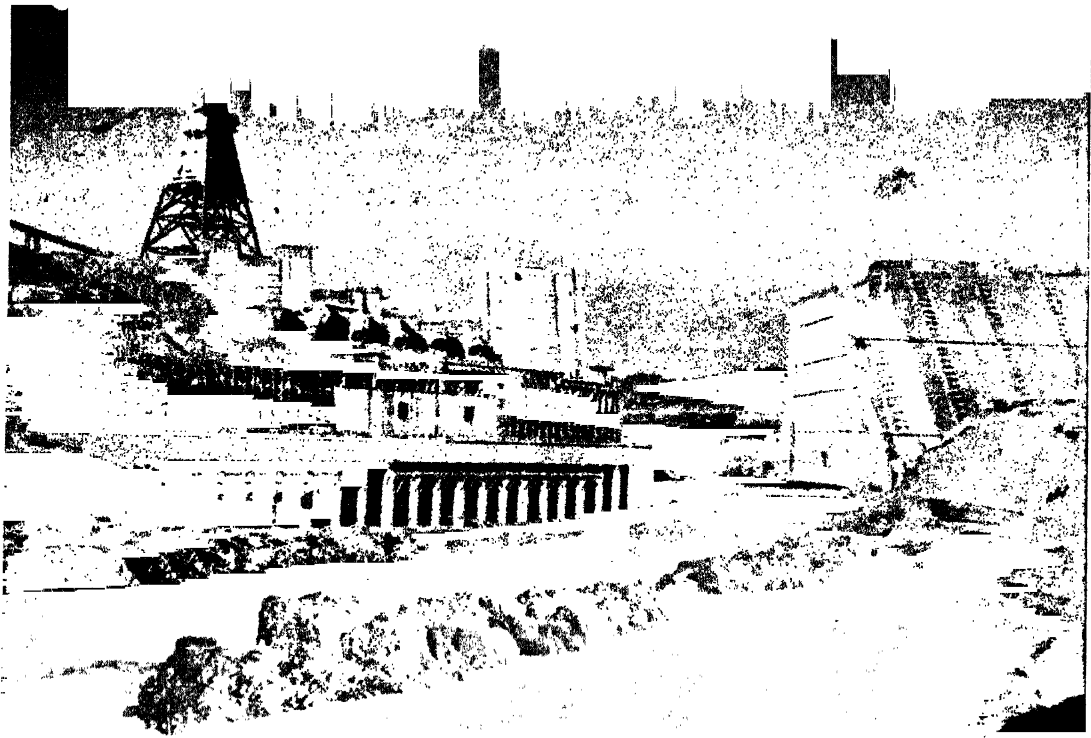
He was one of my most esteemed friends and his great kindness to me I can never forget. I was very fortunate in enjoying this proud and pleasant privilege. I sincerely mourn his loss.



The town of St. Albans in the midst of its Farm Sunday. Town-dwellers are persuaded to spend their holidays working on farms



The school-children of Britain during their holidays. They have proved particularly adept at potato planting



The Shasta Dam. The turbulent stream, the Sacramento, flowing across the State of California into the Pacific, is harnessed for the U. S. war effort
*Courtesy :* USOWI



**A soldier is spraying oil on a swamp in the South Pacific. The oil will kill the larvae of the mosquitoes and keep down malaria**
***Courtesy :* USOWI**

# A CRITIQUE OF NAZISM

By Professor S. V. PUNTAMBAKAR, M.A. (Oxon), BAR-AT-LAW,
*Hindu University, Benares*

There is a lot of loose talk among some pseudo-thinkers and unscrupulous leaders in India about the character of our Nationalism. Many of them, who are anti-nationalists, state that all nationalists are fascists. It is a cheap generalisation intended to deceive the common people in order to promote their own leadership and party organisation in the country. It is a bid for possession of power, by taking advantage of the current atmosphere in which one who is not with you is called anti-democratic and pro-fascist. Such unscrupulous and machiavellian agitators are prepared to side with imperialists rather than have a good word to say about nationalists who are democratic and anti-imperialist. It therefore becomes necessary to understand the real nature of fascist theories or principles before we dub all nationalists as fascists.

Today world outlook is dominated by either race theories, or class theories or empire theories or religious theories, and their ultimate end involves constant warfare till one race or class or empire or religion finally succeeds in dominating and absorbing or enslaving others. In their approach to history and human progress they do not accept any other solution but their own as possible which will establish world unity and world order. Nation-theories do not accept this unilinear view of a world solution, unless they themselves are vitiated by race, class, empire or religion complexes and manias. Pure nation-theories based on territorial grouping, historical evolution and commonness of culture are tolerant, liberal, and democratic. They believe in federal, co-operative and commonwealth conceptions of a world order on an equalitarian and autonomous basis. They have a ground-work of fundamental conception of human rights, and equalitarian principles of human association. Nationalists are not racists. Their society is not master and slave society. Their polity is not purely authoritarian or despotic. It has an individualist and group basis. It is not based on a theory of will to power over all. Its sanctions are not those of mere force or conquest. It does not indulge in theories of constant warfare. It does not make strife the dominant law of life.

The chief characteristics of Nazism are that it is racial and anti-individual. It believes in the myth of a superior race and considers the empire of the world as its destined and divine inheritance. A myth is a faith. It is a passion. It is not necessary that it should be a reality. It is a reality in the fact that it is a powerful goad, a unique hope, and an encouraging idea. It is above reason. It is a creation of intuition and of will to power. It is a vision of the future. But it is not a plan. It releases men's energies and inures them for great sacrifices. Its mythic character and its mystic and missionary faith make it completely irrational and emotional. Its racial outlook is based on the idea of inequality of man and racial groups. In it intelligent leadership is faithfully served by a sentimental mass who do not possess or show any initiative. Nazis consider that there should be nothing greater and higher than the State. Their State is not a purely political group. It is co-ordinate with the people or the whole racial community and embodies its will and is represented in the person of its leader or the party he has created. It does not look with favour on internationalism and cosmopolitanism, which are detrimental to their racial and political conception of world dominance. Their State is the absolute and superior entity not subject to any international law. Its supporters deny the law of God, nature, or nations as binding. Power and interests of their own racial state are to be the sole binding force and guiding factors. Thus Nazism is based on a mythical blood-relationship. It is strengthened by a physical tie of racial homelands and lebensraum. It possesses a moral force in the belief of its racial superiority and of its mission and destiny of world dominance, and a legal obligation to a totalitarian and omnicompetent State which is above person, group or humanity.

We thus trace two currents in the philosophy or outlook of Nazism. One is based on vitalism and the other on totalitarianism. The typical

representative thinkers of vitalism are the old Nietzsche and the new Ludwig Klages, and of totalitarianism are the old Hegel and the new Othmar Spann. Others who have contributed and developed these two aspects of Nazism are H. S. Chamberlain and Spengler, Treitschke and Bernhardi, Hitler and Rosenberg.

They believe that all historical or human movements are connected with race and land, or blood and soil. To them community, State and race are more or less identical conceptions in their social values. Their theory of State is that of a *Krieg-staat* (war-State), a *Macht Staat* (force-State) or a *Wehr-staat* (army-State), where authority and command is from above and submission and obedience is from below. They believe in the theory of aggression, expansion, and domination for possessing *lebens-raum* and for *world-power*. Their theory of geopolitics as developed by Professor Karl Haushoffer studies the relation of geography to the development of race and conquest of power and lays down the technique for possessing world-power with the help of geographical factors and technological developments.

The theory of vitalism or racialism is developed by Ludwig Klages. It is a blood and soil theory. It believes in a corporate body-soul of the race which embodies vitalism within it. To him vitalism implies that human beings possess no individual rational consciousness whatever, but only blood and soil instinct. This means that spring of human action does not lie in individual consciousness but in blood and soil of the race. It is a sort of material consciousness not a spiritual consciousness. There is no ego or self in it. Therefore, there is no question of individual self-realisation or intelligence. Blood and soil nourish the corporate body-soul of the race. Therefore, all its values, ideas, and methods of life are biocentric. They are pragmatic, amoral, instinctive, and irrational. Thus Klages' psychology conceives human beings as possessing no rational consciousness whatever. He has no supermen in his psychology but only blonde beasts. To him man is an animal. The reality of man lies in his capacity not to be a person—a rational being. He has no mind. His soul is not anima (spirit) but animus (vital-power)—the companion of the body. The human entity is body-soul together.

In his sociology life is unconscious, man is not endowed with consciousness. Society does not involve individual consciousness, but a corporate vital power of the race and soil.

Professor Othmar Spann of Vienna developed (1915) a new totalitarian theory of State. He was the prophet of Nazism or counter-revolution. He was opposed to liberalism, democracy and socialism. He was essentially against the doctrines of individualism and of equality of human beings. To him individualism is not real. Individual cannot be self-contained and self-sufficient. There is no autonomous individual. A society thus conceived lacks reality. Society is not a relationship of persons as individuals. In Society there are no conscious human beings and their consciousness has no reference to the existence and functioning of society. Individual is really not the unit of Society. He is merely a functionary. Society has not persons for its unity. Society is totality. Its units are the political, economic, cultural, artistic, religious functions. Persons are not related to one another except through the medium of that sphere of totality. They are related through the function of production etc. There is nothing personal unless it is objectified, that is, unless it has become impersonal. Society is thus a vast mechanism of intangible entities or functions. Values and methods of life are biocentric (vitalistic) and logo-centric (Totalist) and not ego-centric. State, law, custom, family, social group, contact and function are all objectifications, while individual is not. Spann makes Society supreme as the totality. There is no possibility of freedom in it. The world of man is not the world of persons. It is devoid of person and of change. He regards the whole is greater than its parts. Society is prior to man. Person is absorbed in Society. This totalitarianism of Society is again a mystical or metaphysical conception. According to him, psychologically man's individual condition is self-estranged, and sociologically his condition would be a perpetual loss of freedom in self-estrangement and unreality.

If Klages' vitalism is materialist mysticism, Spann's totalitarianism is metaphysical mysticism. Both do not conceive of any free individual. They depersonalise him. Their conception of Society is not a relation of persons but a mystic entity born of blood and soil on the one hand and of the supreme totality and reality of intangible entities or impersonal objectifications in the form of functions or groups on the other. If Klages accepts Nietzsche's vitalism he does it without his superman. The Superman or changing element is destroyed. His anarchic individualism is got rid of and his vitalism reduced to an exalted animalism.

Klages does not have superman. He only thinks in terms of primitive blonde beasts. His man is an animal. Spann uses Hegel's conception of absolute mind but does not accept his revolutionary dialectic—process of change or growth. He reduces it to static totalitarianism. Thus Hegel's immanent and transcendant changing element is destroyed. Thus Klages destroys Nietzsche's superman, and Spann Hegel's dialectic, both of which contribute to change and development in human affairs. Klages' vitalism is a preconscious and prehistoric condition of race. It is a philosophy based on a return to the animal past taking note only of blood and soil of the race. It does not take account of historic change of culture and civilisation. It does not also feel the necessity of change. Spann's totalitarianism is a post-conscious and post-historic condition of society where there is no possibility or need of change, where person is absorbed in society, where society is the reality and totality.

The actual Nazi thought lies between the vitalism or racialism of Klages and the totalitarianism or social mysticism of Spann. Vitalism uses race as the substitute for the nation and affirms the non-conscious functions of life. It seeks the reality of man in his capacity not to be a person. This is wrong, because the need for rationality rises in human life and it is inseparable from technological civilisation of the modern age. Totalitarianism is a mysticism about the adoration of a racial mind or society which is considered real, total and impersonal. Alfred Rosenberg is the best exponent of Nazism. His ideas are contained in the book *The Myth of the 20th Century*." His theory accepts the views of vitalism and totalitarianism. But he rejects the rigid systems of Klages and Spann. He does not think that forces of pre-civilisation as conceived in Klages' vitalism can be forced into the service of European civilisation. He recasts Klages' anthropology on racialist lines. He harmonises the body and soul of Klages' primitive man and the radiant qualities of mind and spirit of Spann's society with the race of Nordics. To him the mind of the Nordic is naturally vitalist. Rosenberg's philosophy is essentially vitalist. According to him, truth is that which the organic principle of Nordic life determines as such. The highest values in logic and science, in art and poetry, in morals and religion are all but the different aspects of the organic truth of the race. All true civilisation is but the shaping and moulding of consciousness according to the vegetative and conscious characteristics of the race. But his concept of race is not in itself necessarily biological. It is not identified with blood. Race is to be recognised by conduct not by physiological characteristics. Soul is the bearer of the race not the body. Such physio-psychological race is of supreme value. The world is divided into a number of such races. Some are superior and others inferior. Therefore, he is against universalism because it is non-racialism and implies a concept of unity, equality and brotherhood of mankind which contravenes the concept of racialism, its inequalities and specialities. Therefore, in his concept of human life there is no place for democracy, for cosmopolitanism and for rationalism of equality, liberty and brotherhood. His theory of State and Society is racial, developing in corporationism and authoritarianism, racial nationalism and totalitarianism. To him individuals and nations are unequal. He is anti-democratic and advocates the abolition of democratic principles and institutions in politics. According to him, blood and soil are the ultimate realities of politics and social thought or organisation.

According to these ideas, the sociology of Nazism is concerned with the building of a structural order of society which rules out the dependence of the whole on the conscious will and purpose of individuals constituting it. It objects to the substance not the form of democracy. It considers human beings as merely producers or labouring animals. It builds the actual social and political organisation on a functional or vocational basis. Thus man comes to be considered as essentially economic. In the political organisation representation is given to the economic function. Neither the ideas nor the values nor the numbers of human beings involved find expression in it. This resulting corporative State represents a condition of things in which there is no conscious will or purpose of the individuals concerning the community they make, nor is there a corresponding responsibility of the individual for his share in it.

Rosenberg's interpretation of history is not based on the idea and extension of individual liberty, but on the activities and mission of a strong and pure race. History is to him a conflict of races and not classes in the past. Its aim of the future is the maintenance and purification of the German Nordic race, giving the units of that race future glory and strength. The Nordic race is alone capable of creating a modern state and culture, and of controlling the world and utilising all its property.

True Nordic religion, according to him, consists of honour and freedom of the race. They are the only timeless and spaceless absolutes or essences. Revere the race, maintain its freedom, and do your duty, these are principles underlying its moral code. Freedom is racial freedom. It also implies a subjection of the individual to the whole race so as to enable it to achieve its destiny. The mission of the Nordic race is to conquer the whole earth for the achievement of which Nazis have built up the Science of Geopolitics. Its mission also implies the imposition of its culture on lesser breeds or the utilisation of their man-power and material resources to achieve its world dominance and cultural destiny.

The highest principle of its law is the preservation of the Nordic race. The highest principle of its punishment is the elimination of racial aliens from the body politic and social. Its foreign policy is based on (1) the division of the world into racial units and (2) dominance of the world by the Nordic race.

Hans Gunther, professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Jena (1930) is the advocate of the new Nazi Anthropology and Sociology. He represents the tradition of Fichte, Hegel, Gobineau, Nietzsche, Treitschke, Chamberlain, Spengler, Naumann, Moeller van Den Bruck, Klages, Spann, and Rosenberg. The principles of his new Anthropology are inequality of races physically and morally, inequality of men, Nordic race as the most creative, its multiplication and purification, and the lebensraum for its growth and culture.

How can therefore Mazzinian nationalism which is democratic, liberal, humanitarian be at all identified with Nazi Fascism?

Nazi politics is based on the theory of a racial State. The Nordic race, its blood and soil possesses some magic and mystic qualities which are superior to any other race. Its blood feeling or instinct is the source of all virtue and wisdom. Its political doctrine considers that men are unequally endowed, that individual liberty must be subordination to racial honour and freedom, and that the racial dictator should possess unlimited power over the nation. Such a state is organic, corporative and authoritarian. Its mission is to purify, unify and increase the race, to prevent class conflict and to destroy democracy, socialism, pacifism and internationalism, and ultimately to obtain the mastery of the world and all its power and resources.

The authority of the State is derived from above, from its totality. It emphasizes however the role and principle of personal leadership. The authority flows from the top down. Responsibility rises from the bottom up. The great leader is not elected. He rises and assumes power. He is only approved. He is responsible to God and for people's welfare. He is always right or infallible. He is there when he must be there. Power and responsibility are concentrated in the hands of the few elite. The elite are responsible to the dictator. Citizens' duty is to obey those in authority. Subordination to authority is their first duty. Citizenship is conferred only on German Aryans. It is organised into an integrated series of professional and economic associations. The resulting political organisation is a corporative organisation.

To it united mankind does not exist. The Nordic race has got the right to rule the world. War is a necessity. Might is right. Force plays a decisive role in the history of mankind and in national and international politics. War develops racial virtues and national strength. It is necessary to improve the best racial type and not general mankind as a whole. War for conquest and acquisition of land for the use and betterment of the best race is desirable. This is the theory of *lebensraum* or living space for the increasing race.

Nazis idolise the State and make it totalitarian. No sphere or aspect of life is immune from its control and interference and guidance. It is concerned with the whole will, thought and feeling of the community. State is co-extensive with society and race. It is not atomistic and mechanical but organic and historical. State possesses supreme authority. Leader's strength and power lies in his mystical intuition. His instinct and will are the blind forces behind his drive and energy.

All political behaviour is not logical or rational but impulsive and non-rational. All collective action is emotionally motivated. All human societies are held together by sacred emotions not by abstract intellect. Therefore, an adequate science of politics must be a rationale of the non-rational. In the case of the Nazis it is the myth of Nordic supremacy. To them political behaviour is not the rational interpretation of dynamic ideas or abstract philosophical systems, but of the socio-psychological contexts which awaken race consciousness and its will to power, and give it a vision of the future and thus release its men's energies for that task.

All Nazi theories—their race theory, their state theory, their dictator theory and their

history theory—can be subjected to severe criticism. But that does not make them in any way ineffectual from their pragmatic point of view and value. They have affected the course of history.

Racial theory of superiority and separatism is a European creation. Gobineau's treatise is a classic on the subject. The Anglo-Saxons and the Germans have practised it rigidly. They consider themselves to belong to the elect who are biologically destined to lead human destiny and who in destroying others achieve the survival of the fittest. Easy and barbarous expansion of Europeans overseas set the stage for racial dogmas and antipathies, class and national conflicts. Teutonic invasions and conquests in Europe led to the rise of a noble class of Teutonic blood, while the common populace outside Germany remained Gallo-Roman. They gave a sacredness to their conquests and usurpation and to the use of force, and concluded that the fittest conquer and survive. They began to interpret art, culture, history, geography racially and bolstered up self-esteem and lust for power. It became as it were their sacred mission to loot and destroy other civilisations.

This theory of race is not scientific. It is a myth and a convenient but powerful fiction. It is a prehistorical and anthropological conception. Historically and sociologically there is a mixture of races. There is no pure race, physiologically or psychically seperate and isolated. Present political units and nations cannot be called races. History makes race to a far greater degree than race makes history. Racialists either neglect the influence of geography or overstate it. No particular religion, race, nation or group has any divine mission. The idea of its world mission or destiny is a myth. It is neither science nor philosophy nor history. There is no divine or natural force behind it. It neglects the contributions and influences of other communities and international endeavours. According to a number of sociological writers, it is not only that races are not pure or unmixed, but that they are not permanent or fixed in their qualities as the racialist school makes out. Men are also not to that extent unequal or differently endowed as it is stated. There are constant changes and transformations likely amongst peoples under the influence of geography, climate, new ideals and traditions, and foreign contact or conversion or imposition. Nazi political theory which gives the State total power and authority over the individual has been attacked by individualists, liberals and socialists. State is not ethically more admirable than the individual. It is not the ultimate form of human organisation. Political and social ideas on which it is based are mystical and not historical. They are the offspring of obscure subjective impulses which flow from blood and soil, from individual genius and from the esoteric depths of the native German soul. They are non-rational and anti-rational. Its dictator theory has been discredited by past history and new experience. All liberal and socialist thought and experience are against it. It has still to prove its superior value in winning a world conflict and organising a world peace. Men will not always obey a dictator in all times of peace and warfare because he lacks that fundamental identity of aims which should exist between the ruler and the ruled. He may be accepted temporarily for achieving a particular purpose or supported during times of success and difficulty. But as a permanent solution for the best form and principles of political organisation, higher political thought and historical experience are against him. The Nazi theory of history, that it is merely a record of the conflict of races and of the survival of the fittest and the predestined race, does not explain the rise and fall of all peoples, nations and empires satisfactorily and even of those races which are supposed to be the strongest and fittest. History cannot be explained with the help of one factor or principle, be it religious, moral, economic or racial. It is a manifestation of the influence of many antecedent, concomitant, contingent and ideological causes which requires a synthetical view and interpretation. No monistic view can explain all the facts and fluctuations of history.

The Nazi theory of Society which considers it to be not a relation of persons is not easily understandable. How can economic life be possible in the society on that assumption? Co-operation and exchange are personal. How can power emerge, be controlled and directed to useful ends if there exist no individuals to express their wills and wishes? If there is no consciousness what kind of individuals are they? And they falsify their theories by accepting the lead of a dictator or superman and a number of sub-dictators and soldiers who form his party or high command.

# SIR GURUDAS BANERJEE CENTENARY

By Rai Bahadur BIJAY BIHARI MUKHERJI

Each year comes and goes among the countless millions through which this earth of ours has passed; possibly some one brings a message, some listen, others pass on. Just about a century ago such a year came and Sir Gurudas was born. Just about a century has passed.

It is a time when every thought depresses, every sight oppresses and one looks around in silent deep quest to see a satisfying man but in vain, one likes to close up his eyes to the surroundings all about and to plunge into a reverie. The panoramic view of the latter half of the 19th century glides on. We see Bengal with Sri Ramkrishna Paramhamsa, Keshab Chunder Sen, Bijay Krishna Goswami, Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, the Saint of Baradi. We see Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bhudeb Mukherjee, Siva Nath Sastri, Swami Vivekananda. We see Dinabandhu Mitter with his *Nildarpan,* the pulsating emotions of Bankim Chandra pouring out *Bande Mataram,* the radiant halo of the glorious rising sun in Rabindranath. We see Surendra Nath Banerjea rolling out his long rhetorical rolls to rouse sleeping nationalism followed by Bepin Chandra Pal. We see Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Benoyendra Sen, Rāmendra Sunder Trivedi, to name only a few, taking charge of the education of the youths in modern thought and modern science, not merely teaching dead men's thoughts but setting up standards of high character and rectitude without which education is a meaningless jugglery, a jejune, lifeless process; in medicine a Dr. Mahendra Lal Sirkar not merely ministering to the diseases of the body but planning out and bringing into existence a Science Association for the sons and daughters of his motherland for the development of their mind. We see Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the giant among Bengal's sons, taking up the threads of the administration to convert the University of Calcutta into a dynamic machine for the renaissance of the country. In the highest court of Judicature, we see Sambhunath Pandit, Romesh Chandra Mitter, Dwarka Nath Mitter, Gurudas Banerjee, Ameer Ali, Chandra Madhab Ghosh; in the Bar one could see among Vakeels the towering personality of Rashbehari Ghosh and among Bengal's representatives in the English Bar one would discern a Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, a Womesh Chandra Bonerji, a Monmohan Ghosh, an Ananda Mohan Bose. The mofussil kept pace with the metropolis—we see there an Ambika Mazumdar, a Baikuntha Sen, an Ananda Chandra Roy, an Aswini Dutt. Even in the Indian Civil Service we see a Romesh Chandra Dutt not lost in the halo of red and yellow turbaned chaprasis but diving deep to build up with Justice Ranade the foundations of Indian Economic thought for his unfortunate country. What a half century ! What stature all about, in each sphere ! Verily Gokhale was right when he said at the time that what Bengal thought today India thought on the day after. The names cited are the names of the peaks. But in diverse ways, in diverse spheres men and women of the same genus had been playing true to the tune in their respective spheres.

Analysing the period we see the towering personality of Sir Gurudas Banerjee. He represented the highest and the best of the middle class family of those days. His life, if analysed, would show where the strength of the social organisation lay and where the country has lost.

Sir Gurudas was born in 1844 in a Brahmin family, certainly not rich in material possessions, and died in 1918 full of those honours which a man holds dear. Left fatherless at the age of three without provision, without a near male relative to look after him, he had what provided and always provides the best conditions of growth and such a growth as his. He had a frugal home but a home rich in spiritual idealism and rectitude pure, undefiled and true. The young widowed mother and the grandmother kept house. The mother educated not by the addition of letters to her name but through unyielding loyalty to those concepts which had made Hindu civilisation great and by a life that had never wavered in the minutest details of the daily routine from an unquestioned faith in a moral world and in an all-pervading God. The young child was constantly reminded by this ever-watchful mother of the existence of both. This training developed in him an ideology of life that stood all strain of poverty and of what

was of more importance, of wealth, of helplessness as well as of power, of want and as well as of affluence. Sir Gurudas developed into a man —a man that was truly made after the Maker—soft as a flower, yet as unyielding as the thunderbolt as the Sastras say, when a question of principle was involved. One is amazed at his reaction to the stimulii of the environment. He absorbed all that was good, rejected all that was bad in it. In school and the college he stood at the top in all examinations. Yet no boy, no youth, was so unassuming as he was. He secured the highest marks yet no boy played the disciple better. Teachers were fascinated at his devotion. Every one thought of his future with the sincerity of a genuine well-wisher and with affection like a father. It is on record that when on the eve of his first University examination his teacher the late Peary Charan Sarkar of revered memory heard that he was unwell, hastened unasked to arrange for a *palki* to convey him to the Examination Hall. When the results placed him at the top of all successful candidates no one was humbler and more grateful than he. When completing his academic career he became a Lecturer in a college, no teacher was better loved, no one was so deeply interested in his students. The late Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt of the Indian Civil Service left on record his pleasant reminiscence as the pupil of Sir Gurudas, the teacher.

When he joined the Bar no client that came to him ever thought that he had not prepared the case absolutely as his own personal cause, and no judge could doubt that he had before him an advocate as fair to his client as to his adversary, as true in the exposition of law as in the presentation of facts, as kind and courteous to the Bench as he was accommodating to his opponent. He became an eminent lawyer of the Calcutta High Court. He accepted briefs only of cases that he could do justice to, and he would not take one unless he could do his best.

As a judge one could recall those bright kindly eyes, that ever vigilant and critical mind, above all that always just, always fair, always upright, attitude to all who came with the affairs of cases before him. How different is the atmosphere today !

He had a son—a doctor of law, he had a son-in-law (later a distinguished follower of his footsteps in many spheres)—the late Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, as lawyers. Neither the one nor the other could accept a brief in any case before him—a standard unfortunately forsaken by many and now the departure is yielding to scandals in many spheres.

Sir Manmatha personally told me an amusing story. He was then briefless. He found that a brief had come well-marked with handsome fees from a solicitor's firm he was unacquainted with. He received it with great joy —as first briefs must always inspire. In Court the next day he was asked by Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh if he had received a brief which he learnt his opponent had managed to give him on the well-known assumption that Sir Gurudas would never take up a case in which a relative of his appeared as a lawyer. The shrewd solicitor wanted to get an adjournment which he badly needed but was refused. As the case came up Sir Gurudas who was very particular in these matters looked up the *Vakalatnama*, and addressing Sir Manmatha asked him to withdraw from the case. Though both Dr. Ghosh and the European brother judge protested Sir Gurudas was unyielding. Sir Manmatha had to withdraw. In the evening Sir Manmatha somewhat crestfallen by the misadventure was at his residence when he found the loving father-in-law walk in. He humorously asked him what loss Sir Gurudas had put him to by the return of the fee and when told the amount Sir Gurudas paid him out of his own pocket and said that he would not rob him of the good luck, of the fees for the first brief. Such was Sir Gurudas, the man of principle, and Sir Gurudas, the ever affectionate relative.

Sir Gurudas was the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University—perhaps of any Indian University. Not a man can say that a relative of his found a job there through him. Not a man can say that professors had to hang about his residence to get a preferment. Sir Gurudas—intensely nationalist as he was—knew with Mill and others that the best service he could render to the nation was to help in the freedom of intellect, to assist in the growth of character of every unit of the population. He knew that the best contribution of a nationalist and a democrat was to inspire a politically subject people with self-respect and to respect that feeling. The professors and the teachers are the highest and the best in a community. To degrade them in their character is the greatest sin and the worst crime against the people.

Above all, in every detail of life he behaved with that generosity that was his by nature. He was a gentleman by nature, a gentleman by birth, a gentleman by training. No one whatever his position could say that he felt small

in the presence of Sir Gurudas. Even those who would go to him for help he would treat with a consideration that showed the man. Years after his death I met while on official work touring in an interior and out-of-the-way village an individual well advanced in years who told me with tears of gratitude in his eyes of an incident. He was a poor student in youth who could not collect the amount of his examination fees. He was advised to go and see Sir Gurudas. He had expected a small contribution. When Sir Gurudas was interviewed, he listened with great attention, went upstairs and came back with a sum much beyond his expectation and then the great judge putting with affection the amount into the hands of this small indigent youth begged him to accept it and apologised for his inability to pay more. His fee was secured. He passed his examination. He remembers with gratitude not the help alone but the manner with which the help was given. How have we lost this culture ? A gentleman now in a very good position once worked in his family as a tutor to Sir Gurudas's children. He narrated to me the way the great judge and the greater man and nationalist that he was paid him his first month's remuneration—the language that he used, the apologies that he offered, gratitude that he expressed, the affection that he evinced, because the gentleman, then a tallow youth still in college, came to teach his children. The nation today has lost to respect its teachers. His behaviour pattern is almost classic. His devotion to his mother, his playing the son right through her life—she was spared to see him a judge of eminence in the High Court—shows the depth of his spiritual nature.

Yet Sir Gurudas was the product of the social or the family system then quite common in the country. Then that system was still glorious in its glory, pure in its purity, puritanic in its loyalty, and above all, steadfast and unwavering in its conviction and faith in a moral world, in an Omnipotent and Omniscient God. Vulgarised as we stand today—a century after the year of his birth—we bow down in reverence to his sacred memory whose noble character had shed its lustre to all and sundry, to his family, to his society, to his country and to humanity, to each and every sphere in which he had functioned. Let his light light our path. Let youths move on in that light. The youths must remember the standards that were, the standards that are, and the standards that must be. Sir Gurudas epitomised the gnostic way of dynamic living which alone is life. With a life lived on the basic principles of a God-conscious ideology such as this nationalism is a power, a force and an inspiration. Without it nationalism is a fiction and a fraud.

---

# THE PASSING OF A GREAT EXPLORER AND ORIENTALIST—SIR MARC AUREL STEIN

By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.,
*Editor, Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta*

By the recent death in Kabul of Sir M. A. Stein the world of Asiatic travel has been deprived of one of the most brilliant and fortunate figures in its long and illustrious roll of honour and that of Orientalism has lost an outstanding character whose name will rank for all time to come with those of Champollion, Petrie and Lepsius, of Rawlinson, Botta and Layard among the discoverers of mighty and long-lost civilisations of past times.

By birth a Hungarian, Stein belonged to that sturdy racial stock which had produced in the course of the nineteenth century three eminent students and explorers of Asiatic antiquities and lands, Csoma de Korös, Ufjalvy and Arminius Vambery. Stein's early training fitted him for the task to which he was to be called by destiny. He learnt his lessons at the feet of that distinguished Indologist George Buehler, for whom he ever afterwards entertained a feeling of respect akin to that felt by a *brahmachārin* towards his *guru* in the past. Arriving in India in 1888 as a member of the Indian Educational Service, Stein almost at once entered upon his first grand task, the English translation of Kalhana's *Rāja-taranginī*, which he completed after nearly ten years' hard work. The consummate scholarship displayed in this book, involving not only complete mastery of the Sanskrit *Kāvya* style but also a thorough

and minute knowledge of the topography and ethnology of the land acquired at first hand, immediately placed him in the front rank of Indologists of his time. Meanwhile, his eyes had been turned to a field where he was destined to win immortal fame, by the chance discoveries of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts from the deserts of Central Asia. A series of fortunate circumstances, including above all the patronage of the Government of India, enabled him at length to accomplish the first of his famous journeys to Chinese Turkestan in 1900-1901. With what high, almost religious, sense of responsibility the young explorer undertook his self-imposed task is best proved by the remarkable words of his Introduction in the work containing the scientific account of his expedition, *Ancient Khotan.* There, while remarking how very necessary it was for the archaeologist to keep an 'exact and detailed record' of all his observations and publish his account 'with all possible care and fulness,' he quoted with approval the dictum of Sir Flinders Petrie :—"To leave a site merely plundered without any attempt to work out its history, to see the meaning of the remains found or to publish what may serve future students of the place or the subject, is to throw away the opportunities which have been snatched from those who might have used them properly." To the above requirements, Stein added in his own case that of a thorough geographical survey of the regions concerned, for, as he wrote, "To the critical student of history, the influence exercised by geographical conditions and surroundings must ever be present." Stein's first expedition, which was mainly confined to the Khotan region, was attended with discoveries of first-rate importance. Among these may be specially mentioned the finding of numerous Buddhist texts written in Sanskrit (in Gupta Characters), Khotanese and other languages, as well as official and semi-official documents written in the Indian Prakrit in the Kharoshthī script. These texts revealed for the first time the profound influence exercised by Indian culture upon the peoples of Central Asia almost from the first to the eighth centuries of the Christian era. Another striking discovery was that of various objects of art, which first proved how the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra had found a new home beyond the Himalayas in the early centuries of Christianity.

No sooner had Stein finished his first arduous journey than he was led by the geographical and archaeological discoveries of the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin and of the German Mission under Professor A. Gruenwedel, to plan a second and more ambitious expedition, to quote his own words uttered on another occasion, into "those mountains and deserts which have seen my happiest years of labour." One of his main objectives was the thorough exploration of the wonderful group of monuments situated at Toen-huang almost on the Chinese frontier and known as 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas,' which had been visited a quarter of a century before by two daring travellers Count B. Szechenyi and Prjevalsky. Stein's second expedition (1906-08), which extended over an area of nearly 10,000 miles including some of the most inhospitable regions of the world, was memorable for his recovery, from a walled-up library at Toen-huang, of an immense mass of Buddhist texts, of several hundreds of Buddhist paintings, and of several thousands of Chinese and Tibetan records dating from the 5th to the 10th centuries A.D. A third expedition (1913-16) enabled Stein to make still further additions to the rich store of his materials in the shape of countless Buddhist wall-paintings, Buddhist manuscripts and block-prints in a variety of languages, official and other documents in the Kharoshthi script and Prakrit language and so forth. The magnitude of Stein's finds in his three Central Asian expeditions may be gauged from the fact that they comprised many thousands of documents written in Sanskrit and Prakrit, Soghdian and Khotanese, Turkish, Tibetan and Chinese, 'Karasharian' and 'Kuchean' languages and pertaining to the three great religions, Buddhism, Manicheanism and Nestorian Christianity, thus fitly illustrating the blending of diverse cultures in that meeting-place of nations. They also included art-objects (wall-paintings, paintings on silk and linen, sculptures, seals and the like) throwing new light upon the history of the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, and Chinese painting of the great T'ang period.

Of Stein's explorations of the regions on or adjoining the north-western frontier of India—the Swat valley, Gedrosia and Persian Seistan—it is only necessary to state that they are all marked by the sterling characteristics of his genius. We can best sum up these qualities in the words of an eminent French scholar (Louis Finot in *BEFEO.* XVI, p. 82), which we reproduce below in an imperfect English translation. "We rarely come across such a complete combination of qualities making for a perfect explorer, scientific enthusiasm, intuitive sagacity, endurance, patience, address in handling men, not to

speak of knowledge of geography and archaeology. To these must be joined a mysterious gift, namely, chance. Such a combination of incidents seems to be arranged in his favour by some protecting *devatā,* perhaps the good Hiuen Tsang, whom he chose for his patron and who must have become, after his passing away from this world, a *bodhisattva* helping pious and zealous pilgrims like himself."

In concluding this modest homage of respect to the memory of the illustrious explorer and scholar whose life-long labours have opened a new and brilliant chapter in the history of Greater India beyond the Himalayas, the present writer cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few extracts from a letter of the late-lamented *savant* written from Srinagar on the 26th April, 1943. Here, while acknowledging the receipt of the writer's presentation copy of his *Progress of Greater Indian Research* (1917-42) (*J.G.I.S. IX* No. 2) and commending its bibliography to "the close attention of Indian scholars interested in researches concerning the wide cultural influence of their country in the past," he wrote, "May many of the publications recorded by you be accessible to them." Referring to his own translation of the *Rāja-tarangini,* he wrote, "The labours to which I devoted whatever scanty leisure could be spared from exacting administrative and other tasks during the first eleven years of my Indian life, seems at times as if done पूर्वस्मिन् जन्मनि. But my interest in, and close attachment, to all that concerns Kashmir has remained the same. I shall therefore be glad to arrange for a new edition, mainly a reprint, of my *Rāja-tarangini* translation, with additional notes etc." May the wish of the great *savant* be crowned with the foundation of a Central Research Library of Greater Indian studies in our land and may his hope for a new edition of his classical translation of Kalhana's *River of Kings* find its fruition at the hands of a suitable editor at no distant date !

---

# A NOTE ON THE POSITION OF AGRICULTURE IN INDIA

By SADHANA GUPTA, M.A.

The present position of Indian Agriculture indicates tendencies which should be a matter of deep concern to administrators, practical economists and thinking men of the country. The Royal Commission on Agriculture pointed out in its Report in 1929, that the soil in India had reached its maximum point of impoverishment as a result of continued cultivation for hundreds of years, accompanied by inadequate means of recuperating soil productivity. Productivity of the soil diminished progressively and the position is such that deterioration cannot proceed further. Perhaps, the view that the worse had already come and that further impoverishment was unlikely, might have given cause of optimism. but that things should have come to such a pass ought to have been a serious cause of alarm in view of the rapid growth of India's population. The truth of the situation was that the growing unproductivity of agriculture was tending to make it as an occupation unremunerative. The Indian farmer uptil now regarded agriculture not as a means of livelihood, but as a means of living; but such conditions cannot continue for ever. The uneconomic and unremunerative nature of the farming occupation is bound to make itself felt, and is likely to have deeper repercussion in this that the total acreage of land under cultivation is likely to fall. Agriculture, as an occupation dependent on nature, usually requires a much longer time-lag compared to industry to bring about readjustment conditioned by changes in the economic situation. A farmer, for example, as compared to the industrialist, is slow to adapt himself to changed conditions.

The extreme shortage of foodstuffs in India, specially since last year, has made food problem the burning topic of the day. The general explanation given is that the vast military requirement and the cessation of imports from Burma and Malaya have reduced our supplies. But it must be remembered that these causes are not peculiar to our country alone. Reduced imports have affected Great Britain, for example, which depends for its foodstuffs on other countries. The War has caused disruption in the normal economic life of every country. But factors of production have put forth their utmost effort to rise up to the occasion, to expand production and enlarge supplies, and thus accommodate themselves to new conditions. High prices and increased demand did not fail to stimulate production. A close study into Indian conditions reveals a different picture. The very basic condition of Indian agriculture is extremely

unhealthy and it is this more than anything else that is preventing it from responding adequately to the stimulus arising out of the war. *The Indian Finance* in its issue of August 7, pointed out, with regard to the economic system as a whole,

"That though there have been present during the war period more than one stimulus to productive activity the economic system has been singularly unresponsive to such stimuli. . . . . This failure of production to register an increase can be attributed only to a chronic inelasticity of our economic system."

A study of the conditions of agriculture before the commencement of the present war, reveals to us the fact that conditions were anything but hopeful. The war has helped to accentuate trouble and increase complexities. The following table shows the acreage available for cultivation in the two selected years :

(000 omitted; Burma is excluded) in acres.

| | 1929-30 | 1939-40 |
|---|---|---|
| Net area sown | 210.38 | 209 96 |
| Total area irrigated | 49.54 | 54.95 |
| Area not available for cultivation | 93,12 | 89,31 |
| Other uncultivated land excluding fallows | 95.60 | 97.19 |
| Fallow land | 45,78 | 43,33 |

Although population has recorded a rise of 15·3% in 1941 over that of the census of 1931 there is hardly any increase in the net area sown, rather the tendency is towards a decline. As a matter of fact, there is cause to suspect that much uneconomic land is going out of cultivation, as other 'uncultivated land excluding fallows' shows a positive rise. Rise in the total area irrigated gives the hope that intensive methods of cultivation may be on an increasing use.

The importance of foodgrains in the national economy of an agricultural country cannot be minimised, but figures in this respect also show a discouraging picture. As rice and wheat form the staple crops of the country let us consider them first. The following table shows the area and average yield of rice and wheat in different periods in the country :

(Area in acres; 000 omitted; figures exclude Burma)

| | Average 1920-21 to 1924-25 | Average 1925-26 to 1929-30 | Average 1930-31 to 1934-35 | Average 1935-36 to 1939-40 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rice | 69 384 | 68.262 | 70 297 | 72.707 |
| Wheat | 29,560 | 31,519. | 33,907 | 34,389 |
| Yield in tons; 000 omitted | | | | |
| Rice | 26.247 | 25.462 | 26.703 | 25.486 |
| Wheat | 9,007 | 8,904 | 9,377 | 10,136 |

From the above table it appears that while the average acreage under rice has increased from 69,384 million to 72,707 million acres, the yield has declined. In the case of wheat however, the position is better as increase in area is accompanied by increase in yield, though the increase is not proportionate. Thus there are distinct grounds to fear that economy of crop farming is undergoing deterioration, which factor should be regarded as even more disturbing than anything else. The yield per acre of rice and wheat which indicates a declining tendency substantiates the above statement.

| In lbs. | 1931-32 | 32-33 | 33-34 | 34-35 | 35-36 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rice | 909 | 850 | 830 | 836 | 741 |
| Wheat | 648 | 684 | 611 | 678 | 677 |
| In lbs. | 1936-37 | 37-38 | 38-39 | 39-40 | 40-41 |
| Rice | 872 | 834 | 736 | 786 | 684 |
| Wheat | 703 | 728 | 668 | 766 | 685 |

So far we have dealt with rice and wheat which are the mainstay of India's population. Regarding the cheaper foodgrains, the position is not hopeful. Poorer sections of the Indian population subsist very largely on these cheaper grains. The following tables show the area and yield of barley, jowar, bajra, maize and grain :

In million acres (000 omitted)

| | 1936-37 | 1937-38 | 1938-39 | 1939-40 | 1940-41 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Barley | 6.446 | 6 225 | 6 113 | 6 014 | 6.243 |
| Jowar | 23.469 | 20.699 | 20.829 | 21.670 | 21.244 |
| Bajra | 11.449 | 12 495 | 12 776 | 13.360 | 14.083 |
| Maize | 5.731 | 5 623 | 5 711 | 5.754 | 5.718 |
| Gram | 15.528 | 13.663 | 11,685 | 11,689 | 12,700 |
| Yield in tons (000 omitted) | | | | | |
| Barley | 2.311 | 2 085 | 1.852 | 1.981 | 2.260 |
| Jowar | 4.610 | 4.039 | 4.147 | 4.512 | 4.607 |
| Bajra | 1.911 | 1.904 | 1.842 | 2.020 | 2 389 |
| Maize | 1.836 | 2 009 | 1 770 | 2.118 | 2.095 |
| Gram | 3.819 | 3.238 | 2 720 | 3.180 | 3.180 |

The entire agricultural economy of the country has stagnated, with the result it failed to react to the enormous demand made upon it by the present worldwide catastrophe.

A national economy which depends so largely on agriculture as does India, cannot but be inelastic, more so when it is still carried on, on primitive lines. Agriculture it may be known is subject to the law of diminishing returns. Experience has taught man that after some time nature reacts niggardly to his efforts on land unless something in the way of improvement is undertaken to counteract this tendency. So there is a constant effort on the part of man to counteract against this law of nature by the application of scientific knowledge. This important fact has been recognised in America and the European countries, where the help of science is constantly required in farming.

Farming is still carried on in India in small uneconomic holdings with age-long primitive tools. Scientific farming is unknown. The farmer lags behind in mental as well as physical and material equipment. The Government departments of agriculture, which exist in all the provinces have failed to bring about any improvement worth the name. Without scientific improvement agriculture cannot keep pace with the rising population. As recognised by all thinking men, a national economy so entirely dependent on agriculture as our country cannot but be unbalanced and one-sided. A planned economy in which industrialisation and scientific development of agriculture would be fitted in, would alone bring about a balance in the national economy, and these are the two fundamental economic problems which a national government alone will be able to face when the post-war reconstruction will be undertaken.

## LENINGRAD SCIENTISTS AND WAR

By Professor I. VERIGA,
*Doctor of Physical and Mathematical Sciences;*
*Chairman of the Board of Leningrad Scientists' Centre*

The blockade of Leningrad temporarily interrupted the activities of the Leningrad Scientists' Centre. Only in the spring of 1942 were the remaining 367 scientific workers in the city able to renew the work of their organization. The functions of the centre had naturally to be adjusted to the requirements of the front and the beleaguered city.

In the beginning there were only six sections, but, by the summer of 1943, there were 17 sections functioning. The scientific workers in the realm of agriculture energetically took up the problem of rationalising vegetable gardening. Their work led to two important decisions by the Leningrad Municipal Soviet—on the application of quick crop methods in potato growing and the other on the adaptation of new bacteriological nitrogenous fertilisers. The section published a number of popular booklets on these subjects, and organised several consultation stations to render aid to the gardeners. Lectures advocating the adaptation of new agrotechnical methods were held in all the state farms in the Leningrad zone. An experimental hothouse was started in winter in the garden of the scientists' centre. Six hundred lectures were delivered to the people employed in agriculture.

The technical engineering section took up the problem of utilizing machines and equipment needing renovation and repair. A body of scientific workers and technicians discussed an important paper on "ways and means for cleaning the city during the winter of 1942-1943." Suggestions made during this discussion helped greatly in accomplishing this task.

Scientists came to aid the Leningrad power stations, assisted in the work of their reconstruction and pointed out new vital problems in industrial chemistry.

The inventors' section examined all the inventions aiming at strengthening the defence of the city, and improving the municipal economy.

The food section concentrated on the problem of extending and utilizing fully the food resources and vitaminizing the food rations.

The literary and historical sections also got to work. During the first half of 1943 the scientists of Leningrad conducted six sessions devoted to great classics of Russian literature: Lomonosov, Pushkin, Belinsky, Gorky, Derzahvin, Chernishevsky and Lermontov. A voluminous almanac, regarding themes connected with the present war, is in print.

The Leningrad scientists have renewed their traditional work in the Baltic fleet of delivering lectures and talks to the different naval units. Over a thousand lectures on the most varied of topics have been delivered aboard the ships and naval hospitals during the last six months.

Many scientists, who had prepared dissertations, were unable to receive degrees due to the evacuation of colleges and scientific institutions. Others, again, completed their dissertations during the war.

Great attention is being paid to the material everyday needs by the men of science. A rest home for scientists opened last April.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

PILLARS OF SECURITY: *By Sir William H. Beveridge, K.C.B., F.B.A. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 1943. Pp. 216. Price 6s. net.*

Sir William Beveridge's has become a familiar name since the publication of his now famous Beveridge Report on Social Insurance in December, 1942. In fact his report which envisages a post-war scheme of social and economic security for all sections, created a furore both in England and abroad and evoked a good deal of comment and criticism. This volume will be of special interest to the public as it contains a summary of that momentous report and a number of his other speeches, broadcasts and essays. Some of them are no doubt clever propaganda stuff dealing with the conditions and methods of making the war effort of Britain more effective, but there are others which are devoted to explaining and elucidating his post-war Social Security Plan—and meeting certain criticisms. While we, in India, cannot be so much interested in his propaganda chapters except as lessons of how to do it effectively against the present-day public consciousness, the chapters on Social Security based on his proposed scheme of Social Insurance are of paramount interest and importance to the people all the world over. By Social Security is meant *maintanance of subsistence income at all periods of life.* Social surveys in modern cities show that want was due either to interruption or loss of earning power or to large families. The plan dealt with these two causes of want, by a double redistribution of income—between times of earning and not earning (by social insurance) and between times of large and small family responsibilities (by children's allowances).

The plan places all citizens rich and poor, high and low in the same category and provides for the same rate of contribution and benefit returns and divides the citizens into six classes on the following basis: (*i*) Employees, (*ii*) Others gainfully occupied including employers, traders and independent workers, (*iii*) Married women of working age, (*iv*) Others of working age not gainfully occupied, (*v*) Below working age, (*vi*) Above working age, *i.e.*, retired.

Every person in Class I, II, or IV will pay premium by a stamp on a single insurance document each week or combination of weeks. In Class I, the employer also will contribute, affixing the insurance stamp and deducting the employee's share from wages or salary. The contribution by men will be higher than that of women, so as to secure benefits for Class III. Classes V and VI will receive children's allowances and retirement pensions respectively from the State Exchequer.

Subject only to simple weekly premium contribution, Class I will receive benefit for unemployment and disability, pension on retirement, medical treatment and funeral expenses. Persons in Class II will receive all these except unemployment benefit and disability benefit during the first 13 weeks of disability. Persons in Class IV will receive all these except unemployment and disability benefit. As a substitute for unemployment benefit, training benefit will be available to persons in all Classes other than Class I to assist them to find new livelihoods if their present ones fail. Maternity grant, provision for widowhood and separation and qualification for retirement pension will be secured to all persons in Class III by virtue of their husband's contributions; in addition to maternity grant, housewives who take paid work will receive maternity benefit for 13 weeks to enable them to give up working before and after child-birth.

The contribution suggested is 7s. 6d. a week in the case of an adult man in employment of which 4/3 will be paid by the man and 3/3 by the employer, and 6/- a week for an adult woman in employment of which 3/6 will be paid by the woman and 2/6 by the employer; there are lower contributions for non-adults, and for persons other than employees. It is estimated that when the scheme is in full operation, the contributions of employees will provide about one-quarter of the total cost of their cash insurance benefits, exclusive of children's allowances and of national assistance, both of which will be provided wholly by taxation, the remaining three-quarter of the cash insurance benefits will be provided by taxation and the employer's contributions. In addition to the weekly contributions in insurance stamps, employers in industries scheduled as hazardous will pay an industrial levy towards the excess cost of accident and disease in those industries.

The Plan is based on the contributory principle of *giving benefits as of right in return for contributions rather than free allowances from the State, of making contributions irrespective of the means of the contributor the basis of a claim to benefit irrespective of means.* It accepts the view that in social insurance organised by the State, all men should stand together on the same terms.

The most important of the provisional rates of benefit is a joint rate of 40s. a week for a man and wife in unemployment or disability and as retirement pension. 40/- is also payable for a man and a wife who is not herself gainfully occupied. For single men and women, or men whose wives are gainfully occupied, the rate is 24/-. There is a general maternity grant of £4 for all married women and maternity benefit of 36/- a week for 13 weeks for women who are gainfully occupied. There are other detailed provisions for different conditions. In addition to social insurance, the plan for Social Security covers children's allowances, and free

comprehensive health and rehabilitation services on a nation-wide scale. The total cost of all these is estimated to amount to £697 millions in 1945 (assumed as the first full year of Plan) and £858 millions by 1965. These sums include both present and new expenditure—the increase being estimated at £86 millions in 1945 and £254 millions in 1965.

This is the Plan in a nutshell. This Plan was drawn up by Sir William Beveridge as the Chairman of the Committee composed of Civil Servants representing all the departments of the British Government. It received representations from 127 different organisations other than Government departments and met on 48 occasions —at a time when the country was engaged in a deadly struggle and the course of war was none too hopeful for her. It only proves, where there is a will, there is a way.

This plan is an attempt to maintain the capitalistic system by assuring from the State a minimum but decent standard of living to all men, women and children whether employed or unemployed, or disabled. But the sponsor of the scheme himself admits that its success will depend upon the ability of the State to prevent mass unemployment, *i.e.*, unemployment on a large and general scale. If that cannot be prevented by the State, the whole plan will collapse for want of funds as the Government cannot be expected to contribute 3-quarters of total cash benefits by taxation, if there is general unemployment in the country. There is the rub and that is why an empire will be all the more needed and exploitation of subject nations all the more necessary, as otherwise larger benefit promised to the working classes of Britain will be a difficult task to carry out. Those who have no idea of the Beveridge Report but are interested to know something about the shape of things to come should read this handy book—particularly the few chapters dealing with this plan.

Anath Gopal Sen

FINANCIAL BURDEN OF THE WAR ON INDIA : *By Prof. C. N. Vakil. Bombay. 1943. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 4.*

This book is a sequel to Prof. Vakil's previous publication "The Falling Rupee" (January, 1943), which has been followed by an expanding volume of literature on inflation in India. The fact of inflation is no longer a matter of opinion or controversy, although its degree is being still debated. India's growing export surplus, coupled with payments to the Government of India made by His Majesty's Government for essential war service rendered for common defence on India's soil has led to the accumulation of large sterling assets by India, against which rupee notes have been put into circulation. This has led to a sharp rise in prices causing considerable economic dislocation and physical hardship for the small income groups. The vicious cycle is already in operation and the author feels that unless the Government of India strikes immediately at the very root of the trouble, a financial crash is inevitable. It is recognized that the Government of India have shown their inflation consciousness by adopting the various anti-inflationary measures, *viz.*, the E. P. T. Ordinance for the recovery of large arrears, the regulation of private investment, the banning of forward transactions in cotton, seeds and bullion and the control of prices. The author contends, however, that these anti-inflationary measures will not be effective in breaking the inflation spiral unless the issue of new money is completely stopped and the entire war expenditure is completely met by taxation and rupee loans raised in India. Several other palliatives, on the line of the "Economists' Manifesto" (April, 1943), are also suggested. He makes no reference, however, to the import of consumers' goods into India which, if carried on a large scale, could serve as an effective anti-inflationary measure.

Few will dispute the accuracy of Prof. Vakil's theoretical analysis or major conclusions. But his emphasis on the political background and his unwillingness to consider the other side of the picture might give the reader an impression that the author is more critical than constructive.

Monindramohan Moulik

INDIAN CRISIS—The Background : *By John S. Hoyland. Published by George Allen & Unwin, London. 1943. Pp. 195. Price 6s. net.*

The author of this book is already well-known as an educationalist who spent years at Nagpur, and whose previous publications on Indian subjects had been marked by a deep understanding and missionary solicitude for the Indian cause. The present publication is interesting for more than one reason. Though meant primarily for the English reader—and it is welcome as a very timely publication,—it throws a flood of light and common sense on complex psychological and economic issues which should go home to Indian readers as well. It is significant that even this generous student concludes his study by emphasising that the present *impasse* is an abject "confession of failure," after two centuries of imperialism, which has also been responsible for "an ever-deepening poverty and an even more rapacious capitalism of moneylenders, land-owners and industrial magnates"! In two dozen short chapters the author discusses, with learning and lucidity, such diverse topics as the physical, economic and historical background of Indian problems, the main religious cults, the problems of education and the educated, and finally the socio-political issues of the caste system, Indian States and Satyagraha. Finally, there are readable sketches of Gandhi, Nehru, Azad, Pandita Ramabai and Gautama Buddha. A *pot-pouri* thus of things relating to India has been arranged to set the stage for a reasoned plea for Indian self-determination, for which the foreign reader must be grateful : but which in such a short compass, is also scarcely available in India. It is a miracle of condensation in presenting the fruits of years of laborious study and comprehension of an admittedly complex series of problems.

This outspoken book enlivened by personal reminiscences and breathing the Quaker's sincerity should be in the hands of our young students and may well be a "compulsory reader" for our legislators and administrators. Our thanks and congratuations to the author and the publishers.

Benoyendranath Banerjea

THE MINISTER AS A KING-MAKER : *By Dr. Ishwara Topa. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 162. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The discovery of 'Arthasastra' of Kautilya in 1905 at Mysore by Pandit Shamasastri marks a new chapter in the study of antiquities of Indian literature and history. Dr. Topa's thesis is based upon the original Sanskrit and the English translation of Pandit Shamasastri and the German translation of J. J. Meyer. Kautilya's views and ways have been brought out scientifically in this book steered clear of details likely to confuse the general reader.

In the first chapter (Fundamentals), the author brings out the importance of the whole system of Kautilyan education to develop human powers and capacities. "Sciences" must be studied and "anvikshiki"

or the philosophy of Sankhya, Yoga and Lokayata is given the first place. Then comes the triple-Vedas. Then comes "Varta" (economics) where principles of wealth, production and distribution are discussed. What Kauṭilya advocates is the growth and development of the factors of wealth. Yet, he is no economist in the present sense of the term. He is no idealist, nor a rabid materialist, nor an ascetic. He loves the world because of its goodness, its productive powers and its utility. He is in fact world-centred. He visualizes in wealth a potentiality of bettering human life in regard to its material welfare. In the second chapter (King-ship), the author brings out that in Arthasastra, the idea of king-ship is all-pervading. Everything depends upon King-ship. King must be "well-educated, disciplined in sciences." "Everything depends upon the king; he is the central pivot as it were." "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness and in their welfare, his welfare." Kautilya does not like the ascetic in King-ship. The king is the conqueror, subduer and the capturer or the "Vijigishu." But the ideal king is the "just conqueror" not a "demonlike" or "greedy" conqueror. In the last chapter (The State), the author lays down that the existence of the State is necessary for the well-being of all. King is the most important personality in the State who upholds all laws—political, social, moral and economic. Kautilya's king is divine. He is the State as it were, but the people form the real base of the Kautilyan State. The institution of espionage plays an important part within the State and even beyond it. The king must have a Council of Ministers. "Sovereignty (Rajatva) is possible only with assistance." "A single wheel cannot move." Thus the indispensibility of ministers in the successful working of Government has been established by Kautilya. But a Minister should never himself become king under any circumstances whatsoever. Even when the king is "wicked" (which Kautilya detests very much), the Minister has no right to the throne. The Prime Minister and other Ministers shall exercise the royal powers for the welfare of the State as trustees but shall never acquire king-ship. Any such work is unrighteous and excites popular fury, nor is it an accepted rule. Thus the minister can be king-maker but not the king according to Kautilya.

A foreword by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari and an introduction by Dr. Beni Prasad add to the value of this book which is well-written and deserves to be read by students of politics.

A. B. Dutta

HOW TO BE A YOGI : *By Swami Abhedananda. Published by Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19B, Raja Rajkrishna Street. Price Rs. 5 (cloth) and Rs. 4 (paper).*

This is the tenth edition of the book; it was originally intended for Swamiji's audience in the west and there it attracted a wide circle of readers. It treats of the whole system of Yoga from the rational standpoint; the psycho-physiological explanation of the different processes, particularly of that of breathing, will appeal even to those who are not partial to Yoga. References and notes have been added in the present edition for the convenience of readers.

I. C. Ray

THE CALCUTTA IMPROVEMENT ACT, 1911 (Bengal Act V of 1911) : *Edited by Mr. S. M. Murshed, Estates Law Officer, Calcutta Improvement Trust. Published by the Calcutta Improvement Trust, 5, Clive Street, Calcutta.*

The book under review is an annotated edition of the Act, as modified up to the 15th March, 1940, together with the rules framed thereunder.

The Act came into force on the 2nd of January, 1912, the primary object or purpose of which is the improvement and expansion of Calcutta by constituting a Board of Trustees to be called "The Trustees for the Improvement of Calcutta."

The notes given in the book, which are well arranged, are mainly based on the decisions of the Calcutta High Court, Privy Council judgments and also by reference, where necessary, to other authoritative and standard books on Law.

The learned commentator has put forward an argument that the Bengal Money Lenders' Act (Act X of 1940) is not applicable to the Calcutta Improvement Trust, on the ground that the balance of unpaid purchase money secured by a Deed of Security is not a loan, though it is a debt payable by the executant to the Trust. His comment is based on the authority of a parallel case decided by the Calcutta High Court, reported in A. I. R., 1941, Saradindu Sekhar Banerjee *vs.* Lalit Mohan Majumdar.

We accord a hearty welcome to this nice little edition and trust that it will serve the purposes of those who are interested in or concerned with the Trust for whom the book has been mainly written. The usefulness of the book has been further enhanced by the incorporation therein of the Calcutta Improvement (Appeals) Act, 1911 (Central Act No. XVIII of 1911), also annotated by the learned editor.

Jitendra Nath Bose

EVERYDAY GARDENING IN INDIA : *By E. W. Grindal. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay. With an Introduction by Oliver Graham, Government House, Karachi. Price Rs. 4-14.*

The author is a successful man having practical experience of over 30 years in gardening. He has dealt with the subject in several informative chapters in a masterly way and many useful and scientific data, not known to many, are incorporated in the book. To a plant-lover an orderly garden not only pleases the eye but it is poetry demonstrated. The book is worth reading and is a very valuable companion to a gardener as well as to a garden-lover. The author should be thanked and congratulated for publishing such a book.

Robindra Mohon Datta

AN INTRODUCTION TO CIVICS : *By S. N. Sen, M.A. Published by Book Land Ltd., 1, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4 only.*

Civics is a science of recent growth and every citizen in a modern society is expected to have some knowledge of it. It has found an important place in the syllabus of different Universities as well. Good books on this subject, specially those suited for the average reader are welcome. It is a pleasure to recommend Prof. Sen's book to those who desire to obtain accurate knowledge of civics within the compass of a handy volume. The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with politics and the second with economics. Indian politics from the Indian point of view is a special feature of the first section and thus helps the beginner to acquire a knowledge of general politics with Indian examples and to understand the variations with regard to this country. The style is simple and lucid, particularly suitable for beginners.

OIL EXTRACTION : *By J. P. Patel. Published by the A. I. V. I. A., Maganvadi, Wardha. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is the third edition of a very useful book, which gives in detail the process of oil extraction with the bullock oil press. The book discusses the problem of the oil mill *vs.* the Ghani and gives the provincial types of Ghanis. It describes the principles of Ghani

construction and with the help of a number of sketches, tells the reader how to make a Ghani, how to instal and repair it. Processes of pressing gingily, groundnut, cocoanut, linseed and mustard seeds have all been described. The book will prove of immense value to Bengal villagers if broadcast in Bengali.

D. B.

MUSEUM METHOD : *By Minendra Nath Basu, M.Sc., P.R.S. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1943. Pp. viii+36.*

Mr. Basu has taken up a right line in the matters of cleaning, preservation and arrangement of museum specimens in the museums. In our country, museums are kept in a manner which is not satisfactory and which has evoked criticism from expert quarters. The Calcutta University has done a commendable service by encouraging research in this important sphere.

The booklet deals with the methods of handling museum specimens of different types and the various preservatives and cleaning objects the writer has found working satisfactorily in the Ashutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. The writer has paid particular attention to the climatic condition of Bengal and has enumerated several cheap materials which, according to his findings, can be applied as cleaning and preserving materials in museums.

Many of the experiments should, however, be continued for longer periods and on larger number of specimens to make the processes prescribed by the author safely acceptable.

We hope the Calcutta University will lend all possible help for further research in this important field.

SAILENDRA BEJOY DASGUPTA

## SANSKRIT

LINGADHARANACHANDRIKA OF NANDIKESHWARA WITH TRANSLATION AND FULL NOTES : *By M. R. Sakhare, M.A., T.D. (Cantab.), Professor of Sanskrit and Education, Lingaraj College, Belgaum. Published by the Author, 134, Thalakwadi P. O.*

We have here a critical edition, accompanied by a long introduction, English translation, Notes and Appendices, the first part of a late Sanskrit work of the Lingayats, based on two manuscripts and a printed edition. It seems to prove that the practice of carrying the Linga as observed by the Lingayats is sanctioned by Brahmanical texts occurring in the Vedas, Agamas, Puranas and Smritis. The long and rather diffuse introduction (which could have as well been issued as a separate volume) traces the origin and development of Saivism and refers to the characteristic features of the Lingayat school and its literature in Kanarese as well as in Sanskrit. The appendices quote extracts from a number of other works elucidating different aspects of the school. We commend the volume to all interested in the Lingayats about whom little is known by scholars outside the sect.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## BENGALI

JATIR BARANIA JARA : *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by Messrs. S. K. Mitra & Bros., 12, Narkel Bagan Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 95. Price Re. 1.*

This is another suitable addition to the Bengali juvenile literature. The number of books on lives of great men are many but very few books throw light on the lives of parents of these great men although parental influences exerted a great force in moulding the character of these world-famous personalities. Mr. Bagal in this little book has portrayed the lives of parents of some of the greatest men of the East and the West. Stories of Jijabai (Shivaji's mother), Josia and Abier Franklin (parents of Benjamin Franklin), Mary Washington (mother of George Washington), Madame Laticia (Nepoleon's mother), Bhagabati Debi (Vidyasagar's mother), Sonamoni Debi (mother of Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee), and mothers of Masaryck, Ataturk, Mussolini, Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek and Mahatma Gandhi have been told in a language most suitable for the young minds.

We have no doubt that this book will find its way to Bengali homes like the other juvenile books of the author.

A. B. DUTTA

## GUJARATI

THE LATE KUMAR MOTISINGHJI MAHEDO : *Edited by P. T. Adalja. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Printing Press, Baroda. Thick cardboard. Illustrated. Pp. 384. Price Rs. 8.*

Kumar Motisinhji belonged to a princely family and had leanings towards literature, like "Kalapi' the late Thakor Sahib of Lathi. Nothing gave Motisinhji greater pleasure than entertaining literary friends. This memorial volume includes his own writings, prose and poetry, and a large number of tributes paid to him by his friends and relatives, bringing in relief the loss sustained by Gujarati literature by his premature death.

RANAMAL CHHAND AND ITS TIME : *By Moulana Syed Abu Zafar Nadavi. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 21. Price annas four.*

MUZAFFAR SHAHI, PERSIAN TEXT AND TRANSLATION : *By Moulana Nadavi and C. R. Naik. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 88+48. Price Re. 1-4.*

Moulana Nadavi is one of the best scholars of Urdu and Persian in Gujarat. He has made Gujarat his house and his researches into the History of Gujarat as written by Persian writers are a landmark in the present literature of the Province. In the first small book he has tried to fix the time when the battle recited in the chronicle between the Ruler of Idar and the Mughal Subedar of Gujarat in which the latter was defeated must have been fought (A.D. 1390). He has utilised contemporary works written in old Gujarati. The second book relates to the reign of Muzaffarshah in the sixteenth century. A very interesting account as to the finding of the manuscript and a commentary on it in Gujarati, describing and checking various incidents as narrated in other works render the book a model research work.

AKHO : *By Umashankur Joshi. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 308. Price Rs. 2.*

The writer calls this work of his a study and really it is a model study. Akho was a philosopher poet of medieval Gujarat, and has written both philosophical and sarcastic poems lashing hypocrites who call themselves sadhus and saints. A systematic study of his life and work was a desideratum, and Mr. Joshi has supplied it : one great fact that he has established is this; *viz.*, that Akho was not the creator of this branch of "slashing" poetry but had followed a predecessor, Mandan. It is to be noted that both poets came from the middle class, Akho was a goldsmith, and Mandan who flourished one and a half century before him was a fuller. The "study" is a fine work of research, review and criticism.

K. M. J.

# BRAVE DARK WORLD

By SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.,
*Offg. Principal, Jessore College*

From some enthusiastic quarters comes the call to a brave new world but the prophets of gloom caution us that it is a dark world, one of automobiles and aeroplanes, of electricity and television but all the same of unrest and extinction. The proud record of 10,000 years of what we call civilisation has but pushed us on to the perilous verge of total annihilation. What exactly the shape of things would be in the distant future, even the most frenzied of prophets fears to declare, specially in view of the spiritual chaos which exists in the world today. But when they attempt to do so, as Huxley and Wells have actually done, they justify our worst apprehension with their monstrosities, with whose birth-pangs the present civilisation is supposed to be convulsed. If civilisation were to mean the sum total of all material comforts which a man can desire,—and for that matter, the freedom from barbarism on the physical plane, then the world to come as visualised by the above writers, is at the zenith of it. But the most fundamental question still blazes forth in its fury on the top of Huxley's 32-storied building, and enlightened man, complacent of his conquest of the world, hangs his head down in tongue-tied silence, to face that simple disyllabic word, whither.

Is civilisation a disease? It is a question eagerly asked, met halfway and shamefacedly answered in all quarters. The apotheosis of the 'noble savage' is an intellectual cult which only gathered momentum from Rousseau but originated much earlier and from various combination of causes in the 15th and 16th centuries. Since then, crowded cities and towns have often sent out men wandering imaginatively in search of their visionary state of nature, in the wildernesses of the newly explored colonies of the Renaissance world. As regards the nature of the present civilisation which is the proud record of 20th century man, at least two writers have made very definite suggestions which throw cold water on the incipient vanity of man. Individual neurosis is curable but not social neurosis, which, according to them, is the acutest form of disease from which the present civilisation is suffering. With material happiness mental varies in inverse ratio. It surely is the most baffling of paradoxes that at a time when humanity boasts of having reached the very summum bonum of earthly life, of having created a record which was not even so much as equalled on the enlightened banks of the Nile, Tigris, Euphrates and Tiber, man should, like the Wandering Jew, remain a perpetual tramp on the highroad to genuine happiness. There are symptoms in the civilisation, of an acute ailment consequent upon an inner exhaustion of energy, which not even the dazzling splendour of their form and physique can whitewash. Suicide and insanity are the behaviour-patterns of the present times and do they not indicate a far deeper unrest in the inmost recess of soul, than what the sensational newspaper headlines can amuse us with? They signify the sporadic results of a slow-poison which has somehow got in to the system of humanity. E. Carpenter, in his famous book entitled *Civilisation, its Cause and Cure,* has advanced powerful arguments to prove that civilisation today betrays signs of an internal decay.

Failure of modern medicine in combating diseases has given a rude shock to many, Carpenter included. But what is even more serious is its trend towards cure rather than prevention. That a science, which is proud of the momentous discoveries within 50 years, of anti-toxic sera, hormones and insulin, of organic compounds like vitamins,—should devote its precious energy to the cure only,—and that not without occasional failures, of diseases which have already set in, and not to the recreation in man of a state of natural health which in itself is an immunity against any alien attack, is a matter for no small despair. Look at the savage in his wind-swept shelter, weathering rain and sun alike with perfect physical equanimity and standing as a bulwark against all bacterial aggression. Does not the soul of man cry out from under the oppression of painbalms and endocrine products, for an escape into that untempted Eden where the serpent of civilisation has not peered with his angelic face?

There are men who have dubbed modern science a false Messiah. It stumbles today, because it aims at an intellectual comprehension of this world, ignoring the possibilities of an emotional or combined approach. Intellect, according to Bergson, cannot give us a coherent view of reality; it gives only snapshots, but not a cinematographic picture which is available only through intuition. But science holds an opposite view. It congratulates itself upon an approach to reality that is entirely dispassionate and therefore, most correct. But its very dis-

passionateness makes it partial on the side of intellectualism. Besides, it is not difficult to see that even in the accumulated mass of snow-cold, disinterested theories of science, thawing has set in. Break has occurred somewhere in the golden thread which bound the universe of thought and existence, according to science. The law of causality, that uncontradicted symbol of philosophical godhood, has betrayed incapacity to cope with certain mysterious phenomena of the world. It is now the law of Indeterminacy or uncertainty which holds sway. "If we know where an electron is going." says Heisenburg, enunciating his law, "we cannot precisely know where it is, and if we know precisely where it is, we cannot find out where it is going." The new idea of evolution discards the law of cause and effect which maintained echoing the mechanical voice of 19th century science, that there can not be more in the effect than what was already in the cause. As a matter of fact, evolution creates new and more complex patterns and is instrumental in the emergence of new qualities.

Apart from the theoretical imperfections of science, there are difficulties which frustrate the very mission of it. Far from being an unmixed blessing, it has become an instrument for the extirpation of anything good. It has ignored the fact that man is not fundamentally good and that what is intended to be a boon, may be converted into a veritable weapon of destruction. Science is a Prospero's wand wielded by a Caliban.

In socio-economic sphere also, civilised man can claim no significant victory. Even in this hey-day of progress, feudal traits still persist in one form or another, not to speak of the world-wide capitalist domination. Nowhere have profession and practice varied more divergently than possibly in politics, and pious platitudes of biblical sanctity and mystic awe have only adorned the text-books of the universities. Here also has civilisation, like a clever commander, kept under skilful camouflage, its hideous array of soul-killing weapons of war. Instinct of personal possession is a heritage of centuries and appears to be much too deep-rooted to be so soon eliminated as some of our Utopians are duped into thinking. It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that the earliest social design was far more elastic, being based, as it was, on equal rights of individual members to the joint product. The present civilisation is a bundle of contradictions. Such a queer amalgam of wealth and destitution was rare in the past. Nor was there a society ever, which so much lacked wealth and so much suffered from the plethora of it. Squalid scenes of starvation and death alongside of gigantic sky-scrapers, of colourful superfluity of dress and naked shivering in the cold, can only be found in the great cities of today. And civilisation has been described as "citification" or making of cities, of which there seems to be no end.

"The institution of government," says Carpenter, "is in fact the evidence in social life that man has lost his inner central control, and must resort to an outward one. Losing touch with the inward man,—who is his best guide,—he relies upon an external law which must be false."

This Rousseauistic denunciation of state, which is also denounced by Marx as "'parasitic excrescence," is possibly a bit extreme, but can not be denied in its entirety.

The more man has departed from Nature, the more pronounced has been his downfall. 'Return to nature' is a cry raised a long ago, but still reverberated in all the quarters of the globe. But the god of science is three parts of him a philistine; robbing Nature of her terror, he has robbed her of her beauty too. God created man in his own image and man created Nature in his own image. Nature is now contained in the flower-vase in the carpeted drawing rooms of aristocrats. An artificial arm-chair intellectualism, dependent upon a world of make-believe, is the characteristic of this age. A modern student is a "bookish theoric" who has lost all touch with open-air life. He best thrives in a lecture hall. His astounding scholarship is divorced from life and his life, a bundle of lifeless scholarship.

Although Dr. Freud ends his brilliant essay on "Civilisation and its Discontents," upon a note of optimism, that eternal Eros will put forth his strength to maintain himself alongside of his equally immortal adversary, that is Death, yet normally he is neither optimistic nor cheerful, but is obsessed with the idea of a universal obsession with the irresistible instinct of aggression. Himself a specialist in individual neurosis, he views with apprehension, the growth of what may be called social neurosis, which, of course, he confesses, he has not the skill to remedy, but which, he expects, will some day be cured by more expert neurologists. For the present, there is no hope for mankind, engaged in a death-grapple with Eros and aggression, the two most fundamental instincts of man.

"The fateful question of human species," says he, "seems be to be whether and to what extent cultural processes developed in it will succeed in mastering the

derangement of communal life caused by human instinct of aggression and destruction." He submits in all humility, "My courage fails me, therefore, at the thought of rising up as a prophet before my followmen and I bow to their reproach that I have no consolation to offer them."

Our civilisation is conspicuous not so much by its disease as by the diagnosis of it. Never before has this diagnosis been so sure, and its resultant despair so trenchant, as at the present moment and no one has spoken more bitterly of this disease than Freud whose scathing criticism is as biting as his most helpless despair. But beyond a few vague suggestions which are still in the realm of speculative wistfulness he offers no solution. He takes us by the hand into the hospital but gives no balm, and escapes into the delightful vagueness of psycho-pathological speculation.

It is only the communists who make bold to look it in the face. Says R. Rolland :

"Communism today is the only world-wide party of social action which without reservation and without compromise, is carrying the flag and making its way, with considered and courageous logic, towards the conquest of high mountainlands."

The communists believe that private property has corrupted mankind and that its abolition would enable man to be emparadised into an ideal state of society, where there will be no inequality and therefore, no want. But Freud says that private property is not the cause of aggression but a powerful weapon in its hand. For biological aggression inheres in man independent of the social pattern in which he is placed. Like modern science, private property is also an instrument through the medium of which, death instinct extends its devastating sway. Given a state of economic equality, will man be happy ? No, says Freud. The biological inequality will be there to baffle the most stubborn idealistic effort to level it down. In an ideal communistic state man will hunt down man over questions of many other possessions outside private property. But Freud still ventures to hope that culture may partially control the aggressive instinct by suitable reaction-formations. In this connection it is not irrelevant to mention that according to A. Huxley, the large-scale social reform as it is being effected in Soviet Russia is inadequate for the removal of evil. It is only by going deeper into the individual will, by the suppression of unruly desires that one may expect to do so.

Escapism is a symptom of our cultural decadence. Many thinkers in their illuminating treatises have exposed the temper of the modern civilisation as sterile and decadent, and in the end, have, like the ostrich, thrust their head under sands. C. G. Jung is one of them. He recognises the spiritual problem before modern man, looks it in the face, then passes off at a tangent and finally, escapes into eastern mysticism and theosophy. The problem is said to be turning upon the word materialism. Some thinkers accuse the world of having too much of it and others, of having none at all. There are men like Keyserling who take umbrage at the widespread materialism which, like a boa-constrictor, holds the world in its poisonous embrace. The culture-hero of the modern times, they say, is the chauffeur, and Mammon, the beloved culture-god. The crucifixion which they adore today is the crucifixion into wealth and the money-mad Croesus is the Christ. But these philosophers cry hoarse over the "soul-side" and in their delightful dream of a rejuvenated world, Ixion-like, embrace but a phantom. Jung would have us believe that the solution lies in diverting our centrifugal attention inwards, in the direction of the psyche from the depth of which will arise new forms to quicken a new birth.

When modern man burns incense at his own altar, he himself becomes invisible behind its smoke screen. It is the vanity of his, of the conquest of Nature, of unprecedented progress, which binds him like the shirt of Nessus. This hysteric convulsion to make itself free from its poisoned grip, has begun to be felt in the present unrest. In his enthusiasm for the dry light of intellect, the greatest mistake he has committed is the division of body and mind into two watertight compartments of which the latter was localised by Descartes in the pineal gland, although, of course, this is removable by surgery to no detriment of the body or the mind. This division has been productive of a very grave result, that of perpetuating a distinction where there is no difference and also of studying the mind or soul as a mystic principle in complete isolation. The soul or the mind is a process or a sum total of processes, as the Marxists would like to call it. It is again dependent on various factors, the chief of them being, according to Freud, family, and according to Marxists, society, but in any case, environment.

But psychology being a Cinderella of sciences, craves possibly too much of our indulgence, inasmuch as, it dissociates mind from its necessary adjunct, the environment, and isolates its behaviour with the limits of the individual. Here lies the essential difference between Freudianism and Marxism. Freud sets

up man against the background of biological forces, ignoring that aspect of man which has from time to time affected his sheer biological behaviour. It may not be irrelevant to argue here that the very repressed elements which psycho-analysis brings to light, will vary from age to age according to varying economic conditions, until at last neurosis will be a thing of the past. Freud has made a wrong calculation, inasmuch as, he has drawn mainly upon unhealthy and morbid minds and has not experimentally observed mental behaviour under varying economic conditions from the most straitened to the most opulent. Nor can we lose sight of the fact that for all time to come, he is haunted by a world-wide spectre of neurosis which is more apparent than real. Freud also is dialectic, but only in rudiments, in that he recognises a dualism between life and death, but unfortunately he misses the synthesis and his dialectics is cut short in the midway from where he takes an uncertain leap into the future. J. B. S. Halden has hit the bull's eye by pointing out that his theories of neurosis would not hold good in case of ancient societies nor in cases of future societies. Freud's theory of neurosis and its practical efficiency are signs of the convulsion which the world is now experiencing and he himself is a child of decadence. But the Marxists look upon the mind as a part of nature, still in the process of evolution and not a finished and finite clod. It is through this belief that we can see a silver lining in the sky which is otherwise painted with dark.

That the industrialism of the present is not an unmixed blessing is a fact on which it is difficult to disagree witih writers like Spengler who denounce the Americanising tendency of the present as the decadence of civilisation and plead for a return to the age of simple heroism. But whether the evil of industrialism outweighs the good is the vital question, but one which is not easy of solution. There are men like A. Huxley who suggest a via media, that of pursuing small-scale industry on a more or less individual basis, in lieu of large-scale industry which dominates the field of production today. This, in his opinion, will be preventive of the speedy mechanisation of life which follows close upon the heels of industrialism and prevent humanity from being uprooted. After all it can not be gainsaid that industrialism tends, inter alia, to reduce mankind to standardised classes or categories and leaves no scope for delicate individual development,—a critique applicable also to communistic society which in its zeal for equalising man, proceeds to the extent of de-individualising him. Here also mankind is faced with the same confusion which besets him from every direction. As on the one hand, he is loth to accept the thraldom of industrialism, he is no less so to part with the privileges of large-scale productions which are original features of the present civilisation.

The worship of the strong is a cult which has exercised a charm upon the imagination of man at all times. In the dream of Nietzsche, in the lurid oratory of Spengler, this strong man of the land of heart's desire has been worshipped in terms of idolatry. It is not wholly fantastic to suppose that the iron dictatorships of the present are but the concrete embodiment of man's perpetual homage at the altar of strength. The German philosopher's hoarse cry exhorting man to return to barbarism, has been taken up by the rest of the world in a chorus. In the form of a concrete proposal, it has been introduced by Alexis Carrel in his *Man, the Unknown* wherein after exploring the mystic core of man, he bursts out in a paean of the strong man of the future. He postulates his theory of a thinking centre on the model of the Rockefeller Institute and others, for specially selecting and upbringing the mentally and physically powerful children of the world,—an example copied invariably from the Nazi countries. He outlines his modern Utopia in the following passage :

"Culture without comfort, beauty without luxury, machinery without enslaving factories, science without the worship of matter, would restore to man his intelligence, his moral sense, his virility and lead him to the summit of developments." Again, "Modern nations will save themselves by developing the strong. Not by protecting the weak."

This he proposes to do by pursuing eugenics, by controlling diatetics, and even by controlling the biological laws of mutation. Proper treatment of criminals and the insane is also a part of his programme. Science, he thinks, has lost sight of the fundamental unity of body and soul, the restoration of which will people the universe with veritable supermen, born out of the universal research institute.

Known passions are bad but those unknown are worse. This is the most important discovery of psycho-analysis. In the buried layers of the mind, desires and feelings, memories and emotions, thrust down by the idealistic urge of the ego, well up at times with such a tremendous impact that the quiet tempo of the conscious mind is terribly shaken. "Love thy neighbour" is an ancient maxim, but it was deemed necessary to be strictly enforced by inviolable

sanction in order to pit against the demon of aggression a strong utilitarian barrier. In Soviet Russia, we are told, the maxim has been embodied in utilitarian calculus, namely, the valuation of what conduces to the permanent well-being of human race. If Russia has succeeded in this, she has surely created an undreamt-of record.

Whether she has and how far she has, are the questions on the decision of which hangs to a large extent the destiny of man. Because when every political and economic experiment has fallen short of satisfaction like the League of Nations, the Russian experiment seems to be the one which is worth undertaking. Before publication in 1935, of their book entitled *Soviet Communism: a New Civilisation,* Sidney and Beatrice Webb put a note of interrogation after the title of the book. But the events of the subsequent years were so very conclusive that they removed the question mark and recognised the newness of the civilisation. But what is civilisation ? To define this word, to fix its import, to focuss upon its ever-expanding connotation, is the most difficult problem of our time. The word is sometimes used to denote the progress of human society from the primitive to the present age. Generally it signifies the sum total of progress in the mental and material sphere. But says R. Muir that it must also include the determination of the relation between man and man in society, without which it is imperfect. A definition which is to satisfy all fastidious opinions has to be elastic enough to include all connotations of the term. It must represent its historical aspect as well as its present achievement. It will include all concievable material progress as well as man's mental achievement. It must emphasise man's social relation but also man in his own individuality. The present civilisation has, therefore, a history behind it, and did not appear like Minerva out of Jupiter's head, full-grown. To regard it as complete, autonomous and permanently beneficial, is a Victorian dogmatism of faith that has long since been exploded. We believe today in an essential dynamism of history; in unceasing evolution from shape to shape, from stage to stage, from one brilliant record to a still more brilliant one, till mankind evolve a new quality which Alexander calls deity and socialists, possibly, classlessness, which at any rate, will revolutionise the present conception of values, moral, social and economic. Now the question is, is that new quality emerging in Russia ?

One remembers in this connection Huxley's sarcastic remark that there is one word common to all dictatorial vocabularies and used alike by Fascists, Nazis and Communists, and that world is 'historical.' In spite of its raciness, the above statement does not carry conviction and the modern trend of thought is to recognise an essential dynamism in history, though not necessarily of a dialectic nature. The first application of this theory to politics is sometimes overpraised and very often not praised at all. It is only lately that adversity has made strange bedfellows of Great Britain and U. S. S. R. but only a short while ago the former entertained an opinion about the latter which was definitely anti-commintern and symbolical of her national conservatism. In spite of everything it can not be denied that man's age-long dream of equality has attained an unprecedented standard of perfection in Russia, which has created a progressive culture as distinguished from the decadent one of the continent, an ideal of cosmopolitanism distinct from the sugared internationalism of the League of Nation days. The brooders of melancholy regarded the successive five year plans as foredoomed to failure and the gigantic plants and machineries were, according to their oracle, supposed to be atrophied in no time and to become the tombstone of the civilisation of which they were the symbols. But all the forebodings were definitely falsified and what followed the constructive years was not disillusionment which comes in the wake of capitalistic culture, but concrete record of life-giving progress.

Soviet Russia is now in a melting pot and what will emerge out of its present chaos, it is too early and difficult also, to forsee. Nor have we been able to judge the Russian experiment being carried to a fairly satisfactory standard. We found Russia responding to the universal demand for equality. We found her marching along the way but not at the goal, when came the war, and in its wake, complete suspension of constructive efforts for years to come. It is therefore too early to judge her now with anything like finality and we can only look to the future when she will gain her lost equipoise.

In the meanwhile, we can discuss one or two theoretical objections in regard to communism and its practical realisation, as in Russia. The quintessence of communism had been the Holy Grail of human aspiration and in its quest humanity had been lost in the quagmire of hypocrisy and deceit. But it is still an ideal which is worth pursuit in spite of the will-o-the

wisps which are ready to lure man away. But the question which casts a dim twilight upon the credulous mind of man, is of freedom, not social freedom of which communism undertakes to provide us with much, but individual freedom. In the pattern of society envisaged by communism, man is free but he wears his heart upon his sleeve. According to the most authoritative opinion, that of R. Rolland, individual opinion in Soviet Russia is made to subserve social opinion, should it dare to differ. In spite of the healthy ideal of social and economic equality, of increased facility for all, of abolition of unrestricted competition, the fact remains that the individual's own home is his castle, that he has got an aura of his own, a luminous mist about himself, which he emanates and from which he draws his own nourishment. Individual freedom would truly mean the unhampered exclusiveness in his own little circle of light, a complete laissez faire in all cultural matters. His mental health is largely dependent upon this factor, interference with which is likely to cause individual and therefore social neurosis, in spite of the normal plane of life which will be sought to be established.

Stalin once tried to convince Wells of the fact that Russia was the only country which might claim to be the home of the spirit of freedom. But the fact is that given a normal plane of activity, the machinery set in motion in Russia is a mould which is likely to produce types rather than individuals. Independence of thought will naturally get crushed down to suit the Procustean bed. Intellectuals and pacifists have been accused of being guilty of aiding nationalism and bourgeois domination. They may have committed this unconscious sin but their conscious effort to preserve their own intellectual existence, to keep the core of their culture from merging into the general culture, is an effort to which it is worthwhile being martyrs. So far as ideas are concerned, the individual's own heart is the home of impossible loyalties. One is perfectly at one with R. Rolland when he says that an escape from social life into the detached atmosphere of the study, is a crime for even the intellectuals, but one must also voice with him that "The freedom of thought is the sacred duty of a modern man." In a letter to some Communists he says:

"It is not we who assault. We are the assaulted. You are attacking us. We defend, against you, freedom of thought. If we did not do so, if we men of thought acquiesced in the enslavement of thought to a political party, we would not be able to bear up our own contempt." Then again, "Freedom of thought takes no orders from Paris, Rome or Moscow."

The fact that writers like Ivan Bunin who belonged to pre-revolutionary Russia, have to seek themselves alien homes beyond the borders of their own motherland, gives the lie direct to what Stalin said to Wells. In an open letter to R. Rolland these writers gave expression to their claim still to be considered the children of Russia and Rolland who is otherwise a supporter of Russia, consoled them with myths and make-believes. It may be mentioned incidentally that equality and communism are not altogether incompatible, as it is supposed to be in Russia. We cannot ignore the forceful writer Huxley whose ex-cathedral statements are more productive of thought than they are conclusive of truth. Although to his philosophy of non-attachment we attach not much practical value, we cannot ignore him saying that the Russian experiment has replaced one dictatorship with another. The philosophical justification of this theory may be found in another writer, named A. Cobban, who says that all democracies, including the most advanced form of it, logically lead to dictatorship and the best thing is to revert to the 18th century law of reason and nature. One remembers here Voltaire's famous remark that the society will always have two classes, the oppressed and the oppressor, and that the idea of equality being the most natural, is also the most illusory. Without accepting the theory in toto, it may be apprehended that Marx's idea that the state will wither away in due course of time, may not prove true, because the dictatorship of the proleteriat will also mean centralisation with an oligarchy which will be a state in rudiment and which again will remain the same instrument for maintaining privileges, as it is now under capitalism or as it previously was under feudalism.

The quintessence of civilisation is its culture, its mystic core, whose connotation is enlarged by the social and economic enfrachisement, but which, nevertheless, has a right to exist, even though in an imperfect form, under any other type of government less liberal in point of equality. This is what Soviet communism in particular denies. Communism seems to be an engrossing doctrine; it spares no part of man to himself and demands a complete holocaust of the whole man. It implies a complete transvaluation of thought and things, a thorough re-orientation of the character of man. Social utility is the tyrant of communistic faith which outweights all other considerations and standards of achievement. That there can be something which is ultra-utilitarian, something which is

not socially harmful or useful either, an inviolable core of sweetness and light which defies all considerations of mass welfare and which constitutes our spiritual and intellectual life, is a faith which is repudiated by communism. What it insists upon is a complete overhauling of ideas and achievements and harnessing them to the service of man. To an outward overhauling we submit, but not to the stifling of the inner voice of culture.

There is another theoretical objection which we can not help mentioning. If we recognise the materialistic interpretation of history, it becomes difficult for us to believe that the stateless, classless society will be anything like a permanent terminus, where civilisation, after centuries of tiresome journey, will cry halt for good. History, on the contrary, is dynamic; its onward march will refuse to be arrested; and history repeats itself. The cyclic interpretation of history as given by Spengler also deserves notice. What then the Marxists look up to as the ultimate goal or culminating point of social progress, is but a milestone, a necessary stage, along an endless path of movement, without aim, permanency, cessation. Stagnation is contrary to the life of society. It means putrefaction and production of poisonous toxins which will be the death of the society. Viewed sub specie eternetates, this unsubstantial pageant of ours is the concrete embodiment of a futile effort, of an aimless unrest, for form, permanency and stay. But like Tantalus we stretch our hands only to find that our most cherished thing recedes and eludes our grasp. Forward then, but with a heavy heart, for ahead of us is a pathless march and a dark world awaiting somberly in illimitable horizon, and my comrades, let us brave it with a cheerless but an unflinching heart.

## PRICE-CONTROL—METHODS AND DIFFICULTIES

By K. D. UPPAL, M.A.

PRICE-control was not completely unknown in ancient days. In recent times, however, government intervention in the economic institutions of various countries has been expanding rapidly and the policy of *laissez-faire* is being discarded. The Great War of 1914-18 prepared the ground thoroughly for State action, and the world depression which commenced in 1929 strengthened this tendency. The present war in 1939 has led to the introduction of pricecontrol in almost all the countries of the world including India.

Price-control is the intervention of the State in the determination of prices, ordinarily by legislative acts, with a view to raise, lower or stabilise them. It is a political act based on economic motives and economic consequences. Price in a purely competitive system is determined at a point where the marginal demand price *via* consumer's desire and their purchasing power and the marginal supply price *via* seller's costs and holding power are equal. The object of any policy to control prices should be to control each one of the above factors.

In a competitive economic system the price system is very important. It corrects various maladjustments in a modern society and the adoption of a policy of price-control checks the smooth functioning of the price mechanism and a frozen structure tends to replace the more flexible competitive system. Under a competitive economy the best way of achieving the maximum economic welfare is the complete freedom possessed by every individual to balance costs and utilities. But under a regime of pricecontrol the automatic working of the competitive system is displaced by arbitrary decisions which involve waste unless the controller of prices possesses the complete knowledge of the innumerable forces which set the economic system to work and influence the rise or fall of prices.

Broadly speaking the main function of the price system is to equate supply and demand. The objectives of the price system are :—(1) to attract supplies and inferentially the requisite capital and labour for production of necessary supplies; (2) to limit demand to the supplies available; (3) to provide fair distribution of the available supplies according to the needs of each individual member of a society so far as the existing inequalities of income permit; and (4) to conserve the supplies that are available. Price-control means the disturbance of the equation of demand and supply. Prices cannot be controlled effectively unless both supply and demand are controlled.

In any scheme of price control demand can be controlled by rationing. In a control of supplies however, discrimination is necessary. No such article should be controlled whose supply is elastic, or for which adequate substitutes are available, or which is not widely consumed or which can be imported quite conveniently.

Before we proceed on to study the methods of price-control it appears imperative to say as to what should be the agency to control prices. Price-control is essentially a government policy and hence the function of the Government. So far as Government control of prices is concerned, there is no doubt that price-control attempts have so far ended in disappointment. The heavy rise in the prices of food-stuffs and the occurrence of famine in Bengal, Orissa and in some other parts of India have proved the inability of the executive officers to exercise effective price-control. The existing food situation in various parts of India urges that modification is necessary in the present policy of entrusting this work to executive officers. The task needs a special study and only economists who are fully aware of the economic conditions of the country and the various factors that determine prices in a market should be called upon to do this work. The present haphazard policy which has been so far followed by the Government of India and by various Provincial and State Governments should be immediately abandoned. There should be instead now a uniform and planned policy of price-control adopted in all parts of the country under the guidance of economists.

In India the economic system is dynamic and not static and as such involves a very great obstacle in the way of smooth functioning of any measure of price-control. If it may be possible at the start to fix a price as would prevail under competitive conditions, the entire structure is always likely to break down when conditions change as a political authority can at least be not very flexible. What is necessary, however, is that the price-controlling authority should be one who may be in the constant habit of observing the numerous factors that govern the economic life of a country and may be able to adjust its control orders in the existing situation of the community.

Price-control may be direct or indirect. Indirect methods such as duties, quotas, subsidies, etc., are concerned with the price determining forces rather than with price itself. Direct price-control attempts to limit the movement of prices by fixing them at a certain level. It may take the form of maximum as in India to safeguard the consumers, or minimum as in any period of economic depression to safeguard producers; or specific price fixing as in England on the basis of cost of production to protect consumers from profiteering. In England price-control was instituted by the Price of Goods Act of 1939. For goods coming within its scope, any rise in prices ruling before the war must be justified by an increase in specified costs which should be covered by the permitted price *i.e.*, price in August 1939 plus increase in selling and production costs since then. An efficient and highly organised machinery and heavy penalties are provided for in case of evasion.

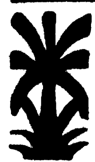
It is theoretically possible for the holding power of producers and the purchasing power of consumers to be strongly influenced by the price regulating authority, but it seems impossible to effect a similar control over desires and costs. They can be influenced to a varying extent, but not completely controlled except in a totalitarian state. This fact introduces difficulties in the success of price-control in a democratic State.

Again in the price system there exists a close inter-relationship between industries and prices, so that price regulation can succeed only if all prices are fixed and not merely by fixing only one price, and such control is only possible under a complete regimentation of the economic activities of the entire community. The economic system in democratic countries is very complex and any interference with any part of such a system is sure to cause dislocations elsewhere. Moreover no scheme of price control can anticipate all the devices of evasion. It is difficult to enforce any comprehnsive scheme of price-control when powerful and widespread economic factors count against it. If any half-hearted and ill-considered scheme of price-control is introduced the quality of goods in a market may be lowered and shortage of supplies may occur.

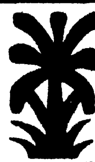
Though price-control becomes a necessity during a war, it cannot be fully effective to cure all the evils of a high price-level. Price-control will be politically successful and economically sound only if it is regarded as one of the aspects of general economic policy followed during a war. In war-times when the tendency to finance it by inflationary means is clearly perceptible price-control becomes a hydraheaded problem and not easy of solution at all. In such a situation attempts to control prices in face of the counter-tendency of inflation to shoot up prices are bound to be neutralised.

No price-control measure can be effective in an economy where such fundamental factors as the quantity of money, the level of interest rates, taxation and the amounts of goods available are regulated on entirely different principles.

On the administrative side price-control results largely in grave social abuses such as bribery and corruption.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## The Call of the Seasons

In a letter to Dr. Kalidas Nag written some time in the last week of June 1922 (which is translated into English by Kshitish Ray and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*) Rabindranath Tagore says :

It is raining heavily. My mind has made good its escape from the fold of recorded history, fenced round by the sign-posts of centuries. The primeval memories of the wild dance of wind and rain on the stage of the sky make my blood throb with the melody of *Megha-mallar*. My sense of duty has been washed away as in a deluge, and I feel myself as one of that row of trees—the *sal, tal, mohua* and *chhatim*. They are the aristocrats of the kingdom of life; they have been enjoying fully their heritage of sun and rain from time immemorial. They are not upstarts of time as human beings are, and hence they are eternally young. Of the race of *homo sapiens* the poets alone have not, through extravagance of culture, squandered away their age-old heritage. That is why these aristocrats of the vegetable kingdom do not look down upon the poets as mere men. That is why, year after year, the rains make me so restless, they call to me to snap all the bonds of responsibility and come away to the Play-house of Life.

There is a child in each one of us; he is the most ancient of our predecessors and he takes unlawful possession of my work-room. That is why I am trying to vie with the wind and the rain, with the trees and the shrubs, leaving my work alone composing songs. Thus I am, at the present moment, the least human of human beings and my heart is quivering like a blade of grass, shimmering like fresh leaves. Probably Kalidasa had something like this in mind when he wrote : "Every happy people become otherwise disposed when the clouds appear . . . . ." By "otherwise" he perhaps meant what may be described as other than humanly inclined. This other-than-humanly feeling carries us away to those dim days when Life was at play, when Mind, the schoolmaster, had not appeared, when the forbidding pillars of the school were not yet and the butterflies flitted freely from flower to flower.

As I write to you I find the afternoon sky overcast with heavy clouds; the rain-laden wind wanders about the fields, singing and piping, and the restless little runnels break into thoughtless giggling laughter like school girls on a holiday. It is the seventh day of *Ashad* and the *Ambubachi* period has just begun. The name *Ambubachi* (speech of the rains) justifies itself; all Nature seems to be garrulous with the ceaseless prattle of rain. Under the canopy of heavy clouds there is Nature's musical soiree; the grasshoppers, those leafy vocalists, are present on invitation and they have been joined by the ardent band of frogs. Do not run away with the idea that I have no seat amongst them. I would not allow the call of the seasons go unanswered. Like clouds following one after the other, my songs also come in succession, day after day. My songs are light, inconsequential things, unburdened with any meaning or purpose, made, like the clouds, of such aimless ingredients (as Kalidasa puts it) as fire and fume, water and wind.

## Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier 1743-94

In paying tribute to the memory of the Maker of Modern Chemistry whose bi-centenary is being celebrated this year, P. Ray observes in *Science and Culture* :

At a time when France was convulsed with a great political upheaval which let loose the worst animal passions of men leading to frightful violence and bloodshed, the science of chemistry as well underwent a revolutionary change through the work of the great French chemist, Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier. His premature and tragic death on the scaffold at the early age of 52, on May 8, 1794, robbed science one of its most distinguished men in the prime of his activity.

Lavoisier was born of a rich family in Paris on August 26th, 1743. He lost his mother at an early age of five only. His father was a distinguished lawyer at the Court of Justice. He, therefore, enjoyed the advantage of a liberal education embracing many branches of science, such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, mineralogy, meteorology, botany and anatomy, besides law, logic and philosophy. This obviously stood him in very good stead in after-life by widening his outlook, developing a critical judgment, and inculcating a precision of thoughts, methodical habits and logical reasoning.

In the beginning he intended to follow his father's profession and made all preparations for the practice of law. But afterwards he changed his mind and applied himself to the pursuit of science, influenced specially by teachers like La Caille, the mathematician, B. de Jussieu, the botanist, Guettard, the mineralogist, and last but not least Rouelle whose experiments and lectures in chemistry used to draw a crowded house at Jardin du Roi in Paris. It was through the inspiration of Rouelle that he was initiated into chemistry.

His first publication was on gypsum which afforded a true explanation for the setting of Plaster of Paris and for the fact why overburnt gypsum does not rehydrate. This paper was communicated to the French Academy of Science in 1765. In 1768, at the early age of 25, he was elected a member of the Academy in recognition of his prize essay on the best method of street-lighting for large towns. In the following year he became a member of the *Ferme-general,* a position which ultimately led to his condemnation by the revoluntionary tribunal in 1794. This body, which used to collect on behalf of the State all the indirect taxes of the country, turned to be one of the most unpopular organisations in France, though Lavoisier succeeded in introducing many new reforms and stopping many abuses and corruptions.

In 1775, he was made a Commissioner of the *Regie des Poudres*. As a Secretary to the Board of Agriculture,

he endeavoured to ameliorate the conditions of the working classes and introduced the cultivation of beet-root and potato.

In 1791, he became the Secretary and Treasurer of the famous Commission of Weights and Measures, which gave the world the international metric system based on a natural unit.

Finally, he was treasurer of the French Academy till it was suppressed in 1793 by the Convention.

Lavoisier's position in the front rank of world's immortals rests on his services to science.

With his sharp intelligence, bright unerring reason and keen insight he dived deep below the bewildering diversity of facts collected by others and did discern the underlying natural principles which unified, co-ordinated and strung them together. He always convinced himself of the correctness of others' findings by his own experiments performed with exceptional care and precision.

The discovery of oxygen by Priestly and Scheele prepared the ground for Lavoisier to demonstrate the true nature and composition of air and therewith to formulate a correct theory of combustion, calcination and respiration. This culminated in the overthrow of the theory of phlogiston. The discovery of the compound nature of water by Cavendish, whose experiment Lavoisier repeated and verified, enabled him to get at the root of the phenomenon and to reveal the important role played by oxygen (dephlo-gisticated air) in this as well as in other chemical processes.

Another erroneous idea of the time, which was eliminated by Lavoisier's work, dealt with the nature of heat as a ponderable fluid, named *caloric*. By heating tin in a closed flask and showing that there was no diminution in weight, he definitely disproved the view.

By his work on the composition of water and his experiment on the calcination of tin in a closed vessel, Lavoisier arrived at one of the most fundamental laws of nature—The Law of Conservation of Mass or Indestructibility of Matter, which forms the basis of chemical science. He gave expression to this law by representing chemical reactions by means of equation, showing that the masses of the reactants and those of the products formed are equal. His work on vinous fermentation in 1789 furnishes a remarkably clear statement of the law.

Lavoisier published most of his papers in the Memoirs of the French Academy. Some, however, appeared in the *Journal de Physique* and in the *Annales de Chimie*. His *Traite E'lementaire de Chimie*, in which he gave a summary of the most important facts of chemistry on the basis of the new antiphlogistic doctrine and new nomenclature, can be best described as the first text-book of modern chemistry and its author accordingly as the Maker of Modern Chemistry.

---

## Russia

*The New Review* observes :

The autumn campaign developed the summer success and turned into a major victory which is not challenged by Berlin. All along the southern half of the front, the Russian Bear kept running up and down, jabbing at the Nazi Eagle and his nest, and relentlessly crippling them limb by limb.

The attack south of the Dnieper was followed with an attack across the river beyond Kremenchung; then the fight flared up in front of Smolensk, went down to the Kiev level, ran again to the south where it sealed up the Perekop, jumped back to the Kiev front which was broken through in a maddening rush for Zhitomir, Korosten and Berdichev; then it broke out again in the Dnieper bend against Krivoi Rog which the Nazis defended with fanatic obstinacy, it rushed up as far as Gomel, rushed down to Cherkassy and Nikopol; by mid-November the Nazi defence had melted into a thin line yielding at every point. The Nazi High Command was confused and long hesitated as to where to throw in part of its general reserves; it was only by the third week of November that it could organise a large-scale counter-attack against the Zhitomir-Fastov sector of the Kiev bulge.

The Nazi losses were heavy. Moscow issued an official statement summarizing them for the first four months of the campaign (July-November) : in territory, a retreat of 180 to 270 miles and a loss of 350,000 sq. kms.; in casualties, 900,000 killed, 1,700,000 wounded, 98,000 prisoners; in material 10,189 aircraft, 19,800 guns, 74,460 machine-guns, 19,180 trench mortars, 75,982 lorries, 700 locomotives, 17,000 railway carriages, 17,700 tanks, including 1,000 of the latest and biggest type, in addition to stores, horse-drawn transport, medical equipment, etc. Another estimate summarized the Nazi defeat in concluding that 144 Nazi divisions, including 28 tank and motorised divisions, were routed; that would be some eighty per cent. of the total enemy divisions on the Russian front.

These figures are startling, whatever be the scale of everything Russian. With eighty per cent. of their divisions at the front routed, or with casualties amounting to more than half the forces in the front line, how could the Germans go on fighting all along without even falling back precipitatedly on a much shorter line ?

Allied estimates of the Nazi forces vary. Mr. Churchill spoke of 400 divisions. Experts spoke lately of 300 divisions at the front or held in local reserves and distributed as follows : Russia 190, Finland 7, Norway 12, France 40, Italy 25, the Balkans 18.

The information is of little use since the composition, strength and equipment of a division are continually varying.

Army organisation itself is not well-known. About Allied organisation, the less said, the safer. In the German scheme, the pattern is uniformly the following : the Nazi forces are divided into Army Groups, each Army Group is made up of three armies, each army of three corps, each corps of three divisions. The tactical unit is the army corps which is very mobile, self-sufficient as it were and capable of manœuvring independently. The strategical control from Army Headquarters is very tight, but the Army corps is allowed much freedom to decide on the local tactics necessary to achieve the strategical purpose. This high degree of independence is possible because up to now there is an ample supply of experienced commanders; if these were to disappear little by little, it would be necessary to create larger units and this would look like a disaster; a supply of both experienced generals and staffs is vital, and so far, the Germans have had a greater choice of generals and staffs than most of the Allies.

This relative independence of Army Corps Commanders worked very well during the advance into Russia; they usually used two corps actively and held one in reserve, and had all they wanted to achieve their limited objectives. But when on the defensive, the

Army Corps Commander who is defeated has to wait for distant general reserves to help him, and he has little means to stop a break through.

---

### Effect of Feed on Milk

V. D. Ratnam, Veterinary Assistant Surgeon, Madras, writes in *The Indian Veterinary Journal*:

A cow is a good living machine which converts raw materials into finished products in the form of milk. This requires a well-balanced diet to get the maximum benefit out of it. Too much becomes a waste and causes disturbances in the system. Too little tells upon the milk yield and also on the condition of the animal. Hence it is desirable to supply only such a well-balanced ration as the cow can economically use for maximum milk production.

Many authors are of opinion that feed has no effect on the quality of the milk and that the latter is dependent on the breed and strain of the animal. In my experience this is not found to be a correct statement, and recent researches have gone only to confirm my experiences.

Mr. Zal R. Kothavalla, B.Ag., B.Sc., N.D.D., Dairy Development Officer and Principal, Imperial Dairy Institute, has shown that the quality of the milk rests greatly with the nature of the feed given to the animal. His results are shown in he Table appended to the article.

It has also been found that the content of Vitamin A and Caratene is definitely affected by the feed of the animal. By giving Palm Oil and green grass, the Vitamin A and Caratene are considerably increased.

The winter milk in our country has a richer Vitamin A and Caratene content than the summer one for the simple reason that the animals have more green grass in winter than in summer.

In Madras, the Hotels and Restaurants judge the quality of the milk according to the quality of butter or cream it contains. Consequently, there is more demand for buffalo's milk than for cow's milk, because the former gives more cream and butter. Generally, the cream from the milk is weighed and if found less than 12 palams or 14 oz. for a measure or 3 lbs. of milk, the milk vendor is fined on the ground that the milk is either adulterated or the quality is poor (the cream is obtained by boiling the milk). As such the milkmen in Madras feed their cattle with gingelly oil cake and concentrates like Bengal gram husk, wheat bran, etc., with an idea of producing a good quality of milk containing a good quality of butter. But when they want to increase the quantity of milk without caring much for the butter production, they feed the animals with very little or even without oil cake, red rice, kambu and green gram boiled, with other concentrates like wheat bran and Bengal gram husk. The animals also are forced to drink a lot of water either by tying them in the hot sun or by drenching.

In the Madras Garrison Dairy Farm, the animals are fed with Bengal gram crushed with gingelly oil cakes, wheat bran and Bengal gram husk. These animals produce more cream than other animals in the City, and when these animals are fed on the lines adopted in the Garrison Dairy Farm, the quantity of the cream increases. This shows clearly that the diet has good effect on the quality and quantity of milk.

Again, we must have experienced the effect of the flavour of the feed on the milk of the animal. For instance, I have seen in a round about Erode of Coimba-

tore District, when a cow is fed on margosa leaves, the smell is detected in the milk of the cow. A similar phenomenon is noticed in the Nilgiris where certain weeds convey their particular flavour to the milk. It is also known that certain drugs like sulphur taint the milk.

FACTORS AFFECTING PHYSICAL AND CHEMICAL CONSTANCES OF GHEE

Quality of Butter and Ghee after 20 days oil cake feeding

| Oil Cake | Texture | Flavour |
|---|---|---|
| Groundnut Cake | Good. | Appetizing with slight oily smell. |
| Gingelly Cake | Butter drawing into pin heads when broken. | Foreign to normal butter. |
| Linseed Cake | Good grain showing separately. | Not so marked with little indication of linseed oil. |
| Cotton Seed | Very satisfactory grains small and prominent. | Appetizing and nutty, absence of cotton seed smell. |
| Coconut Oil Cake | Satisfactory grains rather small but well set and prominent. | Very attractive, perhaps the best sample. |

---

## Indian Emigration to America

Indian emigration to the United States is an offshoot and a by-product of their emigration to Canada. Dr. S. Chandrasekhar observes in *The Indian Review* :

Apart from Indian emigration to the Fiji Islands, the first wave of Indian emigration across the Pacific was to Canada. Previous to 1907, there were very few Indians in the United States, and most of these were non-laborer groups and were on the eastern coast and almost none on the Pacific coast. In 1907, when they arrived in relatively considerable numbers, it was from Canada. When they were faced with opposition in cold British Columbia, they drifted southward to the rich and warm valleys of California, hoping for a better reception, a less rigorous climate, more congenial employment, and the higher wages to be earned on this side of the border. In 1907, the number admitted was 1,072, as against 271 in 1906. In 1908, the number admitted rose to 1,750. Most, if not all, of these immigrants were Sikhs, originally from the Punjab, popularly referred to in California as "rag heads." The fact that this first batch of arrivals were bearded and turbaned Sikhs was in a way rather an unfortunate circumstance, for, the attitude of the American immigration authorities towards all the people of India was coloured by their immediate reaction towards this particular group.

The conflict of cultures and the clash of colours have made the assimilation of the average Hindu in the American social life rather difficult.

This group was of the laboring class and had behind them valuable experience in raising sugar-cane, rice, corn, cotton, and melons. Their skill as hardy peasants was soon recognised and, being in the category of seasonal labour, they had to immigrate from region to region as seasons changed—from San Joaquin Valley to Sacramento and Imperial Valley. Soon they made their mark as industrious, honest, and willing workers not only in such unskilled labour as cutting, hoeing, and weeding, but also in cutting asparagus, gathering grapes, pruning orchards, and harvesting rice. Besides these agricultural pursuits many entered into yard work in lumber and saw mills, railroad construction, and building industries. But this group was never numerically large enough to occupy an important place in the labor supply of the West Coast. Their industrial and economic position was not secure for a long time, for their efficiency was not on a par with native American labor, their employment irregular, their competitive ability small. Despite these hardships, they tried to acclimatise to the American conditions and ere long proved into a small and useful community.

Though the early Indian arrivals were from Canada, later they came directly from Indian ports.

In 1910, they reached the peak figure of 1,782. This rather sudden increase raised the usual cry of the oriental danger of "the tide of turbans" as the little influx of Indians on the Pacific coast is often termed. In relation to the total population of the sending country and the receiving country the number of Indians was always a tiny trickle and never swelled up into a tide. This relatively rapid rise in numbers, together with the fact that a considerable number of them almost immediately secured employment in the construction of a railroad near San Francisco, gave rise to a wide-spread but probably an erroneous belief that there was organized traffic in this labor. Subsequently the number fell off as restrictions against Asiatic immigration set in. In fact, at no time were there more than 6,000 Indians in the United States, and today their total number in the contintental United States, including their American-born children, is less than 5,000. From 1911 to 1941, the average annual arrivals was only 137, and in the last decade of 1931-41, the total was 131, less than the annual average. The following figures show the number admitted into the United States for each decade :

| | |
|---|---|
| 1901-1910 | .. 5,762 |
| 1911-1920 | .. 1,562 |
| 1921-1930 | .. 1,177 |
| 1931-1941 | .. 131 |



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS



## Science in Soviet Russia

In the article, 'Science in Soviet Russia,' in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, J. G. Crowther gives a graphic account of the Soviets' multifold achievements in science :

The Red Army has successfully withstood the combined attacks of the German, Italian, Hungarian, Finnish and other armies. It could not have done this without immense scientific and technical resources. How have these been created ?

Lenin had devoted much attention before the Revolution of 1917 to the application of science to the improvement of society and industry. In 1918, he wrote to the Academy of Sciences requesting its members to study this problem, and to pay "especial attention to the electrification of industry and transport and to the employment of electricity in agriculture."

This was the beginning of the Soviet plans for the development of socialism involving the planned development of industry and science, which have had such a profound effect on the fortunes of civilisation.

It was evident that if the country was to be electrified, an immense electrical industry must be created, and with it an expansion of the study of physics. This was necessary for at least two reasons. The technical problems that arise in electrical engineering require in many instances for their solution a knowledge of fundamental physics. This is also necessary for the invention of important improvements and innovations. Thirdly, good engineers must be educated by professors of physics. In fact, without physics and physical research, engineering becomes sterile.

Plans for creating a new generation of physicists were accordingly begun, under the direction of Professor A. F. Joffe. As early as September 1918, he started the Physico-Technical Institute at Leningrad, with an original staff of eight, which included Semenov and Frenkel.

Joffe collected promising students of physics from all parts of the Soviet Union, and devoted the next five years mainly to their teaching and training in methods of research. He built new laboratories, with magnificent workshops, for at that time there were very few scientific instrument factories in the U.S.S.R.

By 1929, the Institute had grown to an immense size, with about 700 students in its various laboratories, and about 1,300 assistants and workmen. It was able to provide large numbers of physicists for the achievement of the physical part of the First Five Years' Plan, which was started in 1928. This involved the construction of new industrial regions and numerous new technical plants throughout the country. In each region appropriate new scientific institutes had to be created, to supply the scientific knowledge necessary to enable the new industries to function efficiently. Thus a series of new physical research institutes came into existence at scientifically strategic centres.

The first to be built was at Kharkov, to serve the new physical needs of the Ukraine.

It will be noticed that these new institutes were not built until the men to run them had already been trained. The men came before the bricks and mortar.

After the Physico-Technical Institute of the Ukraine had been opened in 1930, other institutes were founded at Dniepropetrovsk, Sverdlovsk, Tiflis and other centres.

The existence of these new scientific institutes, especially in the East, has been of very great importance during the present war. In many instances, the staff and equipment of institutes in regions overrun by the enemy have been transferred to them. For instance, Sverdlovsk has received important sections of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, which were removed there when Moscow was threatened.

The new institutes have special lines of research appropriate to the needs of the locality. At Kharkov, the Physico-Technical Institute had large departments of research in high-tension physics and in low temperature physics. The first could deal with some of the scientific problems relating to the electrification of the region through the power station at the Dnieper Dam, and the other could train technical physicists who could handle the vast quantities of industrial gases produced by the coal industries of the Donbas. Owing to the importance of this work, the facilities for research were presently extended by building an additional institute for the study of the technical separation of gases at low temperatures. Thus new institutes hived off from the parent institutes.

At Dniepropetrovsk special attention was given to metallurgy, which served the needs of the big steel and aluminium works in the neighbourhood. The Physico-Technical Institute at Sverdlovsk also specializes in metallurgy. It has departments for the study of alloys, electrical and magnetic properties of metals, mechanical properties, such as cohesion and plastic deformation, and the theory of metallic properties, depending on the arrangement and properties of their constituent atoms. This Institute is thus able to serve the scientific needs of the metal industry of the Urals.

The founding of this and other scientific institutes has been an essential part of the creation of a new advanced industry in Western Siberia, which has had a decisive part in the present war.

### Pan-American Relations

Under the caption 'Our Pan-American Relations' in *The Catholic World*, C. J. Stratman lays stress on the fact that Catholicism, the mainspring of activities with the Latin American nations, must be understood by the United States in order to deal successfully with the policy of "Good Neighbourism":

Brotherhood of the Americas. Good Neighbor Policy. Uniting the Americas. These are the dominant themes of the day in regard to the relations between the United States and Latin America. Much good work is being done along these lines, through seminars, international radio programs, the Rockefeller board, and direct government policies. However, one factor that seems to be somewhat lost behind the maze of political machinery is the position of the Catholic Church in the Latin American countries.

No permanent or lasting policy of "Good Neighborism," can be fully developed until the United States realizes that the cultural background of Hispanic America is predominantly Catholic. No permanent or lasting understanding can be developed between the Americas until the United States realizes the present position of the Catholic Church in the Latin American Republics, and acts accordingly. The historical facts cannot be evaded, that the Catholic Church has been the main channel, in Latin America, not only of spiritual benefit, but of the intellectual and aesthetic training of the people as well.

That Latin America, by and large, is still holding to its Catholic faith is evidenced by a glimpse at the history of the Republics. Though many reforms in government have been achieved, though much scientific progress has been made, the Church still continues a dominant factor in the life of the people. Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Peru, and Colombia have declared Catholicism the religion of the State. In Argentina the President and Vice-President must be Catholics. According to the Constitution of Bolivia, drawn up in 1931, the State recognizes and supports the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion. Panama, in its constitution of 1905, said: "It is recognized that the Catholic religion is that of the majority of the inhabitants of the Republic, and the Government will aid in founding a seminary in the capital and in furthering Indian missions."

It seems then that Catholicism still maintains a prominent place in the Latin American nations. Lack of understanding of this particular point has slowed down progress in friendly relations between the Americas. The United States, in the past, playing the role of an egotistical big brother, didn't recognize that many of its actions were scorned by the more sensitive Latin Americans. We simply did not understand the nature of Latin Americans, whose aims in life are not toward the purely material advantages, as reckoned in terms of dollars and cents, but rather consist in the growth of character by an interior development of spiritual values. Their standards of life are not ours, in that the material is not stressed as much as the spiritual.



### *One World* by Wendell Willkie

Following is the review of *One World* by Wendell Willkie from the pen of John Haynes Holmes in his editorial comments in *Unity*:

All praise to Wendell Willkie for one of the great books of modern times! Just as a publishing phenomenon, *One World* is something of a miracle. Best-seller novels have more than once sold in millions of copies—*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Ben Hur*, *In His Steps*, *Gone With the Wind* are conspicuous examples! But how often has a non-fiction book or pamphlet gotten into this class? I can think of no parallel since Thomas Paine's immortal *Common Sense*, which was published on January 10, 1776, and in a few weeks had sold 500,000 copies in a population of not more than three million souls. "Everybody who could read at all," wrote Theodore Parker in later years, "read *Common Sense*." But the parallel is something more than that of mere numbers. There is a striking comparison in the character of the two works, and perhaps in their place in history. Paine's pamphlet appeared in the midst of the Revolutionary War, in a time of confusion and uncertainty when men's minds were not clear on the

ultimate issues involved in that great struggle. Paine argued flatly and fervently for independence from the British crown, for "a new nation conceived in liberty," and persuaded his compatriots, including George Washington, to this conviction. The Declaration of Independence followed just six months later! Now, in the midst of this greater war, at an hour of doubts as to aims and purposes, there comes another great man to write another great book to stir the hearts of men. Mr. Willkie has seen a vision—that this whole world must be free, not only of its enemies in arms but of its imperialistic masters and exploiters as well; and that a free world, if it is to survive, must be a united world, for of the world today, as of our country yesterday, it must be said that it cannot exist "half-slave and half-free." The East—Korea, China, India, Burma, Java—must henceforth be equal with the West, in the great new world which is to be "one world" of liberty and light. Mr. Willkie's book has a twofold significance. It shows, on the one hand, that we have a great man among us. Mr. Willkie comes as a leader who has seen a vision and undertaken a mission, at a time when leadership, in the creative and idealistic sense of the word, is failing us. It shows, on the other hand, that the American people are hungry for the ideas of peace and brotherhood which Mr. Willkie is giving them. The people have pitifully lifted up their faces, and have not been fed. What else can explain the well-nigh unprecedented reception given to *One World?* Again I say, all praise to this man! His words are inspired and his work a service of humanity.

## U. S. Book Reviewers Praise Story of Tata Steel

Reviewing Jack Keenan's autobiography, "A Steel Man In India," John Chamberlain, New York *Times* reviewer, says that the book tells "a good deal of the story of ancient and modern India."

The reviewer tells how Keenan worked as a blast furnace man in Gary, Indiana, then went to India to work for the struggling Tata Iron and Steel Company at Bombay and Jamshedpur, where he stayed for 25 years and became general manager of the company.

"The story of Tata has an epic touch," Chamberlain writes. "Jamshedjee Tata went at the job of creating an Indian steel industry conceptually and from the ground up. Care went into the selection of ores, water, sites, coal, limestone and fluxes. Tata bought the best.

"The result was that he succeeded in creating a Gary, Indiana, in the middle of a jungle where all previous pioneers had failed in their attempts to build a local steel industry. Young Jack Keenan was in the Tata tradition: he was one of the best. He also liked Indians and was prepared to discover talent among them.

"From the very beginning Tata has been an Indian company. It got its start with Indian capital, much of which was subscribed in one- or two-share lots. Only Indians sit on the Tata Board of Directors. The Welshmen, Englishmen, Germans and sons of Gary, Indiana, who worked to build Tata, have all been hired men."—USOWI.

## Dr. Saklatwalla Addresses American Electro-Chemical Society

Dr. Beram D. Saklatwalla, addressing a meeting of American electro-chemists, said that discoveries in the field of metal alloys will revolutionise the transportation industry after the war. He said that trains will be lighter because of the production of steel which is so strong that less of it need be used. Airplanes will be still lighter than they are at present.

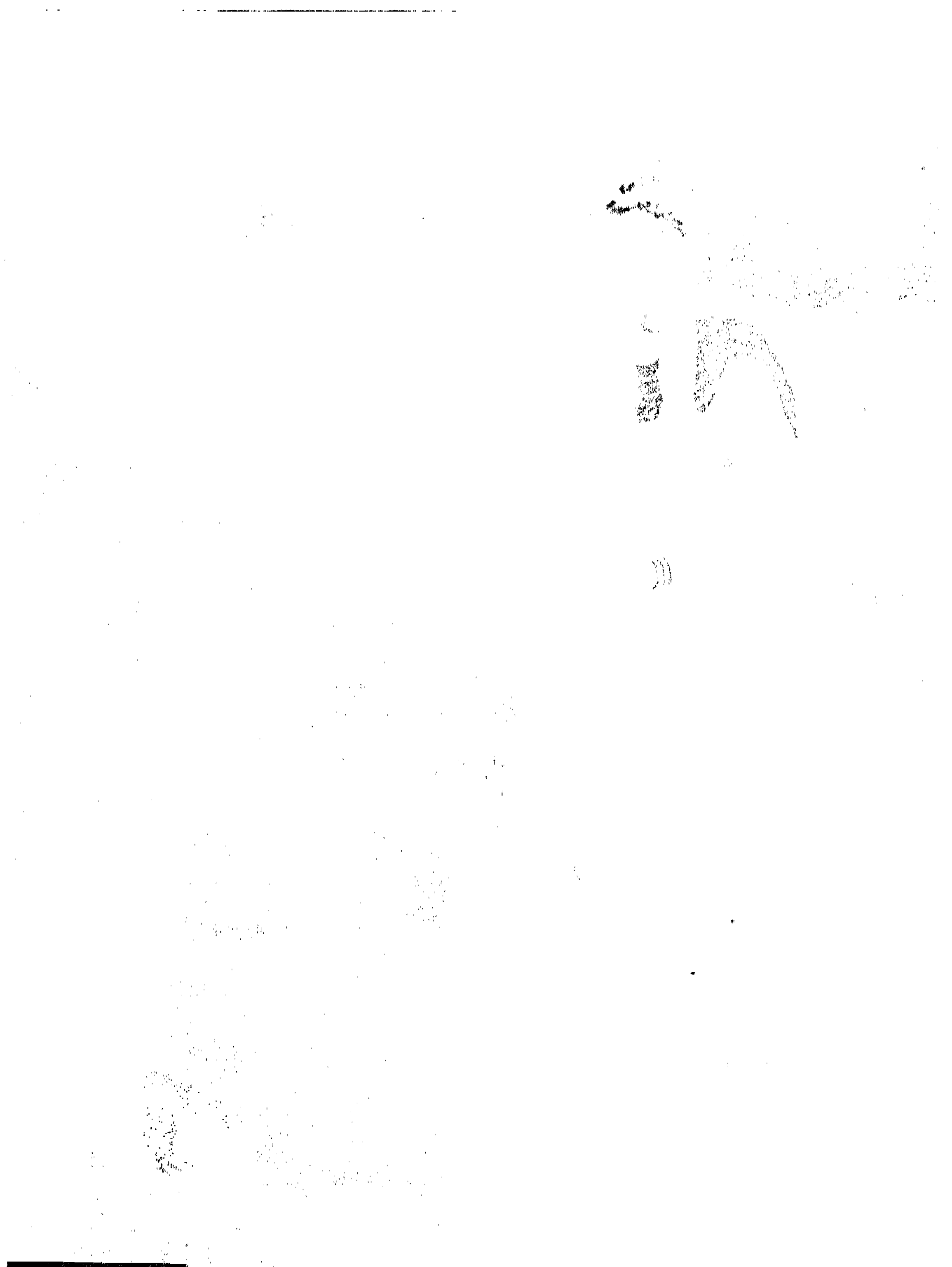
Dr. Saklatwalla, an outstanding expert on alloys, delivered the Joseph W. Richards lecture which is given annually in memory of the founder of the Electro-Chemical Society.

A Parsee and a member of the Tata Steel family of India, Dr. Saklatwalla was born in Bombay in 1881 and began his industrial career in the United States in 1909. Cor-Ten, his steel alloy, is used both in India and in America.—USOWI.

## Panama and U. S. Fight Malaria

An example of inter-American co-operation for common benefit is revealed by a recent executive decree establishing in Panama, under the protection of the national government, an Inter-American Public Health Service. Its aim will be the stamping out of malaria, not the worst of tropical diseases, but the one which on the whole does the most widespread damage. The work will be under the direction of Dr. Howard D. Schmidt, with a staff chosen for wide technical experience. The salaries of the Director and Commercial Manager will be paid from Washington, by the Office of the Co-Ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the expense of the rest of the staff will be borne by the Government of Panama.—*Worldover Press.*

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CHANDALIKA
By Tilak Banerji

# THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY  1944

VOL. LXXV, No. 2 WHOLE No. 446

## NOTES

### *An Economic Plan for India*

A plan of economic development for India drawn up by eight eminent men, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, J. R. D. Tata, G. D. Birla, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Sir Shri Ram, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, A. D. Shroff and Dr. John Matthai, has been placed before the Government of India. This plan, which envisages an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 crores, has come as a sort of challenge to official planners who had so long been tinkering with the all-important problem of post-war reconstruction in India.

Adequate food, clothing, accommodation and education for every person, a school and a dispensary with a qualified doctor and two nurses in every village and a threefold increase in the per capita income are the goals aimed at. To bring about this revolutionary change, the plan aims at increasing the industrial income 500%, agricultural 130% and services 200%. The total expenditure of Rs. 10,000 crores is to be spent over 15 years and in three stages— Rs. 1400 crores in the first five years, Rs. 2900 crores in the second five years and Rs. 5700 crores in the third five years. The plan for finance takes its stand on the policy that "money or finance is not the master of a country's economy but its servant and instrument. The real capital of a country consists of its resources in materials and man-power and money is simply a means of mobilising these resources, and canalising them into specific forms of activity."

This attempt at clearly visualising the work that lies before the nation-builders of our country deserves commendation. This is no abstract plan, got out of the dream of a political visionary but it is a concrete plan with specifications drawn up by a set of hard-headed businessmen aided by a thinker of the highest calibre. The complete plan is before us. The introduction clearly states that it is not in any sense a complete scheme. The object is merely to put forward, as a basis of discussion, a statement, in as concrete a form as possible, of the objectives to be kept in mind in economic planning in India, the general lines on which development should proceed and the demands which planning is likely to make on the country's resources. This is just as it should be in a plan of this nature. A spirit of defeatism pervades the atmosphere at the present moment which makes the average nationalist desist from thinking about the future of this country, tied as we are now, hand and foot, to the wheels of a bureaucratic government that does not even possess the competence and efficiency to preserve even what little we have. But whatever the situation at present is, we must not forget that despair or despondency can only result in the extinction of the Indian nation, and the only way to ensure our future is to have a clear-cut plan before our eyes, a plan not only for mere reconstruction but also for large-scale development, in which all our assets must be fully and efficiently mobilised. This plan admirably serves that purpose, inasmuch as it is timely, realistic and above all concrete in all its details.

We have received the booklet rather late for the fullest consideration of the proposals. But even at the first glance it is evident that the basic problems that beset the future of our

nation have been given a thorough and dispassionate consideration before the plan took shape. The method adopted in the planning has been that of an economist and of an engineer. The sums required for the carrying out of the project are astronomical in their magnitude, but we fully believe with the planners that even such a figure as Rs. 10,000 crores is nothing impossible if the potential of this country and its nationals be considered in the light of freedom, as was done by the planners of Soviet Russia, and as is being done by those of Free China. We may remember in this connection that this present starving India has granted England a credit of about Rs. 1000 crores in a period of just over four years.

We must be prepared for a lot of disillusionment in the years to come, it is true, and it may be that forces beyond our control at present may cause endless delays even in the making of the actual blue-prints. But unless we resign ourselves to a hopeless, helpless and inglorious total extinction in the way that millions have done last year, we must prepare ourselves, individually and jointly, to contribute to the fullest, in cash or in kind, towards the consummation of the ultimate plan. Ataturk had neither money nor machinery nor yet had he the skilled men and trained executives. He utilized his soldiers and the devotion of his people. Russia in 1919 was in worse condition than we are now, but that did not prevent the formulation of the five-year plans—greeted as they were by the loud and ribald laughter of a capitalistic world—nor did the plans stop with the formulation as the world now realizes. We hope this booklet is only the first announcement of the birth of a scheme and that the planning continues in the same spirit as permeates the initial formulation. If nothing else, the Plan shows clearly how low down in the scale of civilization we have been placed by those who have been in control of this country's affairs for the last century and a half, and no sacrifice is too big, no effort too great for the work of setting-up of India in the place that belongs to her amongst the nations of the world. Let the makers of the Plan indicate how, in the years preceding the commencement of the actual work on the Final blue-print, each individual can prepare to do his bit, and it is our belief that the nation will respond. The planners must be prepared for being scoffed at by the mouthpieces of those whose purpose is best served by the utter degradation of India and Indians. They must not forget what reception the planners for Russia and China,—and to a lesser extent Turkey—received from the so-called civilized world in general and the Anglo-Saxon world in particular. And they must not forget how those very same rich, highly supercilious and self-sufficient nations were saved from being totally wiped out by a combination of three "utterly bankrupt" nations, by the objects of their derision and pity during the first three years of this World War.

### *"Deaths in Bengal Famine Did Not Exceed One Million"*

We do not know how the British Parliament received Mr. Amery's smug and brazen announcement when he coolly stated with the utmost composure that the number of deaths in the Bengal famine did not exceed one million. Bengal however believes that even this is an underestimate. Total number of deaths in the past famine which was brought about and allowed to continue by Amery, Linlithgow and Sir John Herbert, is much higher, at least not less than 3,500,000. Large additions to this colossal figure may yet be expected unless adequate steps are taken to arrest the raging epidemics.

The most prominent question in Britain, in all the discussions on Bengal famine, centred round the allocation of responsibilities for this calamity on Indian shoulders, particularly on the Bengal Ministers. Taking for granted the initial mistakes of the Bengal Government, we must try to understand what that Government is. The present Ministers have been put in power by Sir John Herbert with the support of the European vested interests. Previous Ministers were deprived of all executive powers by Sir John Herbert. It is ridiculous to say that the Fazlul Huq-Syamaprasad Government enjoyed any powers. To go deeper down, neither the Bengal Assembly nor the Ministers even enjoyed power derived from the people, they were creations of the British Parliament and Ramsay MacDonald's Communal Award. Undue weight and unjust preference have been given to all anti-national and pro-Imperialist elements in the Communal Award and the Constitution Act of 1935 with the specific purpose of dividing India into warring units to hamper the nation's progressive movements. The general elections that followed were not free from all suspicion of official interference as the case of Nawab Faroqui clearly showed. The Executive, consisting of the I. C. S. over whom the Ministers were never given any control, have gradually been armed with powers of gagging the press, of barricading the platform and of preventing all agitation for the amelioration of political conditions to an extent hardly surpassed by the fascist countries.

Bengal Ministries were formed out of these conditions. Under the Constitution, the Governor and the bureaucracy were left in complete control of all executive functions in this country. The statements of Mr. Fazlul Huq and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee on the floor of the Bengal Legislature after their resignations give a clear picture of what power the Ministers ever enjoyed. So we can dismiss this attempt at fixing the responsibility on Indian shoulders, particularly on those of the Bengal Ministers, with the contempt that it deserves. The only rebuke that the first Ministry must squarely face is that instead of resigning they carried on under impossible conditions for reasons best known to themselves. Even when they did resign, they did not do so either in time or jointly.

The famine was on its way for the last ten years. Bengal had a supercilious and incompetent Executive put in power by the Secretary of State and holding responsibility directly to him. They did nothing during the past ten years to ameliorate the living conditions of the people. They confined all their activities to putting down nationalist movements and devoted all their energies and skill to that purpose. What little change was made in the country's economics was made for the benefit of the foreign capital in Bengal and their Indian henchmen.

We give below some facts collected from Government sources which will illustrate how slow starvation had set in Bengal.

Population (1941) 6,14,60,377.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total annual production of rice (avr. 1932-33 to 1936-37) | .. | 24,65 lakh mds. |
| Rice needed for annual consumption | .. | 33,28 „ „ |
| Therefore, avr. annual deficit | .. | 8,64 „ „ |

Estimated outturn of rice in 1942-43 was even less, *viz.*, nearly 20 crore mds.

Our basis for arriving at the consumption figures is :

| Persons | Daily diet | Percentage of population by age | Calory value of rice |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3-10 years | 14 oz. | 19% | 1,568 |
| 10-20 | 24 | 21 | 2,568 |
| 20-40 (male) | 32 | 32 | 3,438 |
| „ (female) | 22 | 16 | 2,354 |
| 40 and over | 20 | .. | 2,140 |

At the first sight, this consumption of rice may appear to be high. But it must be considered that this high consumption of rice is amongst a population normally protein starved and poor in fat diets. The total energy derived from all meals being mainly that from rice with a minimum of thin dal soup.

To arrive at the final deficit figure, we must allow for the following deductions :

(*i*) 8 per cent. of the total population who may be regarded as sick during the year. On this count, 2,24 lakh mds. may be deducted.

(*ii*) In Bengal, there are 25 lakhs of wheat-eating people. For them 1,43 lakh mds. may be deducted.

Thus allowing a total deduction of 3,67 lakhs from the gross deficit of 8,64 lakh mds., the deficit works out at 4,97 lakh mds. To this must he added 1 crore md. for seed reserve and 50 lakhs for indirect consumption as *chira, muri,* etc., required for extra energy stock during hard work period such as harvests and ploughings. The total deficit in rice requirements for Bengal thus amounts to six crores and a half md. per annum in round numbers.

Population of Bengal has increased to more than six crores during the last ten years. The authorities never thought of increasing productions to keep a balanced supply of food to the increasing population. Out of dire need and without the least help from the government, the people tried to make up whatever deficit they possibly could by procuring rice from Assam, Patna, Orissa and such other sources. Export and import figures have not been taken into consideration as they cancel each other under normal conditions.

Several pointers, from White Hall down to the Secretariat in Bengal, have been directed at Burma as the main cause of the trouble, and the conquest of Burma was declared as the principal remedy for the famine. But Burma was not lost by the Bengal Ministers. They had no control over shipping that might have brought food from outside. Neither had they any control over the means of transport and communication. These were affairs for the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and it is on the shoulders of these two men that the blame for not compensating the supplies from Burma and from other sources, even after more than a year of the loss of Burma, must squarely rest.

### *Is Present Year's Crop a Bumper One ?*

The Director-General of Food stated on November 18 that :

"Bengal this year is going to have a record crop. The average annual requirements of rice in Bengal before the war, including imports, were 8.86 million tons; this year the total rice crop is expected to be 10.0 million tons. On such a crop there should not be any scarcity in Bengal in 1944."

The actual output, according to the Director of Agriculture, Bengal (second forecast) is 8,303,000 tons, *i.e.*, falling short by 1,697,000 tons of the estimated crop. It is bumper in comparison with the crop for 1942-43, when it was 6,916,000 tons only, but cannot be regarded as

such when compared with 9,821,000 tons in 1941-42. We must not lose sight of the fact that even 8,303,000 tons that is about 22,85 lakh mds., falls short of the normal requirements of the province and it would be rash to assume that " there should not be any scarcity in Bengal in 1944."

### *Jute—Bengal's Curse*

Jute has been an unmitigated curse of Bengal. The cultivator has got very little benefit out of it. Fabulous profits have no doubt been made by the jute industry, but almost every pie of that has gone into the pockets of British entrepreneuers and their Indian satellites. The poor illiterate cultivator has been swindled out of every profit, getting in return misery, debt and disease. The Government never came to their aid for fear of incurring the displeasure of British interests in Bengal. The Jute Mill industry refused to co-operate with any measure proposed to be taken for improving the condition of the cultivator. They have persistently declined to submit any data for their cost of production either to the Government or to any private research worker. The lot of the jute mill labour is no better.

During 25 years after the last world war, there was not a single occasion when the jute-grower received adequate price for his crop although very high profits have been earned by the mills. In many cases, prices of raw jute were insufficient to pay for cost of cultivation. Many will remember even today that a few years back, probably in 1936 or 1937, jute was allowed to rot standing in the fields as the price did not justify the cost of cutting a crop which had already been sown. In spite of these facts, every year the agriculturist has been fooled into planting more jute than the market actually wanted. Combinations among Jute Mills for depressing prices are facts only too well-known.

Even in 1941-42, we find that 2,751,000 acres were planted with jute. If only half of this area was planted with rice, then, allowing for comparatively low yield on a soil made poor by jute, at least 1,45 lakh mds. of rice could have been grown. This amount would have substantially reduced the normal deficit of rice.

We do not hesitate even to advocate for a total stoppage of this curse of Bengal. If at all it has to be cultivated, Government should do so under their own supervision and with adequate guarantee for return to the jute-grower and to the factory labour. The mills must be compelled by legislation to submit every relevent data regarding cost of production, and the profits and commissions earned by the managing Agents. On the basis of that, a minimum price for the raw material and a minimum living wage for the labourer may be calculated.

### *The Voice of Industrial Australia*

The *Australasian Manufacturer*, a weekly newspaper devoted to industrial efficiency and the manufacturing progress of Australia, has been, for some time, publishing reports of the conflict of British capital with Australian industry. It has published, in its issue for November 6, a report of the speech of Mr. H. J. Hendy, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, who has declared that for many years, Australians have increasingly depended on manufacturing industry for their employment, which dependence will be progressively complete in the years that lie ahead. Manufacturing industry alone, can offer the most substantial measure of permanent employment for the Australian people. Mr. Hendy emphatically said :

> " And this being the case it is indeed a vital responsibility to demand that no external considerations should be permitted to clutter and impede the vast development which is industry's logical destiny and our only sure means of bettering the Australian way of life.
>
> " In all the talk about Charters, Pacts, Agreements and the like, in the undisguised concern of overseas manufacturers for their future export markets, with the implications of Lend-Lease so clearly unstated and unknown (in this country at least), with all the theorising of economists and social welfare experts about the Golden To-morrow, I detect too strong a tendency among some whom I think should know better, to accept as inevitable a lowering of tariffs, the barter of trade agreements and pacts and to capitulate before what may be the damaging implications of Charters and Agreements. To my mind nothing could be more harmful to the future prospects of our people and of Australian manufacturing industry than such a weak and precipitate surrender."

Australia is a self-governing Dominion. When she outlines the industry's logical destiny, she means to honour it, whether it pleases the authorities or vested interests at London or not, the voice of the Australian Chamber of Commerce is the voice of the whole country, and the Dominions Secretary has no power to veto it. The British vested interests are left to make out their field themselves. This is exactly what has happened there. The Australian Association of British Manufacturers has developed a mysterious passion for the *laissez faire* doctrine now discarded all over the world. The Director of this body, Mr. S. F. Ferguson has declared : " The Association feels it would be inappro-

priate for Trade interests of one country to endeavour to influence the Government of another in its post-war policy." Those same vested interests had no fancy for this doctrine when safeguards for British industry in India were embedded in the Indian Constitution framed in England. Mr. Ferguson has discussed the Australian tariff policy and has classified the functions of the Tariff Board over past years as:

(1) To protect infant industries.
(2) To overcome local scepticism for untested local products.
(3) To maintain necessary uneconomical industries, such as defence undertakings.
(4) To compensate for the disadvantage of being a high cost country.
(5) To establish industries that are economically unsound because local consumption does not justify them.
(6) To enable local manufacturers to make greater profits than those overseas are content to secure.

The last two have been dismissed by the *Manufacturer* as being unworthy of attention. The paper has emphatically pointed out that the integrity, sincerety and thoroughness of the Australian Tariff Board over past years, particularly during the war, has reflected great credit to its capable members and has proved of inestimable benefit to the nation. The whole of Australia knows, and refuses to forget, that her manufacturing progress, *made possible by protection*, has helped very materially to bring the Commonwealth through the darkest shadows of the war, and enabled her to contribute in a telling measure to the Allied cause. Australia is convinced of the permanent need for sane protection and sees in it the only means of obtaining a balanced economy, providing real employment, improving living standards and promoting national prosperity and development. The sole difference between the progress of industries in Australia and India lies in the fact that political power, without which no national progress is possible, does not belong to the people in this country. In a statement at Adelaide, Mr. Curtin, the Australian Premier, has declared that he did not believe Great Britain would be capable of managing the Empire with a Government sitting in London, and Australia is preparing for an independent existence.

### *Horace Alexander on Bengal Famine*

Writing in the *Spectator*, London, for October 15, 1943, Mr. Horace Alexander, the leader of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, who had obtained firsthand knowledge of famine conditions in Bengal, makes the following comment in conclusion of his article, *The Famine in Bengal*:

No one authority alone is to blame, and that everyone concerned—the Bengal Ministry and the Bengal Government, the other political parties in Bengal, the other provinces in India, New Delhi, Whitehall, the inter-allied shipping control, the Dominion Governments. and perhaps the United States—must all co-operate if the present famine is to be brought under control and similar conditions prevented from recurring next year. Finally, it should be noted that some of the men best qualified to deal with Indian hoarding, whether on the grand scale or among the peasants, are today in detention.

Mr. Alexander is perfectly right when he points out that the best men qualified to deal with the situation are today in detention. The whole famine situation would have taken an entirely different turn if the British Government had the courage and the good sense to release the leaders. They know that the Congress leaders cannot be kept behind prison bars *eternally*, they will have to be released some day even if they refuse to rescind or amend the August resolution. The most opportune moment to release them gracefully for the service of humanity, had come and the opportunity has been allowed to slip unheeded.

### *Quinine as Essential as Food*

In the course of his presidential address at the annual session of the All-India Medical Conference held at Ahmedabad, Dr. S. N. Kaul of Lahore said:

"Malaria alone is responsible for the loss of thousands of valuable lives and yet the country did not have its proper and adequate supply of quinine for the last two years. In provinces like Bengal, Assam and the Punjab, which experience regular epidemics of malaria, 'quinine is as essential as food and drink.' It is admitted that it is largely due to the removal of Java from its lists of supplier countries. If the cultivation of cinchona would have been on sounder lines in India, this condition would not have risen. He recommended that cultivation of cinchona should be developed further so that in future if such a condition rises we should be self-sufficient with regard to this drug at least."

"Soviet Russia has achieved remarkable success in its nation-building plan, simply because the Soviet Government took the medical profession into confidence."

The bureaucratic Government in India never takes anybody into confidence except the omniscient officials and some of their hangers-on. Expert non-official opinion expressed through the press and the platform has been scrupulously neglected even where such disregard had brought about disasters causing millions of human beings to lose their lives.

Dr. H. Ghosh, in his presidential address at the fifth Annual General Meeting of the Indian

Chemical Manufacturers' Association had also said :

The Japanese occupation of Dutch East Indies has exposed millions of people to the scourge of malaria which has now joined hands with famine to depopulate Bengal at an alarming rate. India possesses large tracts of suitable land for cultivation of Cinchona, but the Government has so far refused to take any step in spite the repeated requests and recommendations of the Indian medical practitioners and public to extend the cultivation of Cinchona.

### *Need for Milk Supply*

Dr. Kaul said about milk supply :

"Milk is one of the most essential articles of diet in this country, not only for the growing baby, the expectant mother and the infirm, but also for the vast population of whom majority are strict vegetarians. Milk is the only food from which they get their necessary animal proteins and fats and thus safeguard against tuberculosis and other infectious diseases. It is sad to say that the price of milk has risen so exorbitantly high—that it is beyond the capacity even of a middle class man to buy it. India proverbially known as the land of milk and honey from times immemorial, has now reached a stage when even babies cannot secure their daily ration of milk and other requirements. While in England they are arranging for a pint of milk per man per day we are crying for its actual supply."

Dr. Kaul suggested that the slaughter of cattle should cease and the milk supply be properly controlled.

U. P. and Bihar have stopped the slaughter of milch cows and work bulls by means of statutory orders. We have yet to learn whether the Bengal Government has done anything :

### *Ever Depreciating Value of Britain's Promises*

At the Bombay session of the National Liberal Federation, Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad said :

"To my mind, in the ultimate analysis, it is the British Government that is responsible for the political deadlock in this country. Because of the great distrust arising out of their past actions, promises and performances, and the way they have treated India in the past, they have very nearly made it impossible for Indians to take them at their face value."

"We cannot forget," Sir Chimanlal continued, "that for a 100 years the Britishers held the I.C.S. Examination in England.

"We cannot forget that for 30 years they throttled our infant textile industry with iniquitous excise duty in order that the Lancashire goods may sell in this country.

"When we were at the Round Table Conference and also when the Government of India Act 1935 was being framed, they steadily and stoutly refused to mention even in the preamble that Dominion Status was the political goal of India.

"Later, when the Parliamentary Committee met them and the Indian delegation under the Aga Khan united in presenting a series of demands, not one of them was accepted or incorporated in the Bill.

"We all know what stringent safeguards for British interests disfigured the Government of India Act."

These bitter memories are still fresh in the Indian mind. People in this country sincerely believe that Britain does not mean business when she talks of Indian freedom; she only means it is her own business. One fully agrees with the *Bharatjyoti* when it points out that the abrogation of the legislature, the refusal to hold general elections, the use of force in dealing with political parties, the barricading of all constitutional avenues for the ventilation of public grievances, economic scarcity and destitution brought about by chaotic Government control and the unwillingness to settle up either with the minorities or with the majority—these and other actions of the Government only accentuate the old distrust.

### *The Economics of Control*

The following report deserves close study :

MADRAS, Jan. 1.

The All-Indian Economic Conference which resumed sitting on Friday at Senate House Dr. B. V. Narayanswami Naidu presiding, continued discussion on the subject of economic controls in India during the war.

A number of speakers expressed the view that in times of war economic controls were inevitable both in view of the needs of war economy and the necessity of securing social justice. It was pointed out that *controls were not an easy affair, and that even price controls would ultimately be successful only if they were also accompanied by control of cost and control of incomes.*

Theoretically, there was not much disagreement on the need for having this kind of control but it was pointed out that there were a number of factors peculiar to this country which make the effective control of prices rather difficult. The vast majority of producers were unorganised, produced small outputs and were not linked together in any effective trade associations whose services could be availed in working the machinery of price control.

The vast size of the country was itself a difficulty. There was also the administrative problem of securing the necessary personnel with competence, integrity and knowledge who could undertake the task of working the machinery. It was also pointed out in very emphatic terms that *interference of the type called for by successful economic control was possible only on the basis of public confidence in both the efficiency and responsiveness of the Government. Economics could not be divorced from politics and only a responsible and responsive Government could have the necessary public goodwill so essential for working economic controls.*

Members of Governments in India from the Viceroy down to the Bengal Food Minister are loud in declaring that economics should not be "mixed" with politics. Modern experience shows that food without politics is a contradiction. Bengal famine has proved that such an idea is absurd. This inspired doctrine found supporters among the ranks of economists in this country. The Madras session of the Economic Conference has taken a definite step forward by

opening this question, discussing it threadbare and in finally declaring that "Economics could not be divorced from politics, and only a responsible and responsive Government could have the public goodwill so essential for working economic controls." Any attempt to advance the economic life of the country can never succeed unless it is backed by a Responsible National Government.

## *Ocean-Going Ships not to be Built in India*

At the launching ceremony of H.M.I.S. Cochin, Mr. Walchand Hirachand said :

> The participation of the State of Cochin and of the ship-building company in this common war effort was not only significant of the geographical unity of India, but it also brought home to us all the oneness and indivisibility of the people of this country in all matters which vitally affected their life and interest in all directions. Satisfactory as it was that an Indian ship-building yard under the ownership, control and management of Indians themselves had been able to construct the vessel that had just been launched, the company had been looking forward to the day when it could build and launch large ocean-going steamers. They had spared no effort to hasten the day when a large ocean-going steamer could take the water from an Indian ship-building yard and thus begin to revive the glories of the Indian ship-building industry which, in the words of Admiral Sir Herbert Fitzherbert, was world famous. *Why was it that in spite of the urgent and immediate need of ocean-going ships all round, and of the ship-building yards to construct them, India had not been able to build a single steamer which could participate in the carriage of its maritime trade?* It could not be argued that a country could not start or develop its ship-building industry during the course of the war.
>
> Mr. Walchand Hirachand instanced developments in America, Canada and Australia, and added that the answer was to be found in the policy of the present Government of India.

India has no ocean-going ships today because she was *not allowed* to build them in spite of every facility being obtainable in this country.

## *Need for Co-operative Research*

Dr. H. Ghosh, in the course of his presidential address at the last Annual General Meeting of the Indian Chemical Association, has drawn attention to the need of Co-operative Industrial Research in this country. The following extract from the *Science and Culture* for January will illustrate :

> Dr. Ghosh stressed the need of industrial research which has now become the recognised practice in all leading industrial countries. The importance the industrial research has received in Europe and America is reflected from the fact that one concern in Germany spent 31 million marks for experiments in the liquifaction of coal. In the United Kingdom, the coal industry with the assistance of the D. S. I. R. spent 200,000 pounds a year on coal utilisation researches. The Fuel Research Board in addition spends 100,000 pounds a year on the survey of coal researches, and the gas industry spends about 400,000 a year in research. American Petroleum Industry's contribution is no less than 600,000 pounds on research. He referred to the limited scope of research afforded by the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research and advocated better co-operation of the Board with the existing industries. He further suggested the establishment of an independent institution of industrial research under the control of a Board appointed by the Chemical Manufacturers' Association, for which funds should be made available by the leading industrial concerns of the country.

Industrial concerns of this country have betrayed a woeful lack of imagination in this sphere of activity which, if done, would have been beneficial equally to them as well as to the people. Neither has the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research set up in India financed any research association or suggested the formation of any. Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Director of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, who was present at the meeting, pleaded the eternal excuse of paucity of funds at the disposal of the Board. Funds have never been wanting in this country to finance measures considered necessary by the Government, and they came in millions at a very short notice. One may only be reminded of the colossal amount of money wasted through panicky measures like the Denial Policy of Sir John Herbert or the A. R. P. measures in certain parts of India which were believed by sensible people to have been well beyond the range of Axis bombers and which have subsequently been dissolved.

## *Post-War Educational Development in India*

The Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on post-war educational development in India has reached us just when we were going to press. We shall discuss it after we have had sufficient time to digest it. Glancing through its pages we find that they have taken into consideration the two fundamental points of education in this country. In the Introduction, the Committee say that "even though all the nation's children are brought to school, success will not be achieved unless the teaching is effective and efficient teachers will have to be properly paid." Elsewhere they say, "there will probably be general agreement that religion in the widest sense should inspire all education and that a curriculum devoid of an ethical basis will prove barren in the end."

Adequate salary to the teachers and an ethical basis of education must be taken into

consideration in any attempt to build an educational system for India worth the name.

### *Rau Committee*

We are glad to learn that in spite of Sir B. N. Rau having left the Government of India, his services on the Hindu Law Committee have been retained and the Committee has been reconstituted with a view to strengthen it. It is gratifying to find that no new Chairman has been needed to pilot the deliberations of the Committee after Sir B. N. Rau has so successfully done it, and after the work has progressed favourably so far.

### *Humanity and Post-war Plans*

E. Dixwell Chase writes in the *Worldover Press* bulletin for October 13, 1943 as follows:

"A phase is apt to be reached in any long-drawn struggle when a people, particularly if it has been engaged in a fight against odds, has so habituated itself to endurance that it may be tempted to forget that war is fundamentally an intolerable thing. From time to time it is necessary to stand back from the grim concentration upon the immediate past, to renew the consciousness of the cruelties and the miseries that defile the world, and with it the resolution, not merely that the horrors shall be ended, but that they shall not be permitted to continue for a single avoidable day."

Thus wrote the London *Times* as the war entered its fifth year. Only two weeks earlier the 275th Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in London had issued an appeal addressed: "To all Men Everywhere," saying: "All thoughtful men and women are torn at heart by the present situation. The savage momentum of war drags us all in its wake. We desire a righteous peace. Yet to attain that peace it is claimed that, as Chungking, Rotterdam, and Coventry were devastated, so the Eder and Moehne dams must needs be destroyed and whole districts of Hamburg obliterated. . . War is hardening our hearts. To preserve our sanity, we become apathetic. In such an atmosphere no true peace can be framed, yet before us we see months of increasing terror."

Though the two messages conclude with different proposals, the first to redouble the war effort, the second to "issue an open invitation to co-operate in creative peacemaking" entailing "sacrifice of national prestige, wealth, and standard of living," both put a finger on the nightmare that tortures us.

On this side of the Atlantic the same question has been raised of whether war, fought to save democracy, can be prevented from destroying it. *Fortune* magazine, in its July issue, wrote: "War itself, one of the chief instruments by which all civilizations have in the past established themselves, has become a threat to the life of Western civilization."

It has become a commonplace to compare our international society of today with the rip-roaring days of this county's pioneering West, when the only law was the law of the six-shooter. Yet the camparison is a good one. Walter Lippmann and Clarence Budington Kelland, apparently assuming that that is the best we can hope for, propose that we should keep our six-guns strapped on, adding more if necessary to overawe anyone in a rival gang who might want to pick a fight or rustle our cattle. Ely Culbertson suggests that the boys should get together, hand in their guns to a community council, which would then pass them out again, but distributed in such a way that no single gang would dare attack the combined triggers of the rest. But others have held that the men of the community must first of all make up their minds that feuding doesn't pay, that if a neighbor steals your horse, the wrong is not redressed by setting fire to his barn. With that idea accepted, then a court and a police force become possible. Without it, those institutions not only will not be able to preserve the peace, but may actually aggravate the feuding.

Said William B. Ziff, author of the forthcoming book, *The Gentlemen Talk of Peace*, when speaking on a recent radio forum: "It is a fallacy to believe that by the application of unlimited force peace can be insured. Police power did not prevent Southern Ireland and the American Colonies from breaking away from Britain. It did not prevent the Russian Revolution. It will not prevent any war. . . The causes of revolution and war are moral and economic. They do not relate to police power."

We are living at present under conditions in which the Law of the Jungle has largely superseded the Laws of Man under which civilizations developed and flourished. Blinded as people are by rage and greed and fear—fear not only of loss through enemy action of our life and legitimate belongings but also of that of losing ill-gotten gains—Post-war plans made by the Western democracies have a tendency towards perpetuating the misery of the weaker and the vanquished nations. The lessons of Versailles and the Post-World War I plans seem to have been forgotten.

### *Nepal Chandra Roy*

Sjt. Nepal Chandra Roy has passed away on January 21 at his brother's residence in Calcutta, at the age of 77. He had lived an active life till the moment of his death. A silent worker as he was, he always associated himself with any cause undertaken for the good of the country. His life was devoted to the noble calling of teaching and the service of humanity. He went to Allahabad as the Head Master of the Anglo-Bengali School there, but was compelled to leave the Province for having participated in the political movements of that Province. Rabindranath admired him and took him to his own Institution which he had served for more than quarter of a century. He was the guiding spirit behind the formation of the Nationalist Party in India and he actively participated in the movements of the Hindu Mahasabha. He loved his country with a devotion and a passion rarely to be seen; his response to every call of human suffering was quick even when his health was failing him. His life was the life of a sage —plain living and high thinking, ready to serve each and every noble cause that might demand his attention.

We offer our sincere condolences to his bereaved family.

### *"Era of High Prices Has Ended"*

Mr. C. C. Desai, Controller of Civil Supplies, Government of India, in a talk on the Anti-Hoarding Ordinance broadcast from Bombay, said :

"The era of high prices has ended, profiteering is no longer able to stalk the land unashamedly, public awakening has been remarkably keen and swift and there is already a noticeable fall in the prices of goods in daily use. The black-marketeer is gradually being pushed into lanes and pavements until one day he is pushed into the underground sewage system or into the sea. This is but the beginning and we mean to intensify the drive until we are restored to normal conditions and prices."

Too much familiarity with hollow declarations of this type has tended to breed contempt for them. Prevailing conditions as yet are the reverse of what Mr. Desai wanted the people to believe. He said :

It did not matter whether the offender was a big gun or a small person. A number of cases had been caught in Bombay, Delhi, Karachi and Calcutta, including some of the biggest shop-keepers as well as some of the worst known profiteers. Investigations had been completed, and the cases were just going to Court and suitable punishments would be awarded in due time.

His speech was broadcast on January 10. At the end of January, no such prosecutions have been reported. Instead one finds the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court voicing the sentiments of the people when the following bitter observations while delivering judgment in a rule obtained by G. N. Ray who had been convicted and sentenced to 6 months' R. I. for having offered a bribe of Rs. 25 and a bottle of whisky :

It was strange that cases were brought in respect of *relatively small bribes when the town was full of stories of big bribes which went unpunished.*

It has been pointed out on several occasions in the Press and on the Platform, inside and outside the Legislatures, that profiteering thrives on the patronage of corrupt officials. No tangible action has been taken by the Government to find out and bring such hidden criminals to book. Mr. Desai's desire to push the profiteer "into the underground sewage system or into the sea" will be regarded as mere bombast unless he is prepared to look into government departments for the detractors.

The responsibility to bring these social criminals to book has, in the usual bureaucratic manner, been shifted to the shoulders of the people. Mr. Desai announced :

The measure lays down that no dealer shall charge more than 20 per cent. above the landed cost or the cost of production of an article, and further that the selling prices of articles should be marked on them.

The Government had, thus, placed a useful weapon in the hands of the public for safeguarding themselves against the charging of unreasonably high prices. The benefit derived by the public would depend upon the vigilance exercised by the purchaser and the courage with which he was prepared to render civic duty by reporting delinquent shopkeepers to the police.

This announcement is not worth the current he consumed in broadcasting it. No arrangement has been made for listening to the peoples' complaints. The harassment one experiences at the Police Stations to record such complaints is a sufficient deterrent in favour of the profiteering. Absence of complaints does not indicate that profiteering or bribery has stopped, it proves that confidence in the Government has been so badly shaken that nobody thinks it worth-while to complain. Very few people believe that such complaints will be remedied, and those who may have such a pious belief do not come forward because they are not sure of any result.

### *Drug Control*

At a meeting of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Medical Union, the following resolution was passed :

"The Union views with dismay the disparity between the prices of certain drugs which prevailed before the issue of the order and the ceiling *prices fixed for the same drugs in the order which are very much higher than would be warranted by a reasonable margin of profit to the wholesale or retail dealer.* The Union therefore feels that the list of prices needs revision in the interest of the consumer."

The Government control measures always remind the people that for every commodity today, there are two sets of purchasers—the Government with its Contractors, Agents and its Satellites, the rich profiteers; and the second, the poor and middle-class people. The former can enforce the controlled prices in their favour, while the latter cannot. In fixing the "controlled" prices, the Government seems to keep it in mind that the dealers, particularly the bigger ones, should get what they consider to be a fair deal.

### *Causes of Rise in Cloth Prices*

Lala Bihari Lal Chanpana, President of the Punjab Beopar Mandal, pointed out the responsibility of the Government in permitting cloth prices to soar sky high. While inaugurating the Punjab Provincial Conference of Retail Cloth Dealers, he said :

The Government appeared very late on the scene and did something after its inflation policy and its greed to share two-thirds of the profit had played havoc.

What had been done now by the Government should have been done two years ago. He added : *"But if it had been done earlier, how could the Government get its share of two-thirds in the profits?"* What was described by Mr. Channana, a short-range policy of the Government was, in his opinion, responsible for the situation in India to-day, particularly in Bengal.

Had the Government moved in time and not allowed bogus businessmen in offices and banks to enter into speculation and not created, by its policy of inflation, two groups of men, firstly, those who made pots of money and carried bundles of currency notes in their pockets and secondly, those whose incomes were fixed, things would not have assumed the form they had done.

He pointed out how, as a result of the decrease in import, a lull in production, resulting from political events in the country and the increased demand for military, had resulted in lesser supplies being available, and because of increased paper money in the market, greater demand. *The capacity to purchase, of a particular class of contractors, for instance, increased and they were found willing to pay any price for any cloth they wanted.*

All that, he said, resulted in creating a vicious circle. He admitted that the shopkeeper also made his profits and was carried away by the general and common desire to make money. *Government was interested because it got E. P. T. and was a shareholder of two-thirds profits.*

What he described as rationalisation was attempted very late and he asserted that the attempt now being made to break that vicious circle was futile by tackling only one link. If Government desired to break that circle, *it must break the whole circle* and not merely accuse and defame one unit only.

Lala Bihari Lal, from his own experience, has given a correct estimate of the reasons for abnormally high cloth prices. When the Cloth Control Order was first introduced, big loopholes were left in it and the big guns were quick to take advantage of them. Some bales were stamped maintaining an appearance that the Order was being obeyed, while the bulk of the stock was left unstamped and loose. At long last, every pair has been ordered to be stamped and the physical possibility of doing so within the time limits has already been questioned. Prices have not come down by any appreciable extent.

## *Medical Aid to the Villages*

Dr. K. V. Krishnan, in his address on medical education to the Science Congress, has pointed out the too well known fact that the number of medical colleges in India today is ten and of medical schools 27. They turn out about 1700 doctors annually. The number of doctors in this country was estimated in 1940 to be about 40,000. There is, therefore, about one doctor to 10,000 persons in India while in Britain the number of doctors is about one to 1,000 persons. Russia had in 1914 about 25,000 doctors. Between 1925 and 1940, by planned effort, Soviet Russia was able to turn out 120,000 doctors. Dr. Krishnan pointed out that the Soviet Government was able to do so by adopting the shift system in Medical Colleges. It is unnecessary to emphasise the need of trained medical men in India. Dr. Krishnan expressed the opinion that the financial commitment for introducing the shift system in the medical schools and colleges in this country would be negligible.

Attention should also be given to the future prospect of doctors practising in villages. If any post-war reconstruction scheme can raise the rural standard of life, our doctors may profitably disperse from crowded urban areas and settle themselves in villages.

## *A Britisher as Director-General of Archæology in India*

A London message states that Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, a British archaeologist, is leaving for India shortly to take up his appointment as Director-General of Archaeology. There is something behind this apparently innocent announcement. The term of service of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, the present Director-General of Archaeology, has not yet expired. It is difficult to understand why an archaeologist from Britain should proceed "shortly" to India to take his place. Is there anything wrong with the Archaeological Department of India? Why this unseemly haste to foist a British archaeologist of unknown fame at the top of this department? It has been given out that Dr. Wheeler had participated in some excavations in the Far East, but whether he has made any contribution to Indian history or archaeology remains obscure. We cannot gather from Indian sources that he has any such thing to his credit. At the time of his appointment he was the curator of a provincial museum in Wales and did some work in the Roman antiquities of Britain. This would not appear to be any qualification worthy of mention for an archaeologist who will have to deal with excavations unearthing relics four or five milleniums older than those he has unearthed.

Oriental scholarship and knowledge of Indian history and conditions ought to be the basic qualifications for the post of Director-General of Archaeology in India. India is not wanting in scholarship and efficiency of this kind. Public opinion in this country will certainly demand to know why the claims of Mr. Madho Sarup Vats, the next man after Mr. Dikshit, has been passed over in favour of a Britisher of obscure knowledge and experience. Apart from

his long career in the department, in the course of which he has done brilliant field work, Mr. Vats is the author of the monumental Harappa Excavations Report, published by the Government in 1940, which will remain classic in Indian Archaeology for our pre-Aryan, Sind and Punjab culture, taking its place beside the works of Marshall, Mackay and Majumdar. Will some legislator at the Centre take the matter up and demand clarification from the Government ?

### *Land Mortgage Banks and Rural Economy*

At the annual session of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, the question of agricultural finance was discussed at length. One day's sitting was devoted to the discussion of the problem of providing long-term agricultural finance, with special reference to land mortgage banks.

From the papers that were read at the conference and in the discussions that ensued some interesting points arose. First it was suggested that the present rate of 6 per cent. interest on borrowings by cultivators from land mortgage banks was too high as it was doubtful whether agriculture as an industry and business could afford to give a return of 6 or 6½ per cent. on the capital invested continuously for a period of twenty years. Emphasis was therefore laid on the need for reducing the lending rate of land mortgage co-operative banks to 3 per cent.

The second point raised was that, so long as the land mortgage banks restricted their operations to aid the agriculturist to redeem his old debts, it would not prove a success. It was, therefore, suggested that the primary function of land mortgage banks should be to advance money for productive purposes—a suggestion which was fully endorsed by the president.

The third point was that land mortgage banks could play their true part in the rural economy of the country only when they formed a part of a planned programme of rural reconstruction in co-odination with other activities undertaken to improve the condition of the cultivator.

The fourth point that arose from the discussions was that, although land mortgage banks had been lending money on a 20-year basis, the tendency, particularly in Madras, was to retern the entire loan by about the fourth or fifth year. This tendency had been perceptibly noticeable during the last few years owing to the good prices received by the farmers. These advance repayments tended to prove a source of embarrassment to the land mortgage banks in that they made their working very difficult. The suggestion was therefore put forward that land mortgage banks should be permitted to provide agricultural finance for a short period of, say, five to six years.

Considering the very poor progress made by the land mortgage banks particularly, and the co-operative movement generally, the whole movement has been a costly and miserable failure. As there is little prospect of India turning socialist within a perceptible future, extension of credit facilities by the State as is being done in the U. S. A. may be strongly advocated for immediate introduction in this country. Some facts about the American Farm Co-operatives, issued by the USOWI, may be cited here. More than 15000 farmer-owned and farmer-controlled co-operative associations and companies are now operating in the U. S. A., of which 10752 co-operatives are engaged in marketing farm products or performing related services to the farmer. 1900 of the associations are mutual fire insurance companies and about 2500 are irrigation companies. Membership exceeds 30 lakhs. Sale of farm products and farm supplies by co-operative groups is now more than Rs. 650 crores. A farm co-operative is a business organisation—just as much so as any other familiar private enterprise. The fundamental characteristic of the farm co-operative is that it is operated for the mutual benefit of its members as *producers*, not as *stockholders*. The basis is the farmer's personal association with the co-operative and not because of any financial investment. The primary purpose is *to return to the producer as much as possible* for the product he sells; to provide him with the kind and quality of farm supplies that he desires, at the lowest possible cost; and to provide farm business services which will render his operations more profitable. During recent years the number of purchasing co-operatives has increased more rapidly than marketing co-operatives.

Co-operative movement in U. S. A. and India is about half a century old, but can the progress be compared ?

### *New Plans for Education*

Robert Millikan, Nobel Prize winner and Chairman of the Executive Council of the California Institute of Technology, said in a broadcast discussion on "New Plans for Education" :

"During the last half century we have developed, through local and state laws, a practically universal common and secondary school system in the United States. The laws of 41 States now require every youth to remain in school to an age of from 16 to 18 years. This is a glorious achievement for the principles of universal education." He said that the United States must more effectively use secondary schools "for making intelligent voting citizens of a free republic."

A summary of the Butler Scheme of Britain, which envisaged not only an extension of the

primary education but also a free secondary education for all, had been published in these columns. The U. S. A. and Britain are moving ahead in the thick of the war with advanced schemes of education, while retrograde steps are being fostered and encouraged in this country.

### *Fighting for Empire and Freedom at the Same Time*

Dr. Lin Yutang writes in his recent book "Between Tears and Laughter":

How did the idea of 'freedom' arise? How did the Rights of Man arise? How did that word happen to have that fine, revolutionary ring to it? It was created as an answer to oppression and a call to rebellion. When circumstances of political oppression exist, the word 'freedom' always recovers that rousing, revolutionary ring.

When Patrick Henry shouted "Give me liberty or give me death," it reached depths in the hearts of the American people, because the oppression was there. When Jawaharlal Nehru shouts, "Give me liberty or give me death," it leaves the Bertrand Russels and Norman Angells cold because they don't happen to be the oppressed. Even to the Americans, it is something so remote that it is less important than diplomatic etiquette; silence is preferable to breaking the punctilio between the august governments.

To intervene on the principle of a nation's freedom would be almost as bad as putting the wife of the British Ambassador below the wife of the Brazilian Minister at a Washington diplomatic dinner. It would be almost uncivilized.

Dr. Wellington Koo is said to have intervened on behalf of the Chinese Government for India before his departure. But it was such a hideous "faux pas" that *Winston Churchill is reported to have told him that if the Chinese Government did not stop intervening in the matter, British Chinese relations would be seriously endangered!* That is how far the word "freedom" has fallen in the thinking of man in the twentieth century!

Some of our leaders have misconstrued the nature of the world conflict and the present world revolution. The central issue of empire versus world freedom remains unrecognized and unsolved. *Some imagine they can fight for empire and freedom at the same time.*

Winston Churchill is proceeding upon the principles of Pericles. Judged by the principles of the empire, England could have no better and stronger premier. He has the firmness of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, the singleness of purpose of William Pitt, the astuteness and sense of timing of Disraeli At a time of national unpreparedness he galvanized the nation with an iron will; in the hour of danger he stood firm; toward rebellions he showed uncompromising strength: when public convictions were failing, he restored impeccable faith in the good old British Empire.

But while Disraelis and William Pitts may have been good enough for the Great Britain of the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, they are not good enough for the modern world. For Churchill has misread the signs of the times. Is this the voice of hostile criticism? No, it is the voice of a friend.

If I do not misinterpret Winston Churchill *he is fighting a twentieth century war in order to take off his boots after the war and climb back into a nineteenth century bed, comfortably mattressed in India, Singapore, and Hong Kong.* He has the admirable tenacity of the English bulldog, and also its intelligence. Judged by Empire standards, he is a giant; judged by some future and better world, he is no better and no worse than Cato shouting "Delenda est Carthage!" He may even emerge as Scipio the Younger himself, but I seemed to see the Punic Wars being fought all over again, as Rommel and Montgomery struggled in Tunisia for the ancient site of Carthage.

To me at present this seems like the Fourth Punic War. Some Hannibal may invade Italy *via* Spain with tanks instead of elephants, but the struggle for supremacy over the Mediterranean is neither modern nor ancient. What makes war is still same.

Asia knows to her cost that the diehard politicians of Britain are fully capable of fighting for empire and freedom at the same time. It is however doubtful whether an awakened East will be prepared to accept freedom in the post-war world as conveying the usual British meaning of freedom for the West and slavery for the rest.

### *Harold Laski on British Labour Party*

Prof. Harold Laski, writing in the *New Statesman and Nation*, has analysed in his inimitable way the realities of Tory-Labour coalition. He has pointed out how the Labour Party is functioning in the coalition as a very junior partner, practically through the sufferance of the Tories. The lessons he has drawn from this coalition will provide food for thought not only inside Britain, but also outside it. The article is reproduced below in a condensed form:

The great strength of all Right Wing parties is the fullness with which they realise that an interest is more compelling than an idea. Conservatives may have their reserves about Disraeli and the late Lord Salisbury, about Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Churchill. They may differ on religion as widely as on international affairs. The great source of their authority is that, when the battle has to be fought, they are all soldiers in the same army. They have learned with magnificent amplitude the meaning of Franklin's great aphorism that they must hang together or else they will be hanged separately.

The Labour Party had no possible alternative to acceptance of office under Mr. Churchill in 1940, had it chosen otherwise the very survival of Britain might have been impossible. But it is grimly obvious that it has not seriously faced the consequences of the Coalition. Just as the Tories used Mr. Lloyd George and victory in 1918 to disunify, and thus destroy, the forces of liberalism, so are they likely, if they can, *to use Mr. Churchill and victory a generation later to destroy the progressive forces and thus perpetuate their interests while their opponents are quarrelling over their ideas.* Few things ought to be more plain than the fact that British Labour and the Soviet Union have a common interest at stake. Few things, either, ought to be more plain that the fact that both enduring peace in Europe and the main chance of an economics of expansion will turn on the degree to which a defeated Germany looks for the sources of its regeneration to Moscow rather than to the City of London and to Wall Street. The

very fact that, though taxation is heavy, Mr. Churchill's government has made no effective change in the disposition of economic power in this country ought to make the leaders of the Labour Party realise that, *with victory, the Tories will be concerned to safeguard their traditional interests; speculation about the reshaping of Britain is for them an interesting academic exercise without any roots in future realities.*

Coalition Government in which the Labour Party is the very junior partner who puts over, as in the Essential Work Order, the measures no Tory Minister could successfully attempt, leaves the rank and file with a profound sense of malaise. That was why Mr. Attlee had to give the pledge that the Labour Party Conference will be consulted, after Germany's defeat, upon the issue of continuing the association of Labour ministers with Mr. Churchill. But the very fact that this consultation is to take place ought to involve the preparation by the Labour Party of the measures it will require if the Conference votes for independence. That means not merely being certain that the party's leader can stand up, at a general election, against the great hold on the nation Mr. Churchill's prestige will rightly give him, it not only means, also, that the party machinery, not least at Transport House, is ready for its task. It also means that, between now and the general election, in the first place, the voters are made fully aware of what the case for Labour is, not merely in the literature the party publishes, but in the candidates who seek to win a majority for it. And, not less important, it means, in the second place, that the millions among the electorate with no definite party affiliation, but a general sense that the time has come for a great step forward, attain the conviction that it is through the Labour Party alone that such a step can be taken.

It is surely obvious that this conviction is impossible while the Left is a congeries of warring groups which announce their dislike of one another far more loudly than they explain the disaster implied in renewing the power of the Tory Party for five years after the war is over. The way to deal with the Communist Party is not at all costs to assure its continued enmity, but to discover by discussion whether a genuine loyalty to the Labour Party is open to it. There are some very curious elements in Commonwealth, but there is no doubt that it contains also men and women whose progressivism is passsionate and profound; the Labour Party's job is to win these men and women to its ranks by offering proof that, if it should win power, it has enough audacity and vigour to maintain it and not, as in 1931, abdicate from office at the first serious sign of Tory displeasure.

The Labour Party, if it wants to avoid in the coming years the fate of social democratic parties on the European Continent must learn two essential lessons. It must not be afraid of a healthy variation of opinion in the party; explusion does it no more good on minor matters than ex-communication has benefited the Church of Rome. If it can keep Mr. Rhys Davies or Mr. Stokes, it really ought not to cavil at Miss Jennie Lee or Mr. Harry Pollitt. And it ought not to accept from its opponents the criteria by which it judges other parties of the Left. To represent the issue between the Communists and the Labour Party as a choice between the method of dictatorship and the method of democracy is not only to accept an antithesis which is historically devoid of foundation; it is also to forget the histories of Dollfuss and Franco, of Hitler and Mussolini, even, we may remind ourselves, of a British Tory Party which had no scruples, before the war of 1914, in preparing, under the aegis of its most eminent men, all the necessary technique of revolution. The task before the Labour Party is to make itself the spinal column of the immense, if unorganised, progressive forces of this country. It will not do that until it ceases to be afraid of Mr. Churchill's shadow. *If he is invaluable to the country, let us be quite sure that the Labour Party is indispensable to Mr. Churchill...British democracy have survived not merely because Mr. Churchill gave it a great lead, but, not less, because the ordinary men and women of Britain followed that lead with so unbreakable a resolution.*

The role of Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister has been too closely analogous to the dictatorship of the Nazi or Fascist brand. The reason for the Labour Party's following to this leadership is not far to seek. The Party's weakness is not the principal reason for its acquiescence, a tougher cement unites the Labour with the Tories—the fear of losing the Empire. Radical labourites advocate freedom for India from the opposition benches, but all goodwill melts away as soon as the Party enters office. Ramsay MacDonald, the author of the *Awakening of India*, was quickly followed by Attlee, Greenwood and the great radical Stafford Cripps.

### *Teachers' Training in India*

In the course of his Presidential address at the Teachers' Training Section of the 19th All-India Educational Conference, held at Jaipur, Mr. D. N. Mukerjee said :

"I take this occasion to call upon you all and, through you, upon all Indian teachers to declare in unmistakable terms that the present system of teacher training all over India, fails to give the teacher either respect for his job or confidence in his craft or satisfaction in his performance; that nothing particularly Indian or effectively practical ever finds a place in the scheme of his training; that it is most humiliating for him to find that after nearly a century of teacher-training in India, no Indian trainer has established a tradition of technical pedagogical scholarship, authorship or leadership, that Indian educators have not yet been found fit to supplement or supplant the traditional European educators, that the history and philosophy of Indian education is still an unknown subject of study in Indian training colleges."

The neglect of teachers' training in India is not an isolated affair. Mr. Mukerjee has drawn attention to the fact that in India, the training of teachers has in reality been the monopoly of the State and is bound to remain so because the State controls the employment of teachers in educational institutions. The British Government took up control of the entire educational system of this country as soon as they had succeeded in consolidating their power here. A start had been made at the most vital point, controlling children's education. The Calcutta School Book Society, formed in 1818, mainly for the purpose of providing school books, was dominated by Officials. Important members of

the Governor-General's Council actively participated in it. Even to this day, approving of school text-books, as well as prize-books, remains an important function of the Government.

The next vital point where the growth of Education in this country has been stifled, is the teachers' salary. The ridiculously low salaries paid to the teachers are insufficient for a normal standard of life. They are thus indirectly encouraged to seek other means of earning, through part time work or private tuitions, with an inevitable falling off in efficiency. This consistent policy followed for nearly a century and a half leads one to believe that the progress of education in India was retarded with a planning.

In this connection, one would do well to remember a startling utterance of Dr. W. A. Jenkins, the present Director of Public Instruction, speaking at a meeting in the Asiatic Society of Bengal on "Educational Ideals—Ancient and Modern." He said: "If you control the system of education of a country you may be sure with ninety per cent precision of what kinds of products you will produce."

### *Prospects of Research on Indology*

Dr. S. K. Belwalkar, President of the 12th Session of the All-India Oriential Conference held at Benares, said in his address:

"If the reports are correct, in some of the belligerent countries science has prostituted itself and contracted an unholy alliance with the forces of destruction. But this cannot go on for ever. Sanity will return, and we will have to sit down and seriously tackle the problem of post-war reconstruction.

War is never known to have made permanent conquests or built enduring empires. The conquests of Alexander, Cæsar, Napolean or Taimur hardly lasted a generation. Those of Christ or Asoka have endured through centuries.

Dr. Belwalkar dwelt at length on the research work carried on in different parts of the country on Indology and complained that what had been achieved so far and was likely to be achieved at the present rate of progress and the present methods of work was very small as compared with what we had still to accomplish in almost every branch of study. In the department of history it is no doubt a sign of the times that *Indian scholars are now waking up to their responsibility.* But the word of caution to be uttered was that we must always try to understand and interest men and events of the earlier age in the light of their own environment and outlook, and not attempt a reshuffle in the light of the ideas and ideals of today. The danger of such a thing happening was not quite imaginary.

Talking about research work on Indology, Dr. Belwalkar said that not having a sufficiently broad foundation upon which to erect their superstructure of research our students had no proper perspective in their subject.

Indian scholars are no doubt waking up to the need of Indological research, but the progress is still meagre. In this connection we may remember what the new Viceroy said about India's contribution to world culture in delivering his inaugural speech at the Indian Science Congress. Viscount Wavell said:

"*Her (India's) contributions to science have always been on the side of peace and progress.* She has everything to gain by combining modern science with her old culture. Her traditional outlook should enable her to make an increasingly fine and characteristic contribution to natural knowledge."

The Viceroy has realised the inner meaning of Indian culture. Will he encourage it with active patronage?

### *Responsibility of the Adviser Regime*

Addressing an Anti-Prohibition meeting at Madras, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar said:

"I gave a definite moral undertaking on the floor of the legislature, on behalf of the then Government of this Province that the Sales Tax is imposed to make up the loss of revenue caused as a result of the introduction of prohibition. The Governor is morally bound to what was stated on the floor of the legislature. To suspend it is a breach of trust and breach of promise of a sacred nature."

The Madras Governor's Act has raised a grave constitutional issue. Has the Governor, acting with his Advisers and carrying on a temporary Government under Sec. 93, the right to alter a mandate of the Legislature taking advantage of its temporary suspension? Constitutional 'niceties' are said to have prevented interference by the centre to set the Bengal muddle right. Will Mr. Amery now explain what 'nicety' has prompted the Madras Governor to force toddy down the Province's throat against the people's mandate constitutionally expressed through an Act of the Legislature?

### *Watson's Plea for British Direction in Indian Industry*

Sir Alfred Watson has discussed the reorganisation of Indian commerce after the war in an article contributed to the *Great Britain and the East.* Relevent portions are given below:

"The widespread notion of its big industrialists that they will be able to take over British enterprises in the country is, as a policy, supremely foolish. Apart altogether from the fact that the Indian investor in the past has shown much more confidence in British managed enterprises than in those run by his own countrymen, All-India capital available will be required for setting going new industries that India needs for the employment of its people. Thousand millions sterling of capital may appear an immense sum, but it goes but little way in providing employment in a nation of 400 million people.

"A third of the export trade of India is done with the United Kingdom, and that trade is almost entirely

in the hands of British firms who have built it up to the great benefit of the country.

"The facile Indian mind may believe that it would be an easy matter for Indians to take over all the machinery of this trade, and run it for the benefit of Indian firms. Nothing would more certainly lead to disappointment and failure.

"For another reason, it is important for Indian industry to retain the benefits of British direction and experience. However low may be the standards of Indian labour in wages and housing and living conditions generally, it is beyond all dispute that they are markedly higher where the employer is British rather than Indian. In the interests of the welfare of workers, retention of the British example in industry is all-important."

British direction of Indian Industry through Agency Houses has always proved to be against Indian interests. In jute the British Managing Agency System has controlled more than 90 per cent of the industry, while over 60 per cent of the share capital has been contributed by Indians. British control of this industry has been a systematic exploitation of all the three parties—the grower, the factory labour and the shareholder. In coal, the same story is repeated. Indian industrialists have proved that they are fully capable of taking over all British enterprises in this country which, when done, will improve matters to a great extent. The systematic drain will at least stop.

### *Dr. Khan Saheb on Unity of India*

Dr. Khan Saheb, in an interview to the *United Press* at Lahore, voiced the progressive Muslim view-point when he said:

"The unity of India will follow the freedom of the country and is not a condition precedent to the achievement of independence. The affairs of Ireland and Egypt have proved definitely to the world that the sickening repetition of the same stale tale of communal disunity in India being a barrier to the granting of Self-Government to India can have no effect on the people.

"The advocate of British Imperialism, Mr. Churchill, has clearly stated that he is not prepared to liquidate the British Empire. In other words, Britain is not prepared to part with the wealth and power acquired by depriving millions of their rights."

Asked how and when does he think the present political deadlock will be resolved, Dr. Khan Sahib said, "The present deadlock has been deliberately created by British Imperialism and will continue until power is completely handed over to the people of India. The Britishers will never do this unless they are forced."

It is now common knowledge that the present deadlock is a deliberate creation of British Imperialism. The initiative for resolving this deadlock lies with the people of India not in their compliance with the British demand of "communal harmony" but in their endeavour to achieve freedom for the whole country.

### *Organisation in the Frontier Province*

In the same interview, Dr. Khan Saheb spoke of a new and psychological revolution among the people of the Frontier. He said:

"We in the Frontier have developed a revolutionary mentality which can never be suppressed by any human power unless all the Frontier population was wiped out. The Pathan is a born democrat and a socialist by nature. He loathes imperialism. The Britishers have realised this and they have become very cautious in their methods of dealing with the Pathan and are not prepared to repeat the scenes of 1930 and 1932 on the Frontier. I am absolutely satisfied with the national work going on in the province and I am certain that all the vicious propaganda and underhand means used against the nationalist forces will all the more steel the resolve of the Pathans to fight in the cause of freedom.

Asked what he thought of the present ministry in the Frontier, Dr. Khan Sahib said: "I always feel sorry for them because they are made to do things against their own nation by a power which has put them there to suit its own convenience."

Other provincial organisers may profitably emulate this example of organisation in their own spheres of activities. One may think it too optimistic when Dr. Khan Saheb said, "Whatever obstacle may be put in our way, I am convinced that India is going to be a free country, and it is my conviction that freedom will be ours before the war ends;" but one fully agrees with him when he says, "The Congress position in the Frontier is steadily becoming sound."

### *Detenus not to Write Letters in Hindi*

LAHORE, Dec. 29.

An order has been passed by the Punjab Government, directing that the Congress detenus and prisoners in the Punjab jails will not be allowed to write any letters to their relatives or friends in Hindi. Though the order is not clear on the point, but it is liable to the interpretation that the detenus of the Congress prisoners cannot receive any letters in Hindi from their relatives or friends.

It may be stated that it is for the first time that such an order has been passed.

This would mean that no detenu or prisoner will now be allowed to write a letter, which he is entitled to in Hindi to his wife or sister or daughter, and this especially when ladies at home generally know Hindi only.

There may be some detenus who know only Hindi and if anyone of them wants to write, for instance, to his wife, he will have to beg of some one else to write a letter in English, Urdu or Gurmukhi, the languages permissible by the new order for the writing of letters. And if the poor wife does not know any other language excepting Hindi she will have to beg of others to read out to her what her husband writes.

Enquiries made in official quarters show that the new order has been passed because of the difficulty in getting the required number of competent censors for censoring letters in Hindi and on account of the privilege alleged to have been misused by the writers.

It has been suggested that, if a detenu or prisoner has misused the privilege, he might be punished individually and, if necessary, the privilege might be denied to him. But surely there was no justification in banning the writing of letters in Hindi by any detenu.

We wonder how the Government can justify the promulgation of such an order. People have been kept in detention only for the reason that the Government feels shy to expose their case before a Court of Law. The Government has unbounded responsibility to such people. Instead of fulfilling their duties to these men detained without trial, the Government in this country does not hesitate to curtail their elementary rights on the plea of misuse by one or two men! And why only Hindi, and not Urdu or Gurumukhi or does the Communal Award extend to the detenu's sphere?

### *Even Liberals do not Believe the Government*

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry made a significant remark in his address at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation, which explains the attitude of the liberal politicians of India towards the British policy followed. He said:

> "We do not believe the Government when they say that unity of the country is not possible because there are disturbances and discords in the country. These disturbances and discords must be effaced. It is the business of the Government to bring the people together. The Government must go ahead, as they have done previously so many times before, in the shaping of the future constitution of India."

But have the British diehards farsight enough to measure the weight of this remark?

### *Root of Communal Disunity*

Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, formerly of the Indian Educational Service, has struck at the root cause of communal disunity in India while reviewing Lionel Fielden's book *Beggar My Neighbour* in the *Spectator*. Mr. Rawlinson says:

> Mr. Fielden's little book is a plea for a more dispassionate effort to understand the Indian problem. His experience as controller of broadcasting has convinced him of the futility of trying to impose British-made charters on Indian minds. "The villager," said Mrs. Naidu, when he puffed the benefits of rural radio, "doesn't want your beastly wireless; he wants food and soap." Mr. Fielden challenges us to look into our hearts and ask ourselves whether, behind our elaborate camouflage of safeguards for the minorities, there does not really lurk a subconscious desire to perpetuate British rule? *The only honourable course is to give India her freedom unconditionally; the Hindu-Mohammedan problem is a purely domestic matter, which will never settle itself as long as we are there to foster disunity.* If the presence of the Allied armies is necessary for military reasons, we must make a treaty with the country similar to our treaty with Egypt.

The elaborate camouflage of minority safeguards backed by communal electorates have become quite transparent in India. It is encouraging to find that in England also it is becoming so.

### *Asia and Africa in Post-war World*

Outlining a plan for a world without wars, Bertrand Russell writes in the *Free World of New York*:

> Asia may be expected to demand more complete equality than heretofore. It will require considerable tact and liberality if this demand is not to lead to a general hostility of Asiatics towards Europeans and Americans. They have certain large grievances. India, China, and Japan are over-populated and desperately poor; at the same time, they are severely restricted as to emigration, particularly to Australia and the United States. Neither Australia nor the United States is likely to alter its policy in this respect. But India and China are likely to increase their strength by industrialization, and sooner or later Japan will be allowed to revive. I wish, I could believe that we of the West shall adapt ourselves to this changed situation quickly enough to prevent a very dangerous division of the world into two hostile camps. This is, in my opinion, the greatest danger to world peace in the coming half-century. It is also a grave obstacle to the establishment of any effective supernational authority at the close of the war, since any such authority would probably seem to India and China a mere device for prolonging white supremacy.
>
> The victory this time will not be simply an Anglo-American victory. There will be not only Russia, but behind Russia there will be Asia. To fit Asia into any such international framework as America and England might desire will be difficult. I assume that India will be free, probably with some form of Pakistan. Hindu India will wish to co-operate with the Chinese: Mahomedan India will wish to collaborate with its more western co-religionists. Neither party will wish to have any pact with white men, whether European or American. Further, assuming Japan is defeated in the present war, the victory will not be purely Western; a great part of the credit will go to China, which resisted Japan for years without outside help.

Proper heed may not be paid to exile-philosopher Bertrand Russell's enunciation of the pre-requisites of a world peace. General Smuts has already announced that the doctrine of might is right with the overlordship of the white is still to continue. He has obtained the vocal blessing of Britain and the silent support of the U. S. A. But readers of Lloyd George's war memoirs may remember that General Smuts' estimates at various stages of the first World War were more often wrong than right, although they were always equally positive and absolute.

# THE BATTLE OF LAKHERI, 1793, OR CAMPOO *VERSUS* CAMPOO

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt. C.I.E., D.Litt.

### 1. Origins of the Sindhia-Holkar Rivalry

The victory of Patan had enabled Mahadji Sindhia to crush the organised opposition of the Jaipur Kingdom, and the victory of Mertā coming only three months later, had similarly neutralised Jodhpur (1790). But Mahadji was robbed of the full fruits of these successes in the field. Within a fortnight of the decisive victory at Mertā, we read in a Marathi despatch, the astounding news that "De Boigne and other troops of Mahadji Sindhia are in a state of despair, and the Rajahs and chiefs are holding off the payment of their dues." [*Dy.* S. 39, 47]. The smouldering jealousy of Holkar now burst into a flame and set up an open opposition to Sindhia which was ended three years later only by the open ordeal of battle, at Lakheri.

For the origins of the Sindhia-Holkar rivalry we have to go sixty years back, to the days of the great Baji Rao, under whom the first Holkar and the first Sindhia made their names in Maratha history. Malhar Rao Holkar started earlier in the race for greatness and he gained a higher rank in the Peshwa's army than Ranoji Sindhia could do before his death.

The family chronicle of the Holkars claims that Malhar's early patronage laid the foundations of the future greatness of the humble Ranoji Sindhia and that, in the second generation the same Malhar's influence saved the life of the young Mahadji Sindhia when the latter's death was ordered by Raghunath Dādā, the Peshwa's regent. Whatever doubt there may be as to these claims, the fact is indisputable that during the first generation the Holkars stood much higher on the ladder of greatness than the Sindhias.

Malhar Holkar outlived Ranoji Sindhia by 21 years, and he was left the sole "Elder statesman" of the Maratha State after the Panipat disaster. But after his death in 1766, the relative position of the two houses came to be reversed. Malhar left no worthy son or nephew behind him, while the Sindhia family gained parity with the house of Holkar by the blood and sweat of Ranoji's sons. Ranoji had died early (in 1745) and left them young; but they were young lions: four of his sons (or five, if we add a grandson) died on active service, while the fifth son was wounded and crippled in combat. And now, in less than six years after Malhar's death the house of Sindhia rose to the front rank in Maratha politics under a son of Ranoji. This regenerator of the fortunes of the Sindhias was Mahadji, the sole survivor after Panipat among the sons of Ranoji. He combined Malhar Holkar's leadership in war with a shrewdness in diplomacy and a long vision in politics which no Maratha chief before or after him could surpass. At the outset of his career (about 1768) his resources in men, money and lands were poorer than those of the house of Holkar, whose wealth and influence were being immensely increased by the long peaceful and beneficent rule of a saintly widow, Ahalyā Bāi. But by the year 1783, when the Treaty of Salbai was signed, Mahadji had made himself clearly the foremost man in the Maratha State, and when a year later (December 1784) he secured for himself the regency of the Delhi Empire, there could be no doubt of his being the dominating figure of Indian politics. It was a position which excited the jealousy of Nānā Fadnis and the heart-burning of the Holkar party.

The curse of drunkenness lay heavy on the house of Holkar. Khandé Rao (the son of Malhar and the husband of Ahalyā Bāi), Tukoji and Tukoji's sons Malhar and Yaswant Rao were victims of this vice, and the affairs of these besotted masters were saved from ruin only by the prudent management of their Brahman ministers. Ahalyā Bāi was merely the banker of the family, a very successful banker no doubt, but she could not command in the field, nor control distant provinces; hence her virtues counted for nothing in the manly game of war. Here the powerless and mutually quarrelsome ministers of ever-tipsy braggarts had to match themselves against a born leader of men like Mahadji Sindhia and his band of able generals. Holkar's ministers knew the essential weakness of their position and avoided an *open* conflict with Sindhia as long as they could. The inevitable clash was further delayed by the fact of Mahadji being under a cloud from the Lalsot campaign (1787) to Ghulām Qādir's flight from Delhi. But when at the end of 1788, he recovered his position in the Delhi imperial Government, the jealousy of Holkar was kindled again.

### 2. How Tukoji Holkar Tried to Thwart Mahadji Sindhia

The quarrel about the relative prestige of the two families might have been put to slumber

or simmered harmlessly, but a source of more active friction was the Peshwā's faulty partition of the Maratha acquisitions in North India among his generals. Here was something very material that had to be fought for. No clear cut terrotorial division was made among these agents by the Poona Government, but Holkar and Sindhia—with sometimes the Pawār added—were told to collect different portions of the tribute from the *same* prince in Rajputana or Malwa.

Peace and effective collection of tribute from Rajputana could have been enforced only by the presence there of an officer of the Peshwā—such as his brother or uncle—with authority to override Holkar and Sindhia alike. But such a legate plenipotentiary was not then available. On the contrary, Nānā Fadnis, the regent for the boy Peshwā, almost openly set up Tukoji Holkar and Ali Bahadur to thwart Mahadji and humiliate him before the public in Hindustan.

For example, when in August 1790, Mahadji Sindhia, in an attempt to placate the Peshwā, secured from the Emperor of Delhi a *khilat* for the Peshwā and a *farmān* appointing the latter as the Imperial Regent (with Mahadji as his deputy in that office), and according to the practice of the Mughal Government a royal pavilion (technically called *farmān-bāri*) was erected outside Mathura to receive the imperial gifts with due honour and ceremony, and all the Maratha generals at the place were invited to attend, as they were bound in duty to do,—all came except Tukoji Holkar who sent his *diwān* to represent him, as if this officer was Sindhia's equal and Tukoji his superior. Mahadji took this public insult to heart and vowed to oust the Holkar competition from Hindustan by increasing his army. Rana Khan pacified him.

Every enemy of Mahadji Sindhia found shelter and support in Holkar's camp, whose close ally was Ali Bahadur, who had openly defied Mahadji at Mathurā in 1789 and was now thwarting him in Bundelkhand. Every Rajput prince who wanted to evade the payment of his tribute to Sindhia, sent his minister to Holkar to intrigue against Sindhia with Holkar's diwan. In 1790 while Mahadji was openly campaigning against Ismail Beg and the Rajahs of Jaipur and Marwar, the envoys of these three enemy Powers were living in the camp of Tukoji though a very small contingent of Holkar's horse had been sent to Mahadji to assist in his campaign! Above all, every anti-Sindhia plot in Rajputana was hatched under Holkar's leadership. The situation at last became intolerable, as Mahadji again and again complained to Nānā Fadnis, but the Regent of Poona took no action.

The local Rajahs, seeing this incurable division among the Maratha authorities in Northern India, stiffened in their attitude and evaded paying their promised war contributions and their due tribute to the Emperor, knowing full well that adequate force could not be brought to bear on them. The Jaipur minister aptly likened this Holkar-Sindhia rivalry to "a combat between two wild elephants"—which he was enjoying from a safe distance, and he frankly said that he would discharge his Rajah's debts only after one of the two had asserted his superiority beyond question.

In fact, the hoarded wealth of the Rajput Governments had been grossly exaggerated in the imagination of the Marathas. Their annual revenue even had sunk to one-third of the normal amount, through lavish grants to the feudal barons or usurpations by them and poor collection owing to maladministration and anarchy. As a Jaipur minister told Mahadji Sindhia in 1786, "You ask for sixty lakhs of Rupees! We have not even sixty lakhs of broken pot-sherds in our Treasury." Hence a debtor State which Holkar's men had first sucked dry could yield nothing to Sindhia's collectors coming after. This hunt for gold kept alive the quarrel between the two Maratha agents of the Peshwā in Hindustan.

### 3. Advocates of Peace in the Two Rival Camps

Mahadji sincerely wished to live at peace with Holkar, so long as peace was not rendered impossible by others; he avowed a life-long friendship with the Holkar family; Ahalyā Bāi had been his friend in need with her loans, and he would not risk a rupture with the Peshwā by open war on another general of the Poona Government in Hindustan. His policy, equally wise and just, was to settle the Holkar-Sindhia differences peacefully by the superior award of the Peshwā.

Holkar's ministers, too, wished to avoid an open trial of strength with the victors of Patan and Mertā. They knew the weakness of their own side. They confined themselves to a series of pin-pricks, little mice-like mischiefs, such as plundering small convoys on the way to Sindhia's camp or looting villages within Sindhia's sphere of influence. Such acts of the subordinates could be conveniently disavowed by their Chief afterwards, if found expedient.

Small places like Kāmā and other cities on the eastern and southern frontiers of the Alwar

State, whose limits had not yet been firmly recognised, became bones of contention between the roving generals of these two Maratha Chiefs, as their just rights there had not been clearly defined.

Each of the rival camps had its peace party. Mahadji Sindhia regarded an armed rupture with Holkar as a political blunder fatal to his far-ranging ambitious projects. Tukoji Holkar was too fond of drink to stir himself for anything else in the world; a flask of wine under a shady bough, by the side of a cool brook or lake, was "Paradise enow" to him, provided that the needed money came regularly either from Ahalyā Bāi or from the tributary States. The older ministers of each,—like Jivvā Dādā under Sindhia and Parashar Dādāji under Holkar,—favoured peace like their masters. But a rupture could not be averted when the young and hot-headed Gopāl Bhāu, in the pride of his position as Sindhia's viceroy in the North, over-rode the sober counsels of the patient and diplomatic Jivvā Dādā and adopted a hustling policy towards Holkar's generals in the disputed areas. I reject as an enemy fabrication the story in the Holkar family chronicle that it was Gopāl Bhāu's proud ambition to seize Tukoji Holkar and present him in chains, as a captive of war before his master. But it cannot be denied that Gopāl Bhāu had no patience with Holkar's agents and acted in a downright thrustful manner towards them. On Holkar's side the peace party failed only when Gopāl Bhāu's unwise attack on Tukoji at Surauli (8 October, 1792) wrecked their policy and left the field open to the young fire-eater Malhar Holkar II.

4. How the Rupture Began in 1792

In September 1792, Sindhia's generals began to seize Holkar's jagirs in the Ganges-Jamuna Doab and the west Mathura district. The war-cloud between these two houses after first gathering in the north-eastern horizon for some-time, soon burst at Kāmā (32 miles north of Bharatpur) and quickly moved from that district west and south, through Alwar into Rajputana proper. Kāmā was now an imperial crownland and Sindhia as the Delhi Emperor's keeper was entitled to its revenue. But a captain of Holkar's family named Khush-hāl Kumār Pāgyā, thrust himself into the fort with his contingent and would not leave when politely asked by Gopāl Bhāu to do so. Tukoji sent him reinforcements when Gopal Bhau's lieutenant Lakhwā Dādā laid siege to Kāmā. After some weeks of fighting, Khush-hāl was murdered by a Rajput whose sister he had abducted, and the leaderless garrison cut their way out with their arms and rejoined Holkar's camp.

The contest next overflowed into the adjoining Alwar territory, where Tukoji Holkar's son Bāpu Rao was out on tribute-collection. Gopāl Bhāu sent him a message to say. "We have to realise ten lakhs from the Mācheri (Alwar) Rajah. Please do not press him for your money till we have collected our dues." Then the Sindhian generals marched to the scene in full force, and Bāpu Holkar retired to Lālsot in Jaipur territory in order to avoid a battle.

Tukoji Holkar himself was then encamped at Bhagwantgarh, on the south side of the Banas river, 13 miles north-west of Sawāi Mādhopur. Here he was visited (on 25 September, 1792) by Daulat-rām Haldiā, the Jaipur diwan, who formed with him a plan for a combined attack on Mahadji Sindhia's forces in Rajputana. It was settled that Tukoji would move from Bhagwantgarh to Surauli, eleven miles west of it, on the same southern bank of the Banas river (four miles south of Isardā), and begin the war on Sindhia as soon as the Jaipur Rajah got his contingent ready and issued from his capital. The Rajah's diwan left for Jaipur, with an agent of Tukoji, in order to hasten the war preparations. At this time, one large detachment of Holkar's army was at Lālsot under Bāpu Holkar, to shield the Jaipur capital from the Sindhian advance, and it was planned that he would join his father as soon as the projected campaign was opened.

5. The Brush at Surauli, 8 Oct. 1792

Sindhia's generals, Gopāl Bhāu and Jivvā Dādā with De Boigne's brigade had been advancing from the north-eastern angle of the Jaipur Kingdom, conquering Bālāheri, Manpur, Gizgarh and Dāosā. On learning of the new plot hatched againt their master, they at once turned sharply southwards, by-passed Bāpu Holkar (leaving him on their right), and swiftly moved down towards Tukoji Holkar's camp on the Banas river. That chief had reached Surauli on 3rd October, and his son Bāpu could not join him in time for the coming battle. No battle, however, took place; the screen of light horse and Pindhari foragers in Holkar's service, spread before Tukoji's camp and, always shrinking from any action, merely tried to envelop Sindhia's army and molest its supplies. Parāshar Dādāji, the minister in charge of Tukoji's affairs, very wisely took early precautions as Sindhia's army approached him: he sent away the heavy baggage and camp to the south and

even removed Tukoji himself from the camp, while he himself with a light force stood at Surauli boldly facing the enemy.

Advancing without a check and crossing the Banas river, Gopāl Bhāu fell upon what remained of Tukoji's camp at Surauli (8th October). In the short fighting that ensued a few men on Holkar's side were killed, but the time gained by their resistance enabled Tukoji Holkar to be carried to a safe distance.[1] Soon afterwards Bāpu Holkar came up and joined Parāshar, so that the Sindhian generals thought it best to give up their chase and encamped six miles from the reinforced Holkar army.

This beating up of an almost deserted camp, which does not deserve the name of a battle,—became a turning point in the relations between Holkar and Sindhia. It utterly humiliated Tukoji in the eyes of the public. The family honour of the Holkars was wounded too deeply to be forgiven. A mere servant of their hereditary rival had thrashed and driven out the active head of the house of Holkar! The insult could be wiped out only with blood. When the news of it reached Ahalyā Bāi, her anger flamed up; in the picturesque language of the Holkar family chronicle, what was merely the scalding of a finger became an inflammation of the head to her. She promised to spare no money in raising a new army for avenging the insult and declared that she would set out on campaign in person if her officers faltered. Men were recruited at various places and sent in batches to her generals in Rajputana month after month. Tukoji had engaged the French mercenary captain Chevalier Dudrenec to raise trained battalions for him in the manner of De Boigne's brigades in Sindhia's service. But owing to Ahalyā Bāi's parsimony[2] only four battalions could be formed, each consisting of 400 men (against 540 in a battalion of De Boigne), and from the shortness of the time they were imperfectly drilled. Besides, this force had no artillery at all comparable to De Boigne's splendid light brass guns, copious supply of munitions and efficient transport organization.

The Indore Government's one need was a pushful General. Bāpu Holkar had been an eye-witness of Patan and Mertā, and therefore knew his own military inferiority and dreaded an open conflict with Sindhia's New Model army; moreover, he was now in broken health. Parāshar Dādāji, the man of business in charge of Holkar's army, fully agreed with Bāpu. Tukoji Holkar was quiescent in his cups, and wished for nothing better than to be left alone with his bottles. Their policy was to make a working compromise with Mahadji Sindhia's generals in Hindustan by mutual agreement and concession. Such an agreement was actually made even after the Surauli affair and it lasted for some four months.

### 6. Malhar Rao Holkar the Younger: Policy of Aggression Triumphs

But then came Malhar Rao Holkar the younger, on the scene, and "reversed the treaty with Gopāl Bhāu." This young son of Tukoji was a fanatical believer in the light foray tactics (*ghanimi gawā*) which had made Shivaji, Baji Rao I and Malhar Holkar the First famous throughout India many generations earlier and against enemies very differently armed. Recently this hot-headed youth had run away from home, gone to war on his own account, assembled bands of predatory horsemen and led them in looting helpless villages of the Peshwa's dominions in Khandesh. This success had heightened his prestige in the ignorant circle of Ahalyā Bāi's advisers, and his own self-conceit to the point of madness. He now insisted on being sent to Rajputana with power to override his father's generals, and promised to crush Mahadji's much-vaunted New Model army by making one sudden charge with his myriads of light cavalry, *à la* Malhar Holkar the First!

Ahalyā Bāi yielded to his boastful tongue and sent him to the Holkar camp in Rajputana, where Mahar II brushed aside the sober counsels of Bāpu and Parāshar and ordered an aggressive policy against the Sindhian generals.

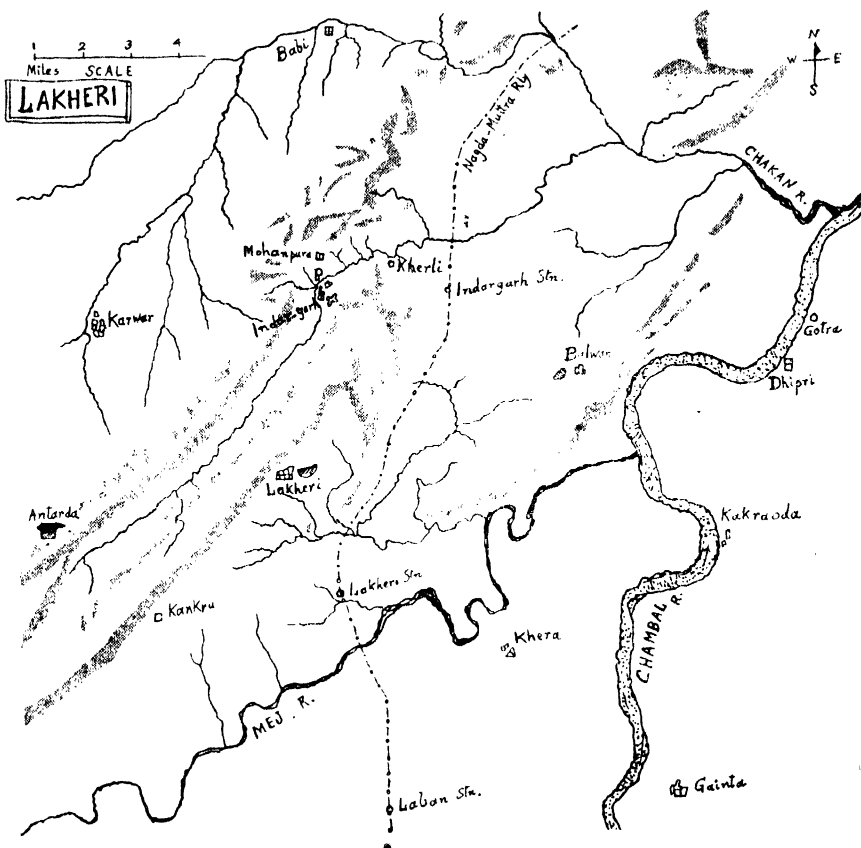
Parāshar Dādāji, who clearly foresaw the coming disaster, tried to put it off as long as he could, by confining his tactics to roving and skirmishing round Sindhia's camp, but promptly falling back at the first threat of battle. "Hostilities began afresh: each side again tried to encircle the other." But with the giddy young hero Malhar in command, these fabian tactics could not continue long. Gopāl Bhāu and De Boigne took prompt action, as before Mertā and Surauli, to nip in the bud the new anti-Mahadji coalition which Tukoji was trying to build up with Bikāner, Mārwār and some Mewar malcontents. Advancing by forced marches from

1. Tukoji now took up his residence at Babi, on the south side of the Chakan Nadi (a feeder of the Chambal) and 12 miles north of Lakheri.

The Holkar family chronicle asserts that at Surauli their men fought a stiff battle for two hours and "five or fifty men were slain." I think that this battle should be clasesd with the combat which a famous English Knight "fought for one hour by the Shrewsbury clock."

2. A report from Ahalya Bai's Court, 26 July 1793, says that the army cost 3 lakhs a month, and the soldiers were 14 months in arrear of pay.

the north-eastern corner of Jaipur, near Kerauli, they beat Tukoji's army in the race for Mewar and made contact with it in the Sawāi Mādhopur region. Gopāl Bhāu, leaving his heavy baggage near Rantambhar, and forming a light mobile force, advanced south, with his cavalry in the centre and his French-trained infantry and guns protecting the two flanks, ready for a pitched battle. The Holkar war policy was to attack the Sindhian generals only if they advanced with their cavalry leaving the battalions behind. As Tukoji's diwan, Yashwant Gangādhar wrote "We cannot sacrifice our men and horses by attacking them. Therefore, we are roving around them, adopting light foray tactics." [*Chandra*, ii. 122]




But an open contest could not be long delayed. On 27th May 1793, the first clash of arms took place; beaten by De Boigne's fire the Holkar horse fell back 20 miles to Lakheri, and the Sindhians followed them up, halting 10 miles before them. The decisive battle was fought five days later.

## 7. Battle of Lakheri: the Rival Forces, and Stages of the Battle[3]

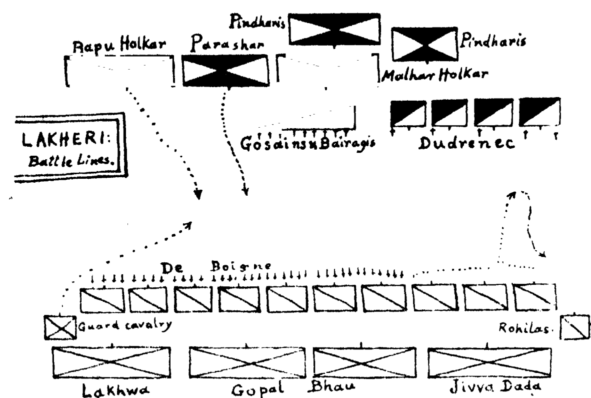
It was the first of June, 1793. De Boigne leading the Sindhian vanguard with his infantry brigade, approached the hill pass near the village of Kherli, a mile east of the town of Indargarh and three miles north-west of the modern railway station, named after that town. A dense forest covered his right flank up to the hill crest. Climbing a tree on the heights, he surveyed the enemy's position. There lay before him the army of Holkar spread out on the plain behind a marsh. Its left front was formed by the four battalions of Dudrenec with their guns, trained on the approach to the hill pass. Immediately to their right stood a crowd of irregular infantry consisting of wild Gosāins and Bairāgis or monks fighting for hire. The second line was formed by the Deccani horse, in three large divisions—Bāpu Holkar's on the right, Tukoji's own contingent under Parāshar in the centre, and Malhar Holkar's on the left, with the Pindhari force (eight to ten thousand) on their small ponies in the rear. Dudrenec is said to have had only five guns of his own, against 80 under De Boigne, and the disparity in trained infantry was almost as great, 1600 men against 6500. There were some old and very ineffective cannon with Holkar's troops. The Gosāins and Bairāgis had some antiquated matchlocks, besides swords and spears. But their favourite weapon of offence was rockets, of which they had an ample supply carried in carts to the firing line; these could do no harm at all comparable to artillery fire, but they were chiefly useful in

3. The battle was really fought close to Indargarh, where the pass crosses the long double mountain-chain running north-east from Bundi. There is no path over the mountains near the town of Lakheri, which is five miles south of the pass and town of Indargarh; but the whole district is named Lakheri.

making unbroken horse stampede, and also in causing fires in the enemy's munitions by a rare lucky hit.

Holkar's army was made up of twenty to twenty-five thousand Deccani horsemen and four battalions of regular infantry (each 400 strong) under Dudrenec, with 38 "guns of position." This number did not include "the crowd of infantry" (as the French account aptly describes them), meaning the irregular troops known as Gosāins and Bairāgis (some eight to ten thousand), nor the Pindharis (probably the same number).

Gopāl Bhāu's command included 20,000 cavalry of his own and De Boigne's First Brigade, consisting of ten battalions (544 bayonets each), with 500 Ruhela infantry and a regiment of select cavalry (300 sabres) attached to it. He had 80 excellent light guns of improved French design, which fired smaller balls, but with the same range as his enemy's heavier pieces. But his transport and supply system was a wonder for that age. Each light gun was drawn by 8 oxen and its separate munition-waggon by 12 oxen. Each battalion had attached to it five guns,—two of them three-pounders, two six-pounders, and one a caronade (8-pounder or larger). For each three-pounder gun 400 rounds, for each six-pounder 300 rounds, and for the caronade 45 rounds of grape and 12 shells, were carried into the field. To a regiment of cavalry were attached four three-pounder galloper guns, each drawn by two horses, with four camels each carrying 60 rounds for each galloper. Camels also transported water.




At Lakheri, on account of the nature of the ground, there was no regular battle along the whole line at one time, but the fight was conducted piecemeal by section against section in a number of different stages. The action began after nine in the morning with the advance of a wing of De Boigne's infantry before his artillery had arrived; but the movement was soon broken up by the enemy's unopposed gunfire. After a pause among the trees, followed his full-strength artillery reply, during which an unlucky accident exploded twelve of his munition-tumbrils and dismounted 10 or 12 of his guns. Taking advantage of the confusion thus created, the Holkar horse delivered an attack, but as they came out on the open ground in front, they were mowed down by 6500 musketeers holding a sheltered position on three sides of them. The shaken horsemen were counter-charged by De Boigne's personal guards of three hundred superb cavalry and turned back.

By this time the engagement had lasted four or five hours and the sun had already turned to the west. There was no water-supply to Holkar's weary fighters; their gun-fire slackened and then ceased altogether when all the munitions were used up, while De Boigne's eighty guns continued pitilessly blazing away and coming up closer and closer. Then Holkar's sorely tried army began to break up: first the Gosāins and Bairāgis fled away from the field, with the Pindharis behind them. This left Holkar's centre vacant. At the same time his retiring cavalry was counter-charged by the full force of Sindhia's horse under Gopāl Bhāu and Jivvā Dādā, on the heels of De Boigne's Guard squadrons, and their retreat was turned into a hopeless rout. Thus, Holkar's front centre and the whole of his second line ceased to exist, and there remained only the four battalions of trained infantry on his left wing, under Chevalier Dudrenec. The last stage of the battle now began with a general advance of Sindhia's entire army against this remnant of the enemy force. Seeing his right uncovered, Dudrenec had extended his small force into a long thin line and now held the centre of the original position of his side. He refused to surrender and fought on to the last man, though opposed to four-fold odds in musketry, a devastating artillery fire, and complete encirclement by hostile cavalry while his own guns had been silenced and his cavalry had gone away out of sight. With the annihilation of this force the battle ended, just before the summer sunset dropped the curtain on one of the bloodiest scenes in the blood-red annals of Rajasthan.

## 8. Detailed Description of the Battle

The country leading up to the Indargarh pass was intersected by ravines and dry brooks

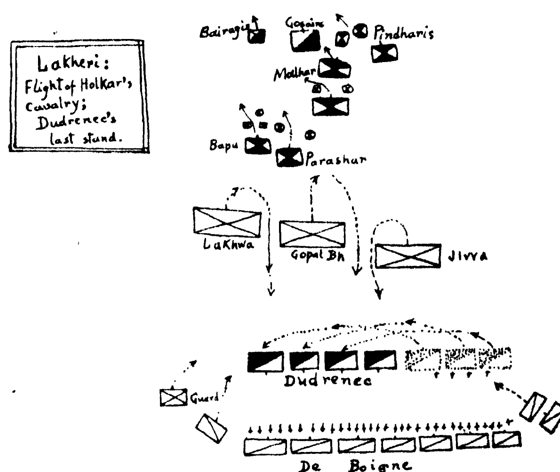
and encumbered with trees and bush. Therefore, Sindhia's army could not advance from its previous night's camp in battle order, but marched in a long snake-like column to reach the enemy. The guns toiled on in single file after each battalion.

On sighting the enemy, De Boigne reconnoitred Holkar's lines from a tree-top, and sent three regular battalions and a body of Rohilla irregular infantry specially trained for storming, to carry the pass which led to the enemy's position. No artillery preparation or support could be given, and this small advance guard was met by a storm of cannon-balls and rocket-fire, and they fell back with heavy losses. De Boigne wisely led them back to the shelter of the trees on the two sides, where Holkar's artillery could do them little harm. By their prodigal and useless expenditure of their scanty supply of shot and shell at this initial stage, Holkar's army ran quite out of munitions when the real crisis of the battle came later and they could make no reply to De Boigne's fire.

The enforced halt among the woods enabled the rest of De Boigne's infantry and guns to come up. He deployed his column and formed his line of battle gradually as the battalions arrived one after another. His guns were immediately unlimbered and opened fire upon the enemy with a crushing superiority. Their guns were of heavier calibre, but his were double in number and equal in range, and could be fired with greater quickness and accuracy by his European gunlayers.

Thus clearing the pass, he issued from it into the more open ground beyond, which was however too much cut up by ravines and covered with trees and jungle to allow regular manœuvring or free-firing. But just then an unforeseen accident threatened disaster to his force: "A bullet hitting the iron side of an open munition waggon caused a spark to flash, which exploded that waggon and the fire spreading, twelve other tumbrils blew up at the same time, while ten or twelve guns were thrown out of their carriages and rendered unserviceable. The confusion spread to the infantry, and the enemy horse, advanced with rapidity to profit by the disorder. De Boigne, who saw the storm coming, immediately retired his men some yards into the forest," and kept them standing ready to meet the attack. As the Holkarian cavalry came out of their back line into the open plain before them, they were subjected to a withering fire of 6,500 muskets firing by platoons and 80 guns ranged close ahead in a semi-circle, and fell into disorder after losing many men and horses for nothing.

Just as they stopped and hesitated, De Boigne launched his select cavalry on them. This body of only three hundred troopers, mounted on superb horses and accoutred in the sumptuous style of the famous Bengal Cavalry of the British, charged with the compactness and force of a bullet. Their green coats and red turbans were at first lost to view in the wavy ocean of ten thousand parti-coloured jackets and tight twisted orange *pugrees* of the Deccani horse. The blow was struck at the psychological moment. At the impact of disciplined valour, Holkar's rabble on horseback began to scatter like chaff before the wind. Emboldened




by this sight, the entire Sindhian cavalry, under Jivvā Dādā and Gopāl Bhāu, fell upon the shaken Holkarians and turned their retreat into a hopeless rout, chasing them out of sight from the battle-field.

By this time it was well past noon. Holkar's troops who had been up and in arms since daybreak and working for eight hours under the burning sun of June in Rajputana, were at last overcome by thirst. Worn out with toil, raked by De Boigne's guns to which they were no longer able to reply, and dying of thirst with no hope of water supply, the Holkarian army now broke up rapidly. As their Rajah's family chronicler admits, "Our troops began to cry for water. In Sindhia's campoo camels continued to bring skins full of water, but on our side there was no water. Therefore, the Gosāins and Bairāgis ran away. Munitions ran short in our five [four] battalions...Even the Maratha horse took to flight."

Where was Malhar Holkar II at this time? As his father's cavalry left the lost field and issued out of the pass, they found Malhar lying in the water of a tank by the roadside quite unconscious. The pot-valiant hero was cooling his wine-flushed head after ruining his family prestige and the lives of hundreds of brave men. As the *Holkar Kaifiyat* comments on it: "He in reliance on whom they had made the reversal of the treaty, was in such a condition!"

With the flight of the Gosāins and Bairāgis and of the Pindharis and Maratha horse behind them,[4] the entire Centre and Right wing of Holkar's army disappeared. The Deccanis vanished like smoke, leaving the fight to be continued by the Hindustanis on both sides. Holkar's left wing still stood firmly. It was now a contest between two trained infantry forces, each under European leadership.

De Boigne called upon Chevalier Dudrenec to surrender, but the call was gallantly refused and a fight to the death ensued. Dudrenec, by a prompt tactical move pivoting on his right and marching *en echelon*, had extended his line from the left, into the gap created by the vanishing of Holkar's centre, and though absolutely denuded of cavalry support, he tried to guard his flanks with fire. But his numbers were hopelessly weak, 1600 bayonets against 6500, and his guns had been rendered useless by the exhaustion of powder, and there was no reserve or support within sight. Left utterly alone in the field, and hemmed in front by De Boigne's ten battalions and on the two flanks and rear by Gopāl Bhāu's returned cavalry, with sixty light brass guns firing on them at point-blank range, Holkar's northern sepoys fought on till they were almost all annihilated. There was no escape possible, and none was sought. All their European officers were either killed or wounded; Dudrenec himself escaped death by falling into a heap of the slain.

Holkar's defeat was complete and the battle decided the Sindhia-Holkar rivalry for domination over Hindustan. But Holkar's tiny New Model and its European officers had not disgraced themselves. True, they served Tukoji for their bread. But call them not mercenaries; they fought for their paymaster and made the supreme sacrifice as devotedly as they would have done in the defence of their own fatherland.

### 9. The Fruits of the Victory

The loss on Holkar's side was very heavy. Dudrenec, in an interview with Ahalyā Bāi on 27th August, reported that 800 to 900 men had fallen on his side; this evidently refers to his four battalions, which would mean more than 50 per cent fatal casualties. The deaths among the Maratha horse have not been given anywhere, and we are only told, in the accounts that reached Puna, of "great destruction" having been wrought among them. But they took to flight so quickly that more of them died of thirst and fatigue on the way than those that fell on the field, chiefly as victims of De Boigne's fire. Sindhia's loss was even much slighter than at Mertā.

From the hard-won field, Gopāl Bhāu marched and occupied Holkar's abandoned camp near Lakheri city. The spoils of victory included 38 pieces of cannon, ten cart-loads of rockets, 200 horses, 50 camels, three *palkis*, four camels laden with treasure, besides all the tents and baggage.

The fugitives suffered unspeakable hardship from lack of water on the route for some days after leaving Lakheri. They crossed the Kali Sindh and moved south-east into the Khichi country, *en route* to Indore.

But this battle seriously compromised Mahadji Sindhia in the eyes of the Poona Government and ruined his policy of making an amicable settlement with Tukoji Holkar for the peaceful government of Hindustan. And their hereditary quarrel lingered on to the generation of their great-grandsons: "Maharajah Sir Jayaji Rao Sindhia had never met Maharajah Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar of Indore, or entered his territories; proposals for a meeting between the two chiefs had been frequently made, but had always broken down upon some point of ceremony....But nothing could prevent Sir Jayaji Rao from proceeding to Indore to pay Sir Henry D. Daly the visit of sympathy and condolence [on the death of Daly's wife in October 1874]. ....At the first stage, on the banks of the Narmada, he and Sir Tukoji Rao met for the first time in their lives." [*Memoirs of Genl. Daly*, 330.]

4. One MS. of *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* gives the reading that Bapu Holkar signalled with his scarf to Dudrenec to retire, and then the army broke up. The other MSS. omit this version; but it is quite credible; Bapu as a cool-headed and experienced General must have found that the day was lost and rightly tried to save his army for fighting another day.

# LATE BABU RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By BHAI PARAMANAND, M.A. M.L.A.

THE death of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee has removed a great personality from the national life of Bengal. He was working as the principal of a college at Allahabad and an idea struck his mind to take up the line of journalism as his chief occupation. When he thought of this plan the profession of journalism had not gained either reputation or respect. In those days to start a respectable monthly in English was really a task which a man of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee's ability and talent only could accomplish.

He started his *Modern Review*. It has occupied the most honourable and leading position in India for generations. In ancient India when there was neither any important literature nor any newspapers even in name, when the modern printing press could not even be thought of, there were experienced and learned Brahmins or Sannyasis who by their advice guided the society in all its social and political matters and whose advice was sought even by the ruling princes and their assemblies on all occasions of difficulty. It was these persons, very few in number, who enjoyed the status of real leaders of society in those days. Times have changed. The invention of the printing press and along with this the rapid development of various kinds of literature has created a sort of social revolution which has influenced social and political relations almost everywhere. India too had its share in that revolution. Particularly our contact with the Western ways of thought has put an end to our own system of education and along with this the ancient class of our teachers and leaders has also disappeared. Naturally in their places has grown up a new class of persons who on account of devoting their lives in the pursuit of public professions have assumed the position of leaders in the country. And among these public professions it is only those men who have got the use of press or platform that have come into prominence and thus they have not only influenced the public life in the country but in fact serve as the leaders of thought. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee started his *Modern Review* which in a very short time became a renowned magazine within the country and even beyond it. Its articles were contributed by learned men from its very start. And the views that were expressed in the editorial notes by himself contained important principles on almost all the questions current in the country and these views amounted to the sayings of a great savant. *The Modern Review* was started with a great mission before it and all those who studied the journal would appreciate the fact that Babu Ramananda Chatterjee fulfilled that mission and maintained its prestige till the end of his life.

A nation's worth is judged only by a number of great persons who are born in it. Such men are very rare and undoubtedly Babu Ramananda Chatterjee was one of them. Bengal was one of the provinces that very early received the benefits of modern education. As a result of this education Bengal produced religious reformers as well as a good many political leaders. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee did not belong to this class. He belonged to the class to which belonged Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the first graduate of the Calcutta University, and which, in a way, can claim Swami Vivekananda as its chief exponent. They differed from the ordinary run of leaders as it was they who created an awakening in the national life of Bengal and also of Hindu India. They both placed the glory of the ancient Hindus as their ideal and devoted their learning and energy for its revival. They both may be said to be the forerunners of the Hindu-unification movement in the country.

In recent times Babu Ramananda had a similar mission for himself and he can be named as the third important person in that list. The life of Bengal during those days was filled with new political ideas. The political theory of the time was in favour of creating a new nation in the country by amalgamating the various communities and it ignored altogether the opposition between the views and interests of those communities. With a strong and earnest belief in this theory the leaders of political thought in India discarded the idea of Hindu culture and greatness and looked upon these sentiments with contempt as savouring of communalism. Communalism became a term of contempt and anything partaking of communalism was not to be tolerated. It was in such an atmosphere in Bengal, permeated with such ideas that Babu Ramananda Chatterjee was prepared to join the Hindu Mahasabha movement and was elected the president of the All-India session which was held at Surat (Gujrat). If we look deeply into the matter we will find that in those days in Bengal it required great courage and self-confidence for a man to come in the field with a flag of Hindu Sangathan in his hands. Ever since then he was taking interest in the movement to the best of his ability.

# EARLY HISTORY OF SUGAR IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

SUGAR, like textiles, has been manufactured in Bengal from time immemorial. The earliest mention of crystal sugar is found when Dioscorides in 35 B.C., speaking of the different kinds of honey, says that "there is a kind of it in a concrete state, called Saccharon, which is found in reeds in India and Arabia Felix." Pliny, in 77 A.D., knew sugar, which he also calls Saccharon, and says that it was brought to the West from Arabia and India, but the best from the latter country.[1] In 145 A.D., Arrian mentions sugar—honey from the reeds—as an article of trade between Hither India and Red Sea Ports. In the same year, Ælian, in his Natural History locates the seat of the sugar industry when he says that a kind of honey was pressed from reeds that grew among the Prasii, a people who lived near the the Ganges. In 212 A.D., Alexander Aphrodisœus said, "What the Indians called sugar, was a concrete honey in reeds, resembling grains of salt of a white colour, and brittle." During his travels about 1250 A.D., Marco Polo found sugar in abundance in Bengal.[2] A detailed description of the methods of cultivation, manufacture of all forms of sugar and the distillation of spirits from it in the Ain-i-Akbari proves that the sugar industry was in a flourishing state in India in the 16th century.

It is difficult to ascertain when sugar was first introduced into England, but it has so far been traced that the art of refining sugar was known in that country about 1300 A.D. It appears in the account of Chamberlain of Scotland in 1329 A.D., that loaves of sugar were sold in Scotland "at above an ounce of standard silver by the pound." So Britain was behind India at least by 14 centuries in the art of sugar manufacture.

Systematic cultivation of sugar cane and manufacture of sugar outside India dates only from the sixteenth century. The Dutch first established sugar works in Brazil in 1580; but on being expelled from there by the Portuguese shifted their plantation and industry to the West Indies. In 1643, the English made sugar at Barbadoes, but it was of "so inferior a kind, as to be hardly worth sending to England."[3] By 1650, "it had improved considerably, but was not equal to that manufactured in Brazil. The French made sugar at Guadaloupe in 1648. The Jamaica sugar plantations were started by the English after 1664. Since then it has spread over most of the West India Islands. The English plantations were ultimately greatly successful. The British sugar was soon able to oust the Portuguese from the British market by underselling them. Sir Josiah Child says in 1670 :

> "We have already beat their Muscovado and Paneal sugars quite out of England, and their whites we have brought down in all these parts of Europe, in prices of £7 and £8 per cwt. to £2 10s. and £3, and we have also much lessened their quantities; for whereas formerly thin Brazil fleets brought 100 to 120,000 chests of sugar, they are now reduced to about 30,000 chests since the great increase of Barbadoes."

Sugar trade in England was then open. But it was soon found that although the Portuguese had been beaten, it was not so easy to beat other competitors. After the restoration of Charles II, Parliament proceeded to protect the British industry by several measures of restriction including Acts of Navigation. In consequence of these restrictions, England commanded a large export trade in sugar until the French had greatly improved their industry and began to undersell England in most parts of Europe. In less than 20 years, starting from about 1726, the French had made almost incredible improvements in sugar plantations in their West India Islands, particularly in St. Domingo leaving England far behind in this industry. About the time of the Revolution however there was a sudden turn in the tide of French fortune and Britain was able to regain her lost position. After the passing of the Commutation Act, price of tea was reduced and demand for sugar in England rose very high. The supply was restricted due to the virtual prohibition of the Eastern product. In 1792, Indian sugar had to pay an import duty of £37-16-3d. per cent. while the West Indian sugar paid only £0-15-5 per cwt. There was great rise in the price of sugar. The East India Company, by a resolution dated March 15, 1792, requested the Lords of Treasury to reduce the prohibitive duty on East India sugar, and to charge Bengal sugar at the same rated duty as that fixed for sugar from the British plantations. The request was not granted. The profit on Bengal sugar going into the British market was very high.[4] During the nine years, from 1791 to 1799, 29807 tons of Bengal

---

1. Milburn : *Oriental Commerce,* Vol. II, p. 263.
2. *Travels of Marco Polo,* edited by W. Marsden, F.R.S., 1818, Bk. II, Ch. XLV.
3. Milburn : *Ibid,* p. 264.
4. Milburn : *Ibid,* p. 272.

sugar, purchased at £713,200 were exported to London where this quantity was sold for £16,70 832. The net profit, exclusive of shipping and other charges, was £254,986 or more than 33 per cent.

The amount of profit will be better understood from the following statement, quoted by Milburn, of the Company's imports in 1798 :

5,242 tons cost in India, including all charges on board—£99,682 or £0-19-0 per cwt.

The freight thereon, at £20 per ton—£104,838.

Duties paid by the Company—£6,946.

Charges at 1s. per ton on the quantity sold—£4,930.

Total cost and charges £216,396.

Gross amount from Company's sales £331,381 or £3-3-2 per cwt.

Company's profit £114,985.

The profit of the Company as importers therefore was more than 50 per cent.

The expansion of the sugar trade is illustrated by the following account of the export of sugar from Bengal, excluding Company's export :

| Years | Total Exports | To England | To America |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Sa. Rs. | Sa. Rs. | Sa. Rs. |
| 1795-6 | 8,20,186 | 3,05,051 | 1,26,171 |
| 1796-7 | 11,57,715 | 4,77,000 | 3,34,248 |
| 1797-8 | 8,46,752 | 1,82,650 | 5,19,533 |
| 1798-9 | 14,01,646 | 3,75,999 | 1,70,560 |
| 1799-1800 | 23,89,691 | 6,98,667 | 6,59,340 |
| 1800-1 | 10,00,099 | 1,19,406 | 5,50,513 |
| 1801-2 | 12,01,798 | 2,17,899 | 3,10,379 |
| 1802-3 | 10,81,544 | 2,30,727 | 5,04,544 |
| 1803-4 | 10,71,366 | 672 | 8,53,313 |
| 1804-5 | 18,20,446 | 116 | 6,53,532 |
| 1805-6 | 33,24,168 | 54,478 | 11,69,261 |

The remainder of the exports, besides England and America went to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandal, Ceylon, Prince of Wales Island, Cape of Good Hope and Persian and Arabic Gulfs.

The following is an account of the quantity imported into England by the East India Company :

| | £ |
|---|---|
| 1803 | 56,789 |
| 1804 | 208,060 |
| 1805 | 295,814 |
| 1806 | 150,250 |
| 1807 | 199,873 |

The direction of trade in 1805 was :

| Country | Sugar Exports | Total Exports |
|---|---|---|
| | Sa. Rs. | Sa. Rs. |
| U. S. A. | 11,69,261 | 62,78,055 |
| Sumatra | 16,620 | 4,93,401 |
| Persian and Arabic Gulfs | 5,37,255 | 21,85,287 |
| Malabar Coast | 13,50,493 | 53,60,781 |
| Coromandal Coast | 1,43,926 | 24,10,253 |

The exports from India had begun to tell powerfully, and an increased production in the West Indies had also been brought about. Accordingly, in 1807, a committee of the House of Commons had actually to be appointed to consider the depressed state of the West Indian trade. It was shown that an alarming fall in the price of sugar had taken place since 1799. The imposition of a heavy duty on Indian sugar had evidently failed to produce the desired effect. Among the suggestions offered by this committee it was proposed to increase the consumption of sugar by introducing its use into distilleries.[5] The committee also examined and reported on the enormous expenses attendant on the prevailing system of cultivation in the West Indies. Various measures were considered but none apparently put into force.

Even after 1807, export trade in unrefined sugar continued in full force as will appear from the following figures :[6]

| Year | By E. I. Co. | By Private Trade | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Cwts. | Cwts. | Cwts. |
| 1814 | 40,241 | 3,548 | 43,789 |
| 1815 | 8,322 | 115,970 | 124,292 |
| 1820 | 19,298 | 257,906 | 277,204 |
| 1825 | 20,866 | 223,196 | 244,062 |
| 1826 | 80,845 | 262,002 | 342,847 |
| 1827 | 103,222 | 276,959 | 380,181 |
| 1828 | 75,190 | 441,641 | 516,831 |

### Increased Cultivation in Bengal

The high sugar prices since 1789 tempted the East India Company to make vigorous efforts for increasing the production of sugar in India, and specially in Bengal. It was pointed out[7] that

" *The Company's territories in Bengal are capable of supplying sugar for the consumption of all Europe, if a regard for the interest of the West India planters did not render a very great extension of the East India sugar trade improper, and if the duty upon it were not so high as to render the importation of it a losing business,* except when the price happens to be very high in this country. In April 1789, the Company sent orders to Bengal for shipping a quantity of sugar, which arriving at the time when the price, was enormously high, was sold with some profit. The Company, thinking that Bengal ought to be considered as a British territory, and seeing that British West India Sugar could not stand in need of a protecting duty, when the quantity of it was so very inadequate to the demand for home consumption and exportation to the Continent, applied to the Lords of the Treasury for a reduction of the duty, but without success. If the duty upon East India and West India sugar were equalised, the difference of the freight upon so heavy an article would still operate as a protection to the latter, and effectually prevent any larger importation of the former than what may be brought as ballast along with finer and lighter goods. From what is now stated, it is evident, that a very large

5. Watt : *Dictionary of Economic Products of India,* Vol. VI, Pt. II, p. 36.

6. Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, presented to the House on February 9, 1830, p. 1418.

7. MacPherson : *History of European Commerce with India,* 1812, pp. 388-389.

importation of East India sugars would be ruinous to the West India planters, whose property is too large and important to be sacrificed, and also to the importers. With regard to the balance of trade, for which many of our political economists are so anxious, it is proper to remember that the whole first cost of East India sugars are mostly paid in bullion, whereas West India sugars are mostly paid for with British merchandise, and a great part of the balance, paid to the proprietors of sugar estates, is spent by them in this country.

The demand for the equalisation of duties on East India and West India sugars voiced in 1792 gave rise to a controversy which dragged on till 1836, when the duties were equalised. Even as late as 1825, opposition to the East India Company's demand was acute. A champion of the West India planters, signing A. B., wrote in the course of a letter to the *Asiatic Journal* :[8]

"Zealous political economists were apparently strenuous for the admission of India sugar into England upon the same duty as that from the West Indies. . . . By favouring the sugar of India, total ruin would have ensued to the West India colonies, for the protection of which the faiths of Parliament and the country is pledged."

The editor of the Journal commented :

"We have not scrupled to insert the concluding para of our correspondent's letter, although we are directly at issue with him on the question respecting the policy of furthering E. I. sugar with an unequal duty for the protection of W. I. planters."

The sugar industry of Bengal had been in a flourishing and well developed condition at the close of eighteenth century. The following letter from the merchants of Calcutta to the Government written in 1776, will speak for itself :

"Formerly sugar was one of the staple articles of Bengal, and a considerable trade was carried on in it to Madras, the Malabar Coast, Bombay, Surat, Scindy, Muscat, the Persian Gulf, Mocha and Judda. Even so late as the period preceding the capture of Calcutta, in 1756, the annual exportation was about 50,000 mds. which yielded a profit of about 50 per cent. and the returns for which were generally in specie; so that in the 20 years immediately preceding the capture, it may be estimated that *there flowed into Bengal for this article no less than 60,00,000 rupees, which was all clear gain to the country*, and of the most eligible kind, *the production of the ground manufactured by the natives.* And this flow was regular, always feeding, but never overcharging the circulation. During the last 20 years the price of sugar has been gradually increasing, and the exportation and growth diminishing in the same proportion, so that the price is now 50 per cent. more than it was before that period. The charge of transportation is also greater; and the price in the foreign markets not having risen in the same proportion, the export is so trifling and casual, that the sugar trade of Bengal is in fact annihilated."

The merchants, in the same letter, suggested the following remedy :

"Supposing the recovery of this trade to be an object deserving attention, we submit to your consideration whether it be attainable by any other means than by encouraging Europeans, distinguished by their property, situation and credit from ordinary adventurers, to undertake the cultivation and manufacture of sugar after the method practised in the West Indies, by grants of unoccupied lands and other reasonable privileges. We admit that much will depend on the conduct of the first undertakers; but with proper management on their part, and a reasonable support from Government, we think that success would be infallible, and that in a few years the natives would follow the new method, which would thence soon become general throughout the country."[9]

The desired privileges were conferred by the Governor-General. A grant of land was made and a sugar plantation on the West Indian model was started. After repeated experiments, by a society formed for the purpose, the efforts to establish large plantations were abandoned on the plea that the "soil was found so universally infested with white ants that the Society were obliged to drop their scheme." The society then broke up and some of the merchants began to manufacture sugar and rum from cane purchased from the cultivators. After some time, this process had also to be dropped. The main reason of their failure seems to have been the competitive cost. Sugar was so cheaply produced and frugally manufactured by the people of Bengal that big plantation, with costly establishment was unable to stand their competition. The experiments performed by the first Indian Sugar Company, however, had demonstrated what has been confirmed over and over again since, that certain soils or certain cultivated races of the sugar cane, grown in India, were quite as rich in crystallisable sugar as the West India forms.[10]

A letter of Mr. Bebb, then a Member of the Bengal Board of Trade, lately a Director of the East India Company, addressed to the Governor-General on July 9, 1790, proves that Bengal sugar was showing every sign of expansion :

The material articles of export from Bengal are rice, sugar, raw silk and silk piecegoods. Some of these articles are peculiar to Bengal; others are carried from other countries to Madras and Bombay, and rival those of Bengal. Among the articles thus rivalled, *sugar is the most valuable;* it is of so much importance, that the extending export of it is of sufficient weight in itself to merit consideration. The Bombay market was supplied with sugar from China, Manilla and Batavia, as well as from Bengal; all that can be purchased at Batavia by the Bombay merchants is eagerly bought; the vending or procuring a cargo of sugar is even considered a sort of favour conferred by the officers of the

8. *Asiatic Journal*, January, 1825.

9. East India Sugar, Papers on the Culture and Manufacture of Sugar in India, 1822, pp. 12-16.

10. Watt : *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Vol. VI, Pt. II, p. 37.

Dutch Government on the Bombay merchant. The Mahrattas, the great consumers of sugar imported into Bombay, are said, however, to give a preference to Bengal sugar, if it be of the same or nearly the same price.

Anthony Lambert, a merchant in Calcutta and who was ever considered as one of the ornaments of the polished circle of friends whom that great Orientalist Sir William Jones drew round him, was aware of the great possibilities of sugar industry in Bengal. He wrote to the Governor-General in September 1790 :

"The crude juggery, as furnished by the Ryots *in almost every part of Bengal*, is capable of producing sugar and sugar candy fully equal in quality to what is made in Europe, China or Batavia."

Bebb suggested abolition of duties on the import of sugar into other parts of British settlements in India as a concrete measure to encourage export of the Bengal product. Bebb's suggestion was accepted and the duties were taken off. The consequent reduction in price gave the Bengal product an advantage over her rivals in the Indian market and exports increased. Reduction in price did not injure the quality of the product. Milburn asserts in 1810,[11] *i.e.*, within 20 years of the event, that

"The duties on the importation of Bengal sugar into the other British possessions in India being done away, together with the anxious desire of many *resident merchants to raise its quality*, and reduce its price to such a standard as to make it an object of profitable export, gave great encouragement to the cultivators; *and the quality of it so much improved* that in 1791 it had become a staple with foreigners, and an export trade to Flanders and America was rising very fast."

The indigenous manufacturers were not in the least unmindful about the maintenance of the quality of their product. It is difficult to justify Moreland[12] when he makes the following adverse comment about the quality of Indian sugar :

"Since much of the Indian product was inferior in quality and relatively costly to export, it did not at first secure any large share of the European market."

The real cause of the absence of Bengal sugar into the English or continental market, as we have already seen, had been the political manipulations of the British, French and Portuguese merchants to secure that market for their own product. The East India Company, who had interest in Bengal sugar, tried their best to capture these markets. Britain kept the Bengal sugar at bay only by the imposition of a veiled prohibitive duty when that commodity had threatened to compete the West India product in the British market. The same attitude to Bengal sugar pervaded the minds of the British Government throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Contemporary accounts in the early nineteenth century show that *there was scarcely a district in Bengal where the cane did not flourish;* but it thrived best in Rungpore, Burdwan, Beerbhum and Midnapore, and in Bihar and Benares which were then included within the boundary of Bengal. It was successfully cultivated in all these places and Milburn observed in 1810 that "there seem to be no other bounds to the possible production of sugar in Bengal than the limits of the demand and consequent vent for it." The potentialities of the Indian market were very large, and "it only needed encouragement to equal the demand of Europe also."

Milburn was fully corroborated by W. Hamilton in 1820. Hamilton says,[13]

"The sugar cane, the name of which was scarcely known to the ancient inhabitants of Europe, grew luxuriantly throughout Bengal in the remotest times. From India it was introduced into Arabia, and from thence into Europe and Africa. From Benares to Rungpoor, and from the borders of Assam to Cuttack, *there is scarcely a district in Bengal, or its dependent provinces, wherein the sugar does not flourish.* It thrives most especially in the districts of Benares, Bahar, Rungpoor, Birboom, Burdwan and Midnapoor—is successfully cultivated in all."

The cost of manufacture of Bengal sugar was extremely low. According to Milburn's calculations, it did not cost more than 5s per cwt., or in terms of modern currency, not more than Rs. 2-8-0 per md., while the British sugar at the West Indies could not be manufactured at a cost below 20s per cwt.

Capt. W. H. Sleeman published an account of the productivity, cost of production and profits of the Bengal sugar in the *Calcutta Oriental Magazine*. This article was reproduced in an abridged from in the *Asiatic Journal*, October, 1828, and is given below :

The best lands in Jamaica are said to have yielded at 5,000 pounds, the acre from first year's cuttings. Dr. Roxburgh estimates the returns from the irrigated lands of Rajamundry at 5,000 pounds of coarse sugar the acre; and *I have estimated, on a large scale, the average returns from lands watered and well manured in Bengal, at 2,500 pounds the acre:* The finest crop of cane I ever saw in Bengal, yielded at 5,000 pounds the acre; but this was from the straw coloured cane, while I have reason to believe that the cane described by Dr. Roxburgh was a large purple cane, which yields sugar in greater abundance, but of inferior quality.

The rent of lands in Bengal, the rate of annual returns, may be estimated at about the same as in the

11. Milburn : *Ibid,* p. 271.
12. Moreland : *From Akbar to Aurangzeb,* p. 138.

13. W. Hamilton : *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan,* Vol. I, 1820, pp. 28-29.

Isle of France; but *I should rate the cost of tillage in Bengal at about one-third of that of the Mauritius*, even with the advantage of artificial irrigation from wells and wheels. The costs of cultivation, including rent, are not more than one half the costs of producing sugar, even before it leaves the mill; and the whole of the costs incurred upon it before it leaves the mill are less than four-fifths of the costs incurred before it reaches the hands of the merchant exporter, according to the above calculations. The same saving must, in India, be made in the manufacture of the sugar and its subsequent distribution as in the cultivation, provided the people avail themselves of the same agency in machinery, works, etc., etc., as it is to be hoped they soon will. If we rate the rent at 20s. and the other costs at one-third of those of the Mauritius, or at 27s., we have a collective cost of 47s. for a return of 2,000 to 2,500 pounds of sugar.

As cuttings are not taken a second year in Bengal, every acre contributes its produce to the supply, and from every acre on which costs are incurred returns are received; say 500 acres, at £2-7s. the acre—£1,175-7s.; 500 returns, at 2,000 lbs.—1,000,000 lbs. Say planter one-half, 500,000 at 8s.—£2,000. Profits of planter £824-13.

The price of good exportable brown sugar in Calcutta, even with all the disadvantages of a protecting duty of ten shillings the hundred, of a bad species of cane, of the want of machinery and skill in the manufactory, by which the quality of sugar is injured, and the cost of preparing it is augmented, is seldom below six rupees, or twelve shillings the hundred; and on the lands that produce it the price is about 10s. (At this time, the sugar of Bhurdwan, Kanchunagur, and Beerboom, is Rs. 6 the md. in Calcutta, and about Rs. 5 in these districts; that of Benares, Mirzapore and Ghazeepore at five rupees the md. in Calcutta, and four in these districts. The ordinary price in Calcutta is, for the former, five, and for the latter four rupees the md.). In rating the price of sugar to the planter at 8s. I give him an ample return, while my rate is good deal below the ordinary price.

The introduction of a better species of cane would give a more ample produce, and of a better quality; and the introduction of machinery and skill would reduce the expenses of manufactory, and of the actual produce leave a greater share to the cultivator. But the introduction of a better cane, and of machinery and skill in the manufactory would improve the quality of the sugar and increase its price in the Europe market.

It should be remembered here that the West India plantations were manned by slaves, while in Bengal everything was done by free labour. One body of opinion in England, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, recommended the encouragement of sugar cultivation in India as the natural and certain means of effecting the total abolition of slave trade.[14]

The Bengal farmer was fully alive to the use of manure in his plantations. Hamilton says:

The Bengal farmer restricts the use of manure to sugarcane, mulberry, tobacco, poppy and some other articles. Of the manure little is worthy of notice, except to mention that oilcake is sometimes used as a manure for cane sugar.

14. J. Cropper: Letters to Wilberforce, 1822.

Ain-i-Akbari has recorded that sugar plantations were not only manured but artifically irrigated wherever necessary. The juice was extracted by wooden mills driven by bullocks. Col. Gastrell's Revenue Survey Report[15] gives a vivid description of the process of manufacture in vogue in the Faridpur district. Women and boys were usually employed to feed these cottage mills with canes and drive the bullocks. Westland's detailed account of the sugar manufactures and sugar trade of Jessore is also available to show how flourishing this important industry of the district had been during the early part of the past century.

The first modern sugar mill in India, the Dhoba Sugar Works, was established in the Burdwan district by C. H. Blake, in 1829, in which steam power was used.[16] The mill however was unsuccessful. It failed after running for only two years. Blake had followed the system of entering into contracts with local growers of sugar cane for the supply of the cane. A second enterpriser, T. H. Henley, established a mill at Baruipur, in 24-Parganas, about 1830-32, although on a smaller scale. He cultivated the native canes and manufactured sugar from them on the West India principle. This enterprise was also a failure. The endeavours did not stop here. Watt[17] says:

Attention appears to have been next directed to Eastern Bengal and Tirhut. . . . Highly manured and carefully watched, these experimental plots yielded highly encouraging results. . . . Capital was largely embarked and mills and machinery imported. . . . But the evil genius which had presided over all former attempts of the same nature seemed still to prevail, and sadly disappointing, to all concerned, have been the results of these sanguine speculations. Four years had not elapsed since the promulgation of the flattering estimates of profit, when all engaged in carrying out the new enterprise confessed their disappointment and failure.

In 1840 came the death-blow when the beet sugar industry of Europe, specially that of Germany, grew rapidly and steadily and within a very short time controlled the sugar market of the world. The American protective duty made India the chief dumping ground for beet sugar. Scientific plantations had also been introduced in Java. In less than half a century, the exports and imports were equalised and in the next quarter, the chief export of India was converted into her chief article of import[18]:

15. Pp. 8-9.
16. S. H. Robinson: *The Bengal Sugar Planter*, quoted by Watt, *Ibid*, p. 100.
17. Watt: *Ibid*, p. 101.
18. Watt: *Ibid*, p. 40.

| Annual Av. from Years | Import (Cwt.) | Exports (Cwt.) |
|---|---|---|
| 1874-75 to 1879-80 | 550,284 | 576,817 |
| 1880-81 to 1885-86 | 988,429 | 1,106,557 |
| 1886-87 to 1890-91 | 1,842,217 | 1,058,311 |
| 1892 | 2,743,491 | 824,741 |

Quoting Parliamentary Papers relating to correspondence on East India (sugar) Counterveiling Duties Act, 1901, Gadgil says that "within five years, 1895-1900, over 180 small factories in the U. P. alone had to close down. There were also many more closures in the Bengal districts, *e.g.*, Jessore." A counterveiling duty was imposed; but as there was no planned attempt to protect the Indian industry this imposition was of no avail. The indigenous sugar industry was destroyed depriving millions of human beings in this country of their additional source of income. The destruction of sugar industry, after the cotton and silk textiles, forced Bengal and India to lean upon land as the only means of subsistence.

---

# A PORTENTIOUS OUTLOOK

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

The trend of events in 1944 does not infuse much hope and courage in the hearts of the survivors of the famine conditions that prevailed in 1943 all over Bengal. There is every chance of repetition of the occurrences of the past year with still greater intensity and spreading over a larger area—parts that had escaped with a comparatively lesser injury than those more seriously affected. We are constrained to say this even with the bumper crop of 1943-44 autumn before us that has partly been harvested and a part of which is still lying on the fields for want of labourers depleted by death, disease and incapacity.

The signs are ominous and unless the situation is controlled with tact and firmness it will soon go out of hand. Certain provinces are assuming roles not much different from that of the last year. In 1943 the provinces, especially those under Sec. 93 showed "the greatest obstinacy" in the language of Mr. P. J. Griffiths of the European Group in the Central Assembly. They were reluctant to help the Central Government "to reach the target figures" in creating a stock for the deficit provinces. The neighbouring province under Moslem League domination, *viz.*, Assam, was indignant over the removal of restriction of grain trade in the Eastern Zone (on the 18th May) and its Premier was "compelled to lodge a dignified and vigorous protest with the Central Government" and "appealed to our traders and also to our growers not to export rice and paddy for temporary gain." On the same day the Premier of Orissa hastened to Delhi

> "to personally impress on the Government of India the difficulties created in Orissa by the recent order removing the Provincial Government control over the movement and prices of rice and other food-grains."

As regards Bihar, the statement of the Secretary, Bihar Land-holders' Association of the 9th June is significant :

> "I fully appreciate the difficulties of the Local Government created by the removal of the inter-provincial restriction and the introduction of what is called the free trade policy. . . . There is one thing which the Provincial Government can do. And that is to state that they will grant no facilities to other Provinces in their attempt to starve Bihar. . . ."

One who does not enjoy the confidence of the Government cannot say with any amount of exactitude about what is going behind the scene and the relation that is taking shape between the Centre and the Provinces.

A message dated December 22, from Sind stated

> "that the Governor under his special responsibility and without the concurrence of his Ministers issued an anti-hoarding order for wheat making it an offence for anybody to keep more than a certain amount of wheat after January 15, 1944."

On this

> "the Ministers informed His Excellency that they would not be a party to any policy of rationing, procurement and requisitioning as their powers had been taken away by the Direction of the Government of India under Section 26-A."

and

> "the Ministers made it plain that they could not shoulder any responsibility without power."

Mr. H. H. Gazder, Minister for Information, further informed

"that the interference by the Government of India will lead to the same conditions as the Bengal famine being repeated in Sind."

At the Moslem League Session at Karachi, on December 25, the Sind Premier "put forward a spirited defence of the Sind Ministry's Food Policy" and the result of the tussle with the Centre is awaited with eager interest and considerable solicitude by the people of Bengal.

In Bengal matters are moving very slow and a real concern is felt over the disagreement with the Centre in certain of the details regarding food supply and rationing in Calcutta and suburbs.

On December 1, the Bengal Government announced their Food Plan for 1944. The main objects of the Government were stated to be

"the restoration of confidence, sufficient control over movement and distribution of supplies to ensure their equitable distribution throughout the province"

as advocated in *The Modern Review* for November, issued on the 1st of November, and

"the continuance of price control for the purpose of reducing prices to lower and more economic levels."

And to achieve these objects

"it has been decided to prohibit all exports of rice and paddy from Bengal on any account whatsoever."

The Government's procurement plan was

"all purchases of rice and paddy on behalf of Government will be entrusted to a Purchasing Board consisting of not more than five firms of very high standard with experience of the rice trade in Bengal. . ."

To the last measure the people of Bengal expressed their strong disapproval. But they appreciated the Press Note issued on December 14,

"prohibiting an employer or an association of employers jointly employing 1,000 or more workers for making purchases of rice or paddy for their employees in the open market."

In the alternative they were ordered to "obtain their requirements only through the Government chief purchasing agents."

"The intention of the order" says the Press Note,

"is to prevent big employers of labour from dislocating supplies and upsetting prices by directly entering the market to make large-scale purchases of the above commodities."

People say that it is the dawn of belated wisdom. But it is better late than never.

It is not clear whether the statement of the Food Member, Government of India, in an interview to the Associated Press in Calcutta that "he had gone into the plans of the procurement of the 'aman' crop, the underlying idea of which should be not to disturb public confidence by procuring large quantities" is going counter to the plan of the Government of Bengal. The suspicion is confirmed by the speech of the Premier of Bengal at the Karachi Moslem League Conference on December 26. He said:

"It was essential to get hold of the *Aman* crop in order to meet the situation better. But the Central Government was advocating a policy which may frustrate the object of getting hold of the *Aman* crop in Bengal this year. The Bengal Ministry had gone on with their scheme in this connection but objections were raised by a member of the Government of India only a few days ago. If those objections were not quickly withdrawn there might be great difficulty in the procurement of the *Aman* crop."

Do the Government of India differ from the view of "a member" of their own who has got the honour of being specifically mentioned by Sir Nazimuddin? Or the Member in question has expressed the view of the Government in his capacity as the Food Member not yet dismissed?

None-the-less, the situation is intriguing. The idea of the Government of Bengal was to distribute rations through shops established by them. Serious objections were taken to this procedure both by the people and the trade of the Province, but to no effect. On December 23, the Government of India issued 'a directive' under Sec. 126-A to the Government of Bengal

"calling upon them to bring food rationing into force in Calcutta by January 31 and arrange distribution of foodstuffs through 1,000 retail shops for which 55 per cent. shall be private retailers and the remaining 45 per cent. Government controlled stores."

To the great relief of everybody concerned the Bengal Government submitted to this arrangement with the remark from the Civil Supplies Minister,

"it was not a very serious matter necessitating intervention by the Government of India"

but that

"the Government of India is dabbling in details."

One can say with confidence that had not the Government of India intervened the rationing scheme announced to take effect from January 31 would have to wait for another crop season.

The latest reports regarding rationing in Calcutta are rather disquieting. In thorough disregard of the direction of the Government of

India the Government of Bengal is going, according to the Indian Chamber and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, to set up 450 Government-controlled and only 400 private shops for distribution of rations.

In an interview on January 4, Mr. Suhrawardy said:

> "That the Government of Bengal have started making small purchases where prices are low, but they have been so cautious that in no instance their purchases have put up prices."

To our great misfortune, Mr. Suhrawardy has no touch with the real market; otherwise he would have known by this time that prices have been already looking up where they were going down. An instance of his colossal ignorance of facts can be cited when he said on September 1, 1943, that he

> "was not aware of its (black market's) existence either officially or non-officially."

The actual facts are that people have not been able to muster sufficient courage to place their destiny in the hands of those who signally failed them in their hour of need. There is a false idea in the minds of the authorities that pictures of large quantities of grains in the process of transport will restore confidence in the minds of the people about the future. Advertisements, measuring 14″×4½″, showing "staggering loads" of rice being carried in boats and lorries are now appearing in the newspapers. Under the boat one finds: "The tide has turned"

> "Down the waterways of our province glide country boats laden with golden crop of an exceptionally generous *Aman* crop."

And under the lorry: "To the markets"

> "The generous *Aman* crop is now being harvested in the rich fields of Bengal and poured into the markets all over the province, bringing down prices once again to economic levels."

There are more heartening sentences in four different other paragraphs and the advertisements end with a note of good cheer for all:

> "Be confident—and there will be enough for all."

This is a repetition of events of the last year when, in addition to such picture-advertisements, cinema shows and boradcasts were arranged without the people being least profited by them. Picture showing a Calcutta housewife seen receiving her share with caption "Journey's End" and an explanatory note—

> "Through arrangements made by Government large quantities of rice have been arriving in Calcutta from other parts of India. On arrival it is immediately distributed through Government grain shops at controlled prices,"

appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on the 1st of May. On the 3rd appeared

> "On Calcutta's Kitchen Front" with a picture showing a housewife "preparing *chapatties* for her family."

The explanation was:

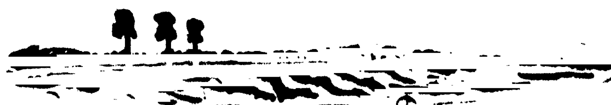
> "As a result of arrangements made by Government, large stocks of wheat have been arriving from Empire countries and plenty of *atta* is now available in the bazar at controlled prices."

There were other pictures too many to mention. With regard to wheat coming from Empire countries the actual fact is that the first foodship from foreign lands reached the shores of India on October 16, five and half months later than the date on which the advertisement appeared.

The cause of the failure of the Government lies in the inherent weakness of their statements being almost always different from the actual events. It would be a far better and effective advertisement if the Government can make foodgrains available to the poor at controlled prices with the money spent on advertisements at the current high rates demanded by the newspaper-owners.

When the confidence of the people has been completely shaken in the Bengal Government, it is wise for them to fall in line with the methods and directions of the Central Government which have to a certain extent, lately, been successful in putting heart in the drooping spirits of the suffering people of Bengal.

[Since the above was sent to the press, the Food Member, Government of India has announced a makeshift arrangement with the Government of Bengal for procurement of *aman* crop.]



# AMERICAN FARMER : THE SOLDIER OF THE SOIL

### Small Farmers in the U. S. Do A Big Job

From miles around the farmers came, thirty of them to gather at a crossroads schoolhouse in Marion County, Missouri. It was such a gathering as one might have found almost anywhere in rural America in January of 1942. As they crowded around the pot-bellied stove, the men talked about Pearl Harbour and about the new food production goals. Their words were serious and measured. American farmers had a big job to do and these men knew it.



M. D. Lantrip, of Calhoun County, Mississipi, U. S. A. His record crops have been produced on a 190-acre farm, which when he bought it sixteen-years ago, was considered one of the most run-down acreages in the County

After a time Henry Bates took the floor. Never before had Henry Bates made a speech, but he " felt called upon to say something." He talked about war, and he knew something about war. He had spent twenty-two months in a hospital after the last one. He talked about food : " Let each one make it his goal to raise enough to care for his own family and at least three of our boys in the armed services." And he ended by saying :

" Remember back four or five years ago. All of us were down and almost out. The government gave us help to get started again and encouragment to carry on. Today we are called on to give that same great government a lift by increasing production. I think I speak the sentiment of everyone in this room when I say that we will more than do what is asked of us."

The others agreed. They pledged themselves to double and triple production of eggs, milk, vegetables and oil crops.

Throughout the country, 4,63,941 other small farmers pledged similar increases. Studying the total amounts pledged, agricultural experts said it couldn't be done. And it couldn't —quite. But year-end records showed that these farmers had lifted their own production of critical foods from 20 to 106 per cent, had supplied far more than their proportionate share of the nation's total production increases. Although they represent only 7·6 per cent of the country's farmers, they accounted for more than a third of the total increased milk production last year; more than a fourth of the increase in dry beans; 10 per cent of the increase in eggs, chickens, peanuts.

Who are these 4,63,941 American farmers who patriotically pledged more than they could possibly produce, yet produced so much more proportionately than other farmers in the U. S. A. ?

They are tenants, sharecroppers, small farm-owners. Among them are names like George Smith, John Fost and Andrew Murphy, names like Ole Swensen and Joseph Schoenberger and like George Washington Jones. There's a Ramos Gonzales in New Mexico, a Sebastian DeGratzia in the state of New York. They are men of every nationality, race and religion.

A few years ago none of them were raising enough food even for themselves; many were without a cow or even chickens, and most of them were unskilled in modern ways of farming. Some were trying to dig a living from land that had been stripped of fertility and abandoned, others were tilling twenty-five or thirty acres, not enough to yield a livelihood. Their efforts were crippled by debt and mortgages, poor diet, poor health. Many were on relief. Few had credit. All, like Henry Bates and his neighbours, " were down and almost out," when the Farm Security Administration took a hand.

Confronted with the job of doing away with the need for rural relief, the Farm Security Administration struck at the causes of failure. Small loans for stock and equipment were combined with on-the-farm training in practical, modern farm and home management methods. Neighbouring farmers were brought together so they could divide the use and the cost of machinery and purebred live-stock. With the help of

local doctors and dentists, group medical care plans were set up in many counties, enabling families to get medical attention by paying annual fees and pooling them to pay the group's bills. Many tenants were helped to find bigger or better farms to rent, and thousands of FSA-developed leases were signed by tenants and landlords to bring about security of tenure, better living conditions and improved soil-building practices. To a limited number of renters and share-croppers in high tenancy areas, forty-year loans were made for the purchase of family-type farms.

The farm in the red clay hills of Calhoun County, Mississippi, as it appeared when Mr. Lantrip purchased it sixteen years ago

By the end of 1941, when this country got into war, families getting this help already were producing twice as much food for themselves as they produced before. To shift into war food production, many got additional loans to buy an extra cow or two, or more baby chicks. With the help of the county FSA supervisors they made plans for repairing fences and barns, for putting up a new henhouse, for changing from cotton or wheat to the production of peanuts, soybeans and other war-needed crops. They worked together in groups to market their crops, and set up processing plants to buy supplies co-operatively so as to stretch their dollars for more production equipment.



Here, with two Government soil specialists, Mr. Lantrip examines the winter-cover crop that holds down the cotton land on his farm

With increased incomes from increased marketings, the families caught up on back debts, made payments on their FSA loans. Including payments on instalments not yet due, nearly 10 lakhs of families receiving loans since 1935 had paid 92 per cent of the $690,133,091 they had borrowed up to December 1, 1942. In addition, they had paid $42,527,738 in interest.

After taking care of their obligations, FSA families in 1942 bought war bonds and put the rest of their money to work to produce more food. Like the Ferrells. When Maurice Ferrell, Jr., twenty-one, got malaria and was sent home from the Philippines, he went to his father's farm. In 1942 the Ferrells added seven cows to their herd, and raised 700 more baby chicks. They produced 770 bushels of corn, 43 tons of hay, 35 tons of silage and 286 bushels of soybeans. When the produce was sold, they used the money

to rent an additional 50 acres which the owner had abandoned for work in a defense plant, and another 130 acres that were lying idle for lack of a tenant.

Their success is written in terms of increased production. They added 3,91,40,00,000 pounds of milk to the nation's supply last year—36 per cent of the total increase from all farms. This was 20 per cent more milk than they produced in 1941, compared with an increase of 3 per cent for the nation. They produced 3,01,00 000 pounds of dry beans, 27 per cent of the nation's total increases. They supplied 10 per cent of the increase in eggs, or 4,98,00,000 dozen; 10 per cent of the chickens, or 3,71,00,000, pounds; 10 per cent of the peanuts, or 10,17,00,000 pounds. They harvested 33,60,000 bushels of soybeans; 1,13,000 tons of sugar beets.



Years of hard labor and scientific methods have made the Lantrip farm, with its contour planting, one of the show places of Calhoun County. Mississippi

And they're not through, yet—" not by a long shot," as one man said in a letter to his county FSA supervisor. " This year we're going to double everything we did last year."

### America's Fight Against Soil Erosion

A farmer in the south-western United States, whose fields had been damaged by soil erosion characteristic of this part of America for many years, plowed not only his fields on the contour, but terraced and listed his cattle range in the same manner. At the end of two years, the old furrows were recarpeted, and the cattle now have 50 per cent more pasture on the same acreage. In Oklahoma, in the area where drought and wind erosion had made a " dust bowl " of the formerly rich farming land, a farmer plowed his wheat fields on the contour and increased his yield by 30 per cent, with improved quality wheat. In another mid-western U. S. area, a farmer is growing a third more kafir maize for livestock feed through contour tillage. Similar reports come from dairy farmers in Wisconsin and Illinois where the new practice has increased their grain and grass yield. In the north-eastern part of the United States measures against soil erosion are increasing the per acre production of potatoes and a variety of vegetable crops. In New York State the yield of four crops of potatoes planted on the contour averaged 166 bushels per acre or 14 per cent more than those planted in straight rows.

Thus, in the midst of war and despite record-breaking crops in the past two years, the U. S. has continued to face its soil-erosion problems and has under way a great nation-wide soil conservation programme.

A conservation service was established by the U. S. Congress in 1933. Since then, 42 states have passed acts enabling farmers to organize conservation districts. Although this district work is new, experiments with many crops throughout the nation have proved conclusively that conservation farming methods do increase crop yields. Many conservation districts have been formed in the last year. These districts are established by co-operating farmers.

Many practices are employed in combating soil erosion caused through action of water: contour tillage, grassing of water-ways, broad-base terracing, strip cropping, sub-surface tillage etc. One of the most widely used practices, contour tillage is making rapid headway in the United States.

By comparing crop yields on contour-tilled fields, with fields listed in the usual straight up and downhill furrows, the value of the new method can be measured.

Contour cultivation and level terraces on farms in the semi-arid south-west increased yields

of beans from 165 pounds per acre to 243 pounds. In one locality contour tillage alone resulted in 27 per cent greater yield of grain sorghum while



A "jeep"—all-purpose Army car—is used as the motive power for a mower in cutting rye on a Government farm-laboratory

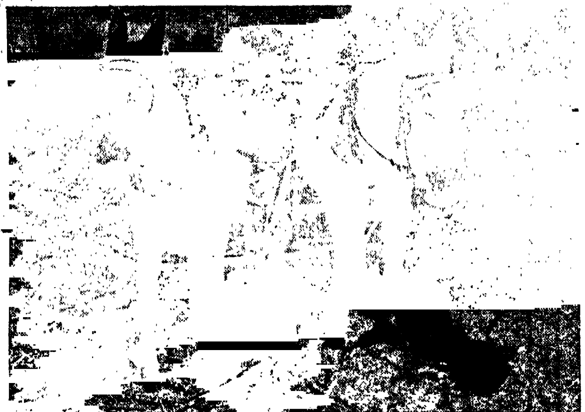
terracing in addition to contour cultivation increased yields to 723 pounds per acre, or 57 per cent more than was obtained when neither of these methods was used.

### Reforestation for Wind Erosion

Because grasslands were plowed under, wind erosion has done much damage in the Great Plains area of the United States. During drought, dust storms blew away much valuable top soil. To combat this, the U. S. Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service has taken exhausted farm land out of circulation and through reforestation and the return of land to grass, has improved more than 2½ crores of acres of farm land. Land-use-capability maps are being made by the Service for the entire country. More than 9 crores of acres have been mapped and the work goes on. These maps guide farmers in making the best use of their land.

The U. S. Forest Service is aiding rejuvenation of land in the badly eroded Dust Bowl area by planting shelter belts of trees all through this region. These windbreaks or shelter belts retard wind velocity, conserve soil moisture, and thus prevent erosion. Many states supply free seedling to encourage reforestation on privately owned land. Crores of trees have been planted already. These shelter belts in conjunction with the utilization of grass cover, better water-resources control, and improved farming methods have returned countless acres to usefulness.

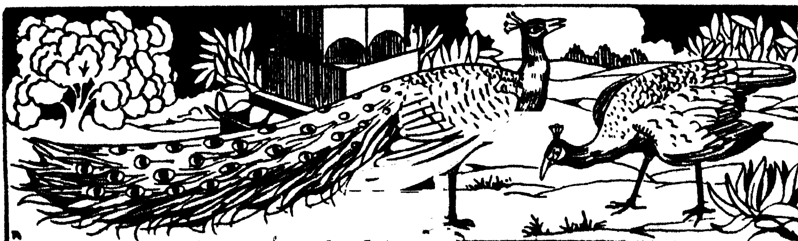
Sub-surface tillage points the way to a further solution of the problem of wind erosion. This method of tillage leaves the stubble and straw on the surface undisturbed and stirs the soil from beneath. Experiments conducted by the Soil Conservation Service in the state of Nebraska confirm the belief that such tillage not only protects the land from blowing, but increases the soil absorption of rainfall and retards evaporation as well.



Mr. Lantrip breaks land with his team of prize-winning mules, David and Jonathan, pulling the plow. Though his farm is largely mechanised, he raises two or three mule colts a year

Data collected from all sections of the United States, show that farmers and ranchers are using these simple conservation methods to step up their production to meet the wartime goals for agriculture.

*Courtesy :* USOWI



# THE WALLS OF BENARES

By SAILOZ MOOKHERJEA

BENARES, the land of Siva, whither throng men from the four corners of the Earth, with travel-worn feet, to bend their knees in mute appeal, to silently pray for the fulfilment of unsatisfied longings or to unburden the soul at the feet of the shrine. In Sivapuri, or the palace of Siva, is the phallus, the symbol of the harmony of the two-fold stream of life, matter and spirit. Siva is the source of all life and is manifest in the completion and perfection of life. Siva is the synthesis of Creation; so in Him are the two sexes in one. In the awed darkness, flickers a lamp before the phallus, the half-gloom of religious shadow! The mellowed warmth of the lamp heartens the men and women who hold their palm over its flicker and lay them over their hearts—the spirit of centuries reviving a broken spirit! Mayhap many a journeyman has heaved an uneasy sigh and passed away on the way, leaving the footprints of his yearnings pointing towards the Holy City. A pair of newly-weds shyly voice in trembling whispers the one desire of their hearts. An old woman leaning on her staff, offers herself up in utter renunciation. Through all pervades the spirit of the religion of the Hindus, the seed of which has been implanted in the praying crowd through ages of devoted belief. Out of the shrine, I stepped into the quadrangle where reigns Nandi or Siva's Bull, couchant in majestic nonchalance, the massed vermilion of his form radiating the spirit of creative impulse and quickening the sombre precincts to life. A deep sigh escaped from my throat and mingling with the hot breaths of the supplicants, rose up to the vaporous blue sky overhead.



Ganesha

Out into the city on a treasure-hunt, I chanced upon a band of artists busy painting on the walls. They belonged to the oldest families of Benares and their artistic imagination and skill were schooled in the deep-sprung religious fervour of Indian Art. In their traditional unsophisticated way, they were docorating the walls with the legends of the Ramayana. This simple devout occupation of the natural artists of the soil so fired my imagination that I devoted the whole of my stay in the city in discovering more of their work to be better able to enjoy, appreciate and assess their true merit. I found that apart from unfolding the legendary lore of India, they had also taken a hand in portraying scenes from daily life. In the domain of decorative art, too, they plied their brush with untutored skill and were also deftly shaping ingenious toys and masks.

Constant association with the works of these artists brought to my mind the thought that unlike Western Art, emphasising the visual aspects of an object in order to unfold a sensuous experience, Art in the East is based on a tradition of spirit, born of lofty meditation and refined into perfection through centuries of culture and development. Unconcerned with the realistic presentiment of an objective world, Art in the East seeks to express the contemplative sentiment and soul of the artist by direct, pure and poignant methods. It follows a way that has neither limit nor end. Through the medium of an organic subject it aims to express its innate spirituality.

Though seemingly crude to unsympathetic eyes, the workmanship of this school of artists is truly described as modern. The primeval

strand of its fabric, steeped in the Hindu tradition of spirit and perfected through ages of devout practice, remains undefiled even to this day. This pure art free from all stamp of foreign influence, often leads the unimaginative to view it as rudimental and inferior. The truth is very much the otherwise. The flat two-dimensional grammar speaks of a highly cultivated level. Primary colours are used throughout; lemon-yellow, brown, vermilion, pink, blue, mauve and green of all shades. An harmonious composition and the perspective accentuated with an outline in bold black shows masterly treatment in the truly modern trend.

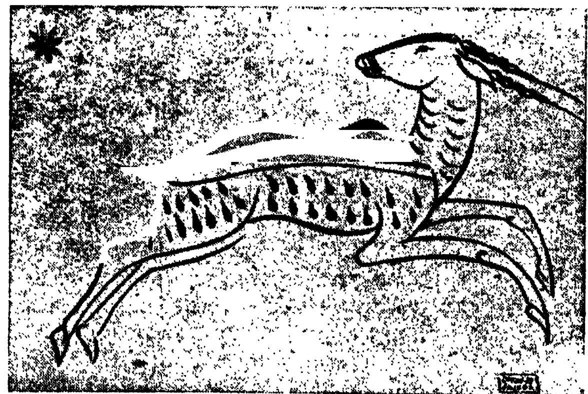


Hanuman greeting Sri Ramachandra

The vicinity in Benares where this art of Pata and the applied art of making toys of wood and clay and masks thrives is known as Harha Mohalla. This art belongs to an hierarchy of old traditional families of Benares and each member plays his part. While one is drawing pigment from stone and vegetables, another busies himself in treating lumps of clay and yet another prepares the paper-pulp for the masks. Thus the irksome necessities of the painter's craft are cared for by willing hands and he is left to devote his whole energy and skill to the creation of masterpieces in colour.

The tales from the Ramayana depicted with a synthetic economy of line and colour, are remarkable for their sense of composition. Rama's leaving for his exilement forms a favourite theme. The choice and grouping of the three essential relevant characters, Rama, Lakshmana and Mahabira, in a rhythmic composition of colourful harmony, with the tree in the background maintaining the balance of the perspective, is an example of meritorious craftsmanship. The treatment of primary colours, Rama in blue and Mahabira in vermilion and the costumes in lemon-yellow, in a relaxed manner of the brush, is an artistry of rare brilliance and an index of the painter's mastery of line and colour. Ganesha in the traditional Hindu style is another specimen which directly appeals to one's artistic sense. In the story of Radha-Krishna runs a tenor of religious sentiment and the artist has striven with success to penetrate beyond what strikes his sense of vision and grasp the spiritual element latent in every object. Krishna, dallying with his mate and putting a bunch of flowers in her hair with the traditional Kadamba tree in the background, is drawn in a delightful riot of harmonious colours. The style adopted suggests to us the work of Matisse, but alas ! they are no Matisses but poor creators of a forgotten land.

Decorative art in this style finds expression in the many delightful patterns drawn from animal forms, such as the deer, the fish, the horse, the elephant, the peacock. Though patternised, the characteristic trait of the subject is ably captured and lives on the wall as a testimony of the sincerity of the artist's skill and imagination.



The Golden Deer

The drawings in monochrome adorning the walls of the homesteads, suggest the work of Old Masters. They are often of great educative value. Drawn with soulful lines, they chiefly portray scenes from daily life.



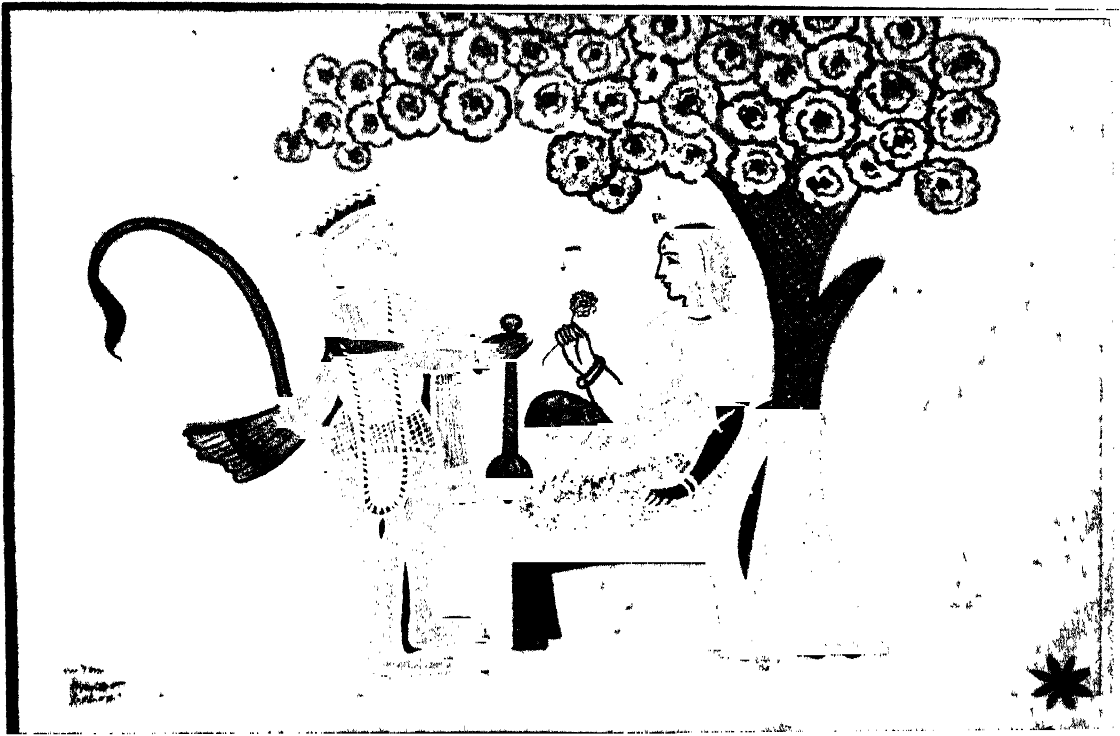
The Warrior

The thought which inspired me in the study of the Pata stylists is that if our Indian artists adopt the language of the Patas, they would find in it a vehicle of artistic expression, purely and typically Eastern unblemished by any foreign admixture. With this as the basis they would have an infinite scope of channelling it to shape their thoughts and emotions with better finish and craftsmanship. For the greatest value of the Art of the East is to be found in the poetical atmosphere of becoming one with nature. Through the appreciation of a single phenomenon we unconsciously touch and understand all the phenomena of nature. Our sense of beauty always sleeps until the moment when nature enters our vision.

The technique of the Hindu Folk Art is not in the class of the great arts which aim at conscious production of works of art for their own sake—they have an aesthetic value apart from their function. The Folk-artist desires to produce the effect of simplicity and order with a summary treatment of form freed from the tyranny of visual realism. A simple and direct treatment is, therefore, a main factor, as in the drawings of children. Hence the artist's choice of colours does not rest on a scientific basis but on such a choice as will express his feelings. The refinement of classicism combined with a liveliness and a new vitality yet in conformity with native Hindu tradition are interesting traits of the Folk Art. There is a marked tendency towards constructive forms in preference to technique and utility in the decorative works. Above all, the artist does not wish to be guided by mere external form but by his inner contemplation of the primitive. He plays an ignorant game with ultimate things but reaches them, nevertheless.

The spirit of Hindu Folk Art is one. Only the effect of the tradition and customs of the different provinces have influenced the main stream and produced the various schools, *viz.*, the Upper India, the Rajput, the Orissa, the Kangra or the Bengal. They all speak the same language but are pronounced by different individuals. One noticeable feature of the Hindu Folk Art is that it has been able to maintain its distinctiveness uninfluenced by any foreign domination. Even Buddhism which influenced the Art of the East to a great extent failed to leave its impress on the Hindu Folk Art.

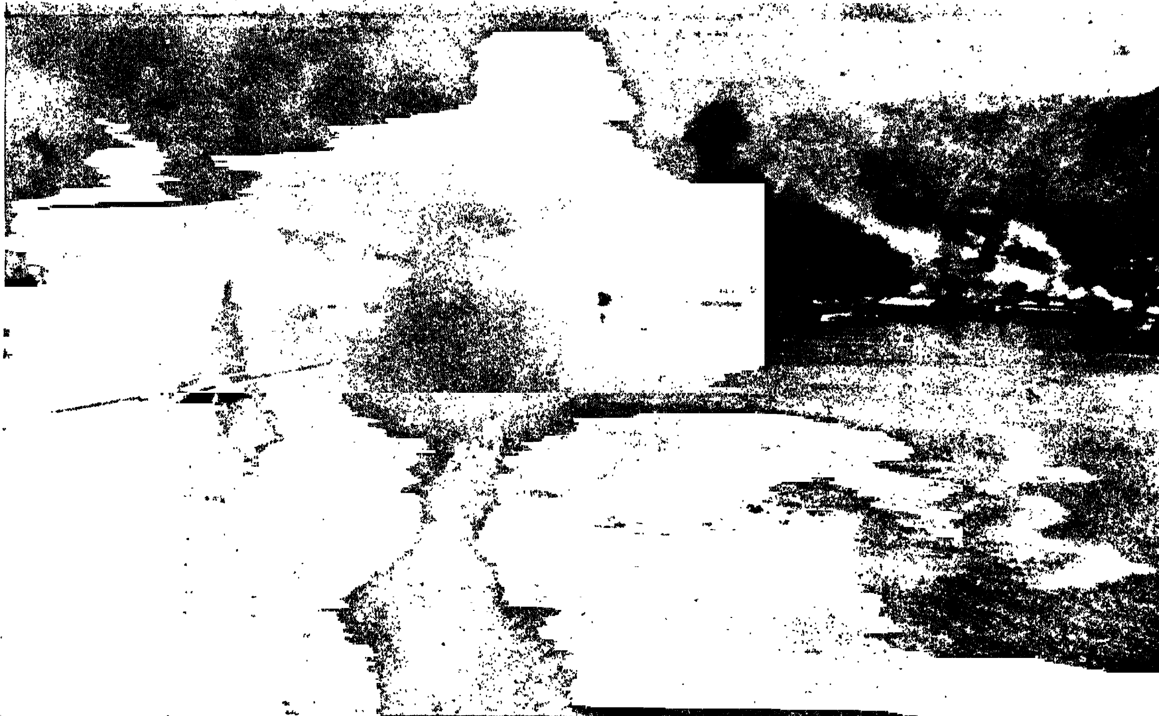
Identical subjects are often dealt with by the various schools. The employment of animal forms, such as the deer, the horse or the fish on the walls of Benares in many delightfully ingenious patterns is a spontaneous expression of the artist's imagination—an artist whose soul is steeped in the history and culture of his land. With the brush has been brought to being the essence of the ancient life. The whole form, needless to say, is a vital being with its own life, so that constituent lines and colour are all vital beings, each with its own soul. The brush expression is effected through a continuation of the brush-stroke. An indigenous sense of simplicity, purity and love of nature is an inborn



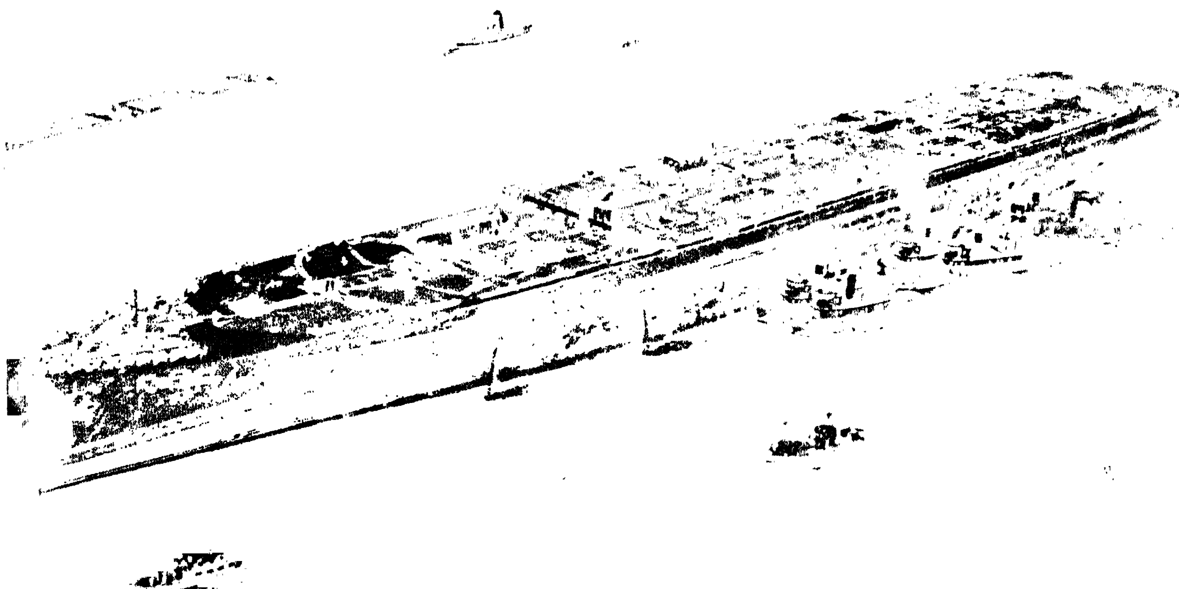
Hanuman brings Rama's message to Sita



The Preceptor



Allied planes blast Japanese shipping in South Pacific



The former French liner Normandie, now the U.S.S. Lafayette, which burned and capsized at her pier in New York Harbor, Feb. 10, 1942, is towed to a drydock by a small fleet of tugs. The ship will be outfitted and sent back to sea for war service

***Courtesy :*** **USOWI**



The Writer

quality of the Indian mind so that these concepts were developed in the most natural way.

The works in monochrome have also a distinctive character. They are a type of art which is presented by the use of a single colour. But through one colour only, a wide range of thought and sentiment is directly expressed and effectively presented. We have an expression, "the reading of painting" which means not the appreciation of the visual form but the understanding of the spirit of the artist through what is pictorially presented, the depicted object itself being a suggestion to the imagination of the beholder. A single-colour medium is employed to suggest the presence of colourful bloom, green foliage or the brown limbs of trees. Thoughts are provoked and ideas in the mind are awakened. This is done not by exposition but by enlightenment through contemplation. Want of proper cultural attainments may sometimes hinder one from finding in these works of art nothing more than the obvious picturisation of an object or a theme.

The spirit of patriotism and loyalty to ancient cultural traditions are fully expressed. It is the true spirit that has permeated and has been woven into the fabric of our national life since its earliest days. In the sphere of art, only works alive with this spirit are valued. All the masterpieces that have been handed down through the centuries are those which were inspired by this everlasting spirit.*

*Illustrations :* By Sailoz Mookherjea

* A preview of the artist's private exhibition of paintings of Hindu Folk Art discussed above was recently opened by Mr. Yea Chien U, the famous artist and journalist, of the Chinese Ministry of Diplomatic Information.

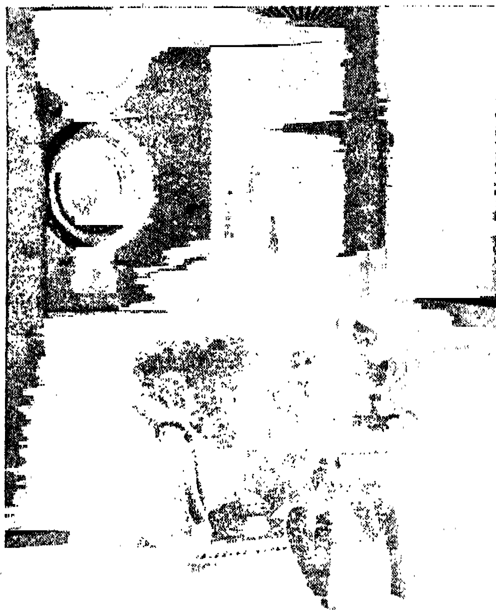
## THE KING'S DAUGHTERS

By Mrs. ROBERT NOBLE

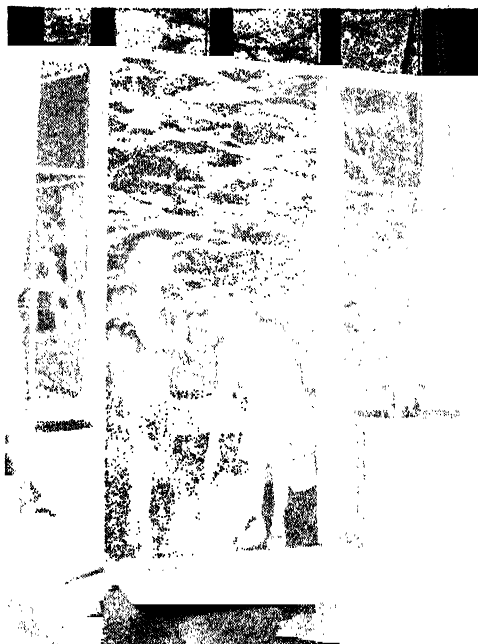
Any famous artist who wanted to paint a perfect canvas depicting all that is best and most characteristic of English girlhood today would long to have Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret for his models.

Both are fair and slim and unaffectedly graceful, with that warm, clear complexion admiringly described as "typically English" all over the world. Princess Elizabeth, who is 17, resembles the King in feature and has the same air of steadfastness and the same frank blue eyes. Princess Margaret, who is 13, is generally conceded to take after the Queen in expression, with her mother's lovely oval face and particularly charming smile.

Since the outbreak of war, the two Princesses have spent most of their time in the country, leading a quiet family life, and continuing their education with their governess and with visiting tutors for special subjects, such as music and elocution. The King and Queen join them just as often as public duties allow them to leave Buckingham Palace for a time, and they always try to spend Sunday with their daughters if they possibly can. Sometimes, the Princesses go away themselves to stay with



This charming study was taken in one of the reception rooms at Buckingham Palace



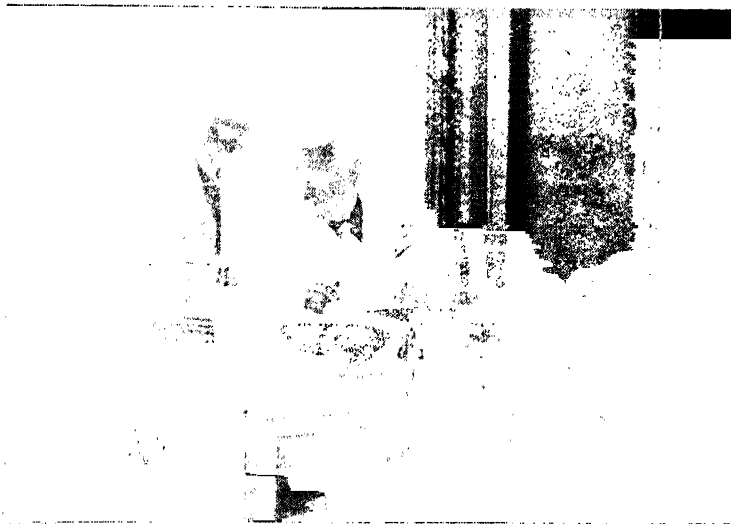
The Princesses spend as much time as possible out of doors

relatives for a while. Their summer holiday, eagerly anticipated and enormously enjoyed is usually passed at ancient Glamis Castle in Scotland, the Queen's ancestral home, set among the moors and wooded glens.

Nothing could be simpler or less ostentatious than the Princesses' daily life at home. Their lessons are just like those given to other English girls of good family. They study history, geography, drama, literature and art—Princess Elizabeth is especially talented with brush and pencil, and has done many clever little sketches of animals and landscapes some of which she has given away as Christmas presents to her frineds.

Both Princesses are exceedingly fond of music, greatly to the delight of the Queen, who likes to help them with their studies and often organises impromptu little "musical hours" in the family circle. The Royal sisters will often play a piano duet or sing together. Their choice ranges from some classic aria or traditional Scottish folk-ballad taught them by the Queen, to the latest modern tunes which they hear on the radio, for they listen regularly to the set which stands in their sitting room.

Both the Princesses learn French, and have been practising it regularly for some years past. They extend their knowledge of the language by doing cross-word



Here Princess Margaret is seen with King George, at the large desk which His Majesty uses for the discharge of his formal business

puzzles and "missing word" games in French, as well as by reading the best examples of French literature. The Queen, herself an accomplished linguist, sometimes announces that only French



By becoming President of the Royal College of Music, Princess Elizabeth, herself a keen music-lover, has delighted every musician in Great Britain

is to be spoken when she is having tea with the Princesses, and thus assists them to widen their conversational scope.

Drama and elocution are favourite subjects in the cream-walled schoolroom used by the Princesses, for they love to dress up and act the parts of some Shakespearean characters, or give a little scene from some favourite children's play like "Peter Pan." Not long ago, Princess Elizabeth organised the performance of a Christmas pantomime, and herself played Prince Charming, in powdered wig and brocaded coat and elegant tights. Princess Margaret had a leading role as well, and displayed a marked histrionic flair. On another occasion, the Princesses staged a little concert, at which they sang together and gave a spirited tap-dance. All the proceeds were devoted to charity, of course, and the other members of the cast were the Princesses' young friends, children of members of the Royal Household, and boys and girls from London evacuated to the country district in which the King's daughters live.

The Queen wisely sees that the Princesses have a diverse variety of friends, to broaden their social instincts and make them better able to understand how other people outside the Court circle spend their lives. Much of their democracy of outlook the Princesses have achieved through their services with the Girl Guides. Like other girls all over the country, they have been busy with national service ever since war broke out, helping in innumerable ways, from taking part in salvage efforts to knitting garments for Britain's soldiers and sailors.

Princess Elizabeth holds the official certificates for Home Nursing and First Aid. When the troop of Guides to which the two Princesses belong goes out for an exercise in Windsor Great Park, Princess Margaret will often obligingly become a "casualty" so that her sister can demonstrate on her how to set a splint or bind up a broken limb. When Princess



The King recently appointed Princess Elizabeth Honorary Colonel of the Grenadier Guards

Elizabeth was 16, she decided to specialise in Sea Ranger training, which seems particularly appropriate, since members of Britain's Royal Family have often followed seafaring careers in the past.

Fond of anything concerned with the open air Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret thoroughly enjoy their riding lessons.

They love to go swimming in summer. This is one of the King's favourite recreations, and some years ago he had an open-air pool specially constructed in the garden of his country home. Princess Elizabeth has a particularly fine stroke, and she was the first candidate to gain the Royal Life Saving Award for junior artificial respiration under war-time conditions.

Living so simply and spending as much time as possible out-of-doors, the Princesses naturally dress in appropriately plain but still attractive country clothes. They have tweed skirts with soft knitted pullovers and sensible brown leather shoes in which they can go out in the garden or walk through the country lanes. They are often seen in pretty tailored suits, neat skirts and short jackets, with fresh little blouses. Usually they dress alike, for the same colours suit them both. They look charming in blue or warm rose-pink, while they recently won considerable admiration when they attended a public function dressed in rust-red suits and hats to match.

Their formal dresses are graceful and restrained in style. At the little dances which they sometimes attend with the King and Queen, they wear charming short-sleeved angle-length satin frocks, trimmed with diamante bows on yoke and skirt. The Queen always takes her daughters with her to as many social gatherings as are suitable for them. The Princesses are present at receptions for the Allies, at parties for Service men and women, and stirring military parades.

Princess Elizabeth, too, is gradually learning to take up the duties of that exalted position which will one day be hers, as Heiress-Presumptive to the Throne. The King recently appointed her Honorary Colonel of the Grenadier Guards, the first time in history that Britain's senior regiment of footguards has had a woman as its colonel. Now Princess Elizabeth wears the regimental badge in a diamond brooch, subscribed for and given to her by the officers and men of all ranks.

Princess Elizabeth has also given her name to a flag day in aid of children's charities, and she has become the President of the National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. She will not be nervous if it should be necessary for her to speak in public; she has already broadcast to all corners of the country and the Empire. Her voice is clear and sweet, and possesses an excellent microphone quality.

When peace returns to Britain, Princess Elizabeth, and Princess Margaret, too, will be well prepared to meet the tasks which it will bring to youth. Unspoiled and unfettered, they are being wisely trained in the quiet of their country home, growing up towards lovely womanhood with natural confidence and charm.

## RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT., F.A.S.B.

### An Appreciation

By O. C. GANGOLY

INDIAN scholarship has furnished to the Archaeological Survey of India some very brilliant and talented officers who have to their credit valuable scientific works of research and interpretation, relating to the History of Indian Culture. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahani, Pandit Hirananda Sastri, the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee, and the late Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, the late Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda are names to conjure with in the World of Antiquities, and they have left meritorious records of their work in the cause of Indian Antiquities. The discoverer of the mounds of Mahenjo-Daro attained world-wide celebrity at the later end of his brilliant career, and the tragic termination of an equally brilliant career brought the merits of Mr. Mazumdar to the notice of the outside world. Otherwise, it is the lot of Indian Archaeologists, however brilliant their works may be, to hide their lights under the blue covers of Annual Reports,—which never reach a larger public than the handful of scholars who specialize in the

study of Indian History. For this reason, all interested in the History of Indian Culture owe a deep debt of acknowledgment of the many valuable services of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the retiring Director-General of Archaeology in India,—an office which he will lay down in the course of a few weeks. Very few people outside the Department have any accurate idea what heavy responsibilities attach to the Head of this Department—and what strenuous duties he has to go through—in the various phases of his official work—conservation, research, excavation, publication of materials, organizing and developing Museums, preparation of Reports, general supervision, continuous inspection work, besides attending to incessant and irritating routine work and correspondence. An un-assuming officer of versatile talent and equipment, Rao Bahadur Dikshit has fulfilled his duties with admirable energy and unswerving devotion. He has been one of the few Directors who could claim expert knowledge of more than one of the classical languages of India,—a knowledge which should be an essential condition for appointment to such responsible office. Rao Bahadur took over charge of the office of the Director-General of Archaeology from 21st March 1937, and has therefore adorned the post for over six years—a period of a very embarrassing shadow of legislative neglect and indifference to the claims of Archaeology. In spite of the ruthless retrenchment of expenses during his term of office, the Rao Bahadur has, with persistent efforts, carried out the excavations of the famous site of Ahi-Chatra (Ramnagar)—a site of characteristic Hindu culture, in one of its earliest phases, the claims for which have been continuously ignored by his predecessors, busy with Hellenistic and Parthian sites. All lovers of Hindu culture should be particularly grateful for this valuable service to the cause of Hindu antiquities. It is not at all suggested that the Mahomedan monuments have at all been neglected. In fact, very important restoration and repair works have been carried out to the Taj at Agra, and to the famous Gol Gomboj at Bijapur during his regime. And two very important Memoirs, one on *Bijapur Inscriptions* (no. 49) written by Dr. M. Nizami, and another on *Kotla Firoz Shah*, Delhi (no. 52) written by Mr. Page and Kuraishi, have been published under his direction and help.

Exigencies of space forbid a detailed enumeration of all the contributions made by him to the cause of Indian Archaeology.

A brilliant Sanskrit and Prakrita scholar, he has to his credit the reading and interpretations of numerous important inscriptions—of which special mention should be made of his studies of the Ahom stone pillar inscription, Damodar copper plates, Deopani inscription, Harsala copper plates, and of the Ganj and Nachna inscriptions. Of his brilliant achievements in the sphere of excavations—Mahāsthan is writ in golden letters. But Bengal should recall with special gratitude his brilliant work on the mounds of Paharpur, to which he devoted several seasons' work, sometimes, assisted by



Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit

Mr. G. C. Chandra. And his monograph on Paharpur (Memoirs no. 55, 1938) is a piece of classic in the realm of Indian Antiquities, embodying valuable survey of a phase of culture hitherto unknown. If he had done nothing else —his discovery and study of Paharpur finds would ever remain the brightest feather in his cap. But his researches and field works have never stood in the way of his multifarious duties which call for incessant and alert attention to all phases of Indian Archaeology—historic and pre-historic, and to inspire his colleagues and subordinates as also scholars outside the Department to further the cause of research. One of the most interesting examples was his choice of the late lamented Dr. C. Minakshi to write a very

interesting Memoir on an important series of Pallava monuments at Kanchi.

But in appraising his work as an archaeologist, one should not forget his accomplishment as an aesthetician of no mean talent. Indeed, his powers of aesthetic appreciation were proved at the very beginning of his carrer—by the interesting little study of *Six Sculptures from Mahoba* (*Memoirs No. 8*), one of the earliest Memoirs, published, as far back as 1921. The excavations at Rajghat (Benares) yielding a remarkable series of early Terra Cottas close a brilliant and crowded record of archaeological activity.

He has taken a very sympathetic interest in the growth and development of private museums and many such museums are grateful to him for his sympathy and active interest in their development. He has been a popular figure in all the sittings of the History Congress and of the All-India Oriental Conferences where he has frequently delivered illustrated lectures. A recognition of his achievements is evidenced by his appointment to deliver the Meyers Lectures in History at the Madras University.

The Rao Bahadur has well earned his rest from active antiquarian work. We bid farewell to him but not to his works which deserve to be better known and remembered. He has set an example which his followers would do well to imitate and follow. It is earnestly to be hoped that the termination of his official career shall not see the end of his active interest in the cause of Indian History and Culture. He has given much but he has yet to make richer gifts to Indian History. Released of trying official routine work, he should find greater leisure to pursue his researches to throw over new light on the still obscurer phases of Indian Culture-history. We wish him long and pleasant days in his well-earned rest,—after a busy and brilliant career in the active pursuit to widen the boundaries of Indian Archaeology.

# THE PRICE OF HUNGER

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

SHELTERED by the throne far away
The kingdom proudly flaunts
The difference meted out to rulers and the ruled,
......Disaster it keeps hidden under its awning.
Hapless the reign whose wide-spread tattered humanity
Exposes the symbol of power to shame.
Intolerable suffering of multitudes
Even if touches not the rulers—
Draws at last the curse of Providence.

Where, under the shadow of great wealth,
Starvation, semi-starvation, burn with hunger's fire—
Where drinking water is impure and is drying up—
Where in winter the body has no covering
And the door of death gapes open—
Where even worse than death, the living-death of lives worn to the skin
Faces, day and night, the onslaught of disease unchecked,
All roads to recovery blocked up—
There, in that realm,
The innumerable dying are of no help to the kingdom,
But a terrible burden.

The bird whose one wing is shrivelled up,
Steady it cannot remain in the day of storm—
From the high air it falls to the dust, broken of limb,
—The day of reckoning comes.
When sky-piercing possessions topple over,
In the fragments of its skeletal ruins
The abject penury which was of the destitute
Builds its state.

January, 1941

*Translated by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty*
*—The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

# THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The Russian struggle has suddenly changed its venue. From the struggle around and over the southern fringes of the Pripet Marshes attention is suddenly diverted to the North where the battle has flared up with dramatic suddenness. Leningrad is now reported to have been freed from investment and the besieging German forces are retreating south. In the extreme south the Russian assault on Crimea seems to be progressively—but slowly—increasing in volume mainly around Kerch peninsula. Nothing much has been heard about the fighting inside the (1939) Polish border for some little while now. The picture that emerges from the blizzard-torn far-flung battle-line in Russia is one of continuous harrying of the Axis forces all along the front, to deny them rest or a hiatus for recoupment, with a surprise flare-up in some key area, where the battle mounts to a crescendo while masses of Russian armour and artillery smash through the Germanic defences, allowing the Russian infantry to infiltrate deep behind the main Nazi defences. This has been the usual winter tactics of the Soviet forces during the past two winters and the continuance of the same is a clear indication that the Soviet High-Command is determined not to allow a break in the continuity of the German retreat in spite of the frightful handicaps imposed by the Russian winter on the attacker. On the other side the Germanic forces are in a state of continuous *qui vive* all along the line, counter-attacking here and making re-adjustments in the defence line there in order to present an uniformly resistant front to the harrying and probing forces of the Russian. In places where the action develops into a major battle, there is a painful and costly retreat under cover of fierce rear-guard actions, until such time as a balance is obtained against the assaulting forces through re-inforcements brought up from the reserves in the rear. It is to be noted that of late these reinforcements have not attempted to retake lost terrain on any considerable scale or to develop action in any volume beyond that which suffices to bring the advancing Soviets forces to a swaying halt. Counter-attacks in force have been launched by the Germans in all instances either to allow re-integration of the line at places where it is under threat of disruption by Russian forces that have penetrated to the rear or to hold back the encircling arm of the Soviets forces, where a considerable German force is menaced by a pincer movement, until such time, in either case, as when the re-grouping of the defenders is possible on a fresh line further back.

The Russian, in short, seems now to be able to stage venture after venture at all risks and to be willing to pay the cost, which must be heavy under the circumstances, in the role of the attacker. The German, on the other hand, seems to have grown very wary, unwilling to expose any considerable forces to a process of show down and only desirous of keeping the proportion of losses in his favour. The main result of a struggle of this nature is the rolling back of the invading forces, rapidly in limited areas where a major battle develops and slowly on the other parts of the line where re-adjustments are made by the defender to compensate for the loss of vantage points. The main point to note here is that German resistance does not seem to have weakened in any sector so far, to that extent as would permit a major break-through by the Russians in such strength, to such a depth and with such speed as would result in the envelopment and liquidation of large blocks of the defending forces, cut off from their main reserves and forced into a "cauldron." The battle in the Leningrad—Lake Ilmen sector that is now proceeding has not yet reached its culminating point and would serve as a fresh test as to whether the Russians have been able to produce a sufficient disparity in the strength of the opposing forces, through the exercise of their hold on the initiative by such a sudden assault in force over a distant and unexpected sector, to obtain the results as indicated above. If it fails, it would strengthen the Soviets' contention that the hour of German collapse would not draw perceptibly nearer until the Nazi High Command is forced to withdraw some fifty or sixty divisions to prevent a major disaster on the Second Front. If it succeeds it would indicate that in the spring there is every possibility that the German defence line in the East would be jeopardized to the breaking point if the

Allies can prevent it from being reinforced by reserves drawn from the West.

In Italy there is at last a new departure from the tedious and trying ding-dong battle that has been going on there for months. The Allied bid for Rome now is direct and from all quarters the indications are that both sides are feverishly preparing for the first major battle on Italian soil. That the fall of Rome would put a period to all Axis hopes for a resuscitation of the Italian fighting forces is fully realized by the Nazi High Command and as such a bitter struggle should be expected. The terrain too is in favour of the defenders though possibly not to the extent of discounting the disparity in strengths. The aerial supremacy of the Allies is undisputed and this should lessen the difficulties of communications progressively as the bridgehead south of Rome is widened and strengthened.

Allied air supremacy is as yet unchallenged in Europe and in Asia. This as yet is the clearest pointer towards the fulfilment of the hopes of the United Nations. The repeated saturation bombing of industrial objectives in Germany and in occupied Europe has undoubtedly had some considerable effect on the morale of the peoples under the Axis. What effect it has had on actual war-production and the upkeep of the Axis fighting forces is a more indeterminate quantity. Bombing of Germany on a large scale has been going on for over twenty months since the first great raid. The hopes for a German collapse through Allied air-action alone now seems to have been given up. The establishment of a Second Front through a direct assault on the Western Sectors of the "Fortress of Europe" is definitely on the programme of the Allied Supreme War Council and as such all aerial assaults are now probably being carried out as a part of the main plan. As yet these attacks and sweeps do not indicate the sector chosen for amphibian assault but undoubtedly the tempo will rise and the scope of the sweeps widened when the actual softening process starts. Until such time this process of attrition will probably continue as the Allies possess vast reserves of machines and trained men. Germany has not as yet found an answer to this aerial challenge of the Allies and unless she does succeed in finding it prior to the opening of the Second Front the chances of success in that major venture would remain in favour of the Allies.

On the Indo-Burmese front and on the Sino-Burmese front there is some activity now after a long period of stagnation. No major action has developed in those areas at the time of writing (29. 1. 44), what is going on now is more in the nature of a cautious probing of enemy positions. There are three months more of campaigning season left and much could be accomplished if that be on the plans of the United Nations. On the China front there has been a minor flare-up which has subsequently died down, the results being not in favour of the Japanese to any measurable extent.

In the Pacific the usual hop-skip and jump method of attack is proceeding, progress being slow as inevitable under the circumstances. The only thing that is really good about it is that the counter-offensive is continuous and the balance of the struggle is in favour of the forces under General MacArthur.

Taken as a whole, the position at the beginning of 1944 does not hold any clear indication of an early end of this calamitous struggle. There is no doubt that the strength of Germany is being sapped, but there still remains a very formidable portion left. Japan on the contrary is most certainly getting stronger every day and the time is not very far off when she may develop into a far more tougher proposition than she was at the middle of 1942. Since that period Japan has had set-backs and she has suffered considerable losses in her mercantile marine and her air-forces. But it is yet to be proved that her production capacity has been exceeded by the scale of these losses, and indeed all logical deduction points the other way. Her navy is substantially intact as is the main body of her land forces. There has been a total mobilization of the Japanese nationals far exceeding that of Germany according to newspaper reports. All these added to the immense resources of raw material and labour now at her disposal tend to give one an idea that Japan is slowly but surely and with gradually increasing speed gathering strength. The question therefore is whether the war in Europe can be finished before Japan develops into a power comparable in magnitude with Germany or can Germany hold out till Japan has accumulated sufficient reserves of men, material and weapons to re-open her campaign of aggression in Asia. It is evident that the Allied Supreme Command believes the latter contingency to be improbable.

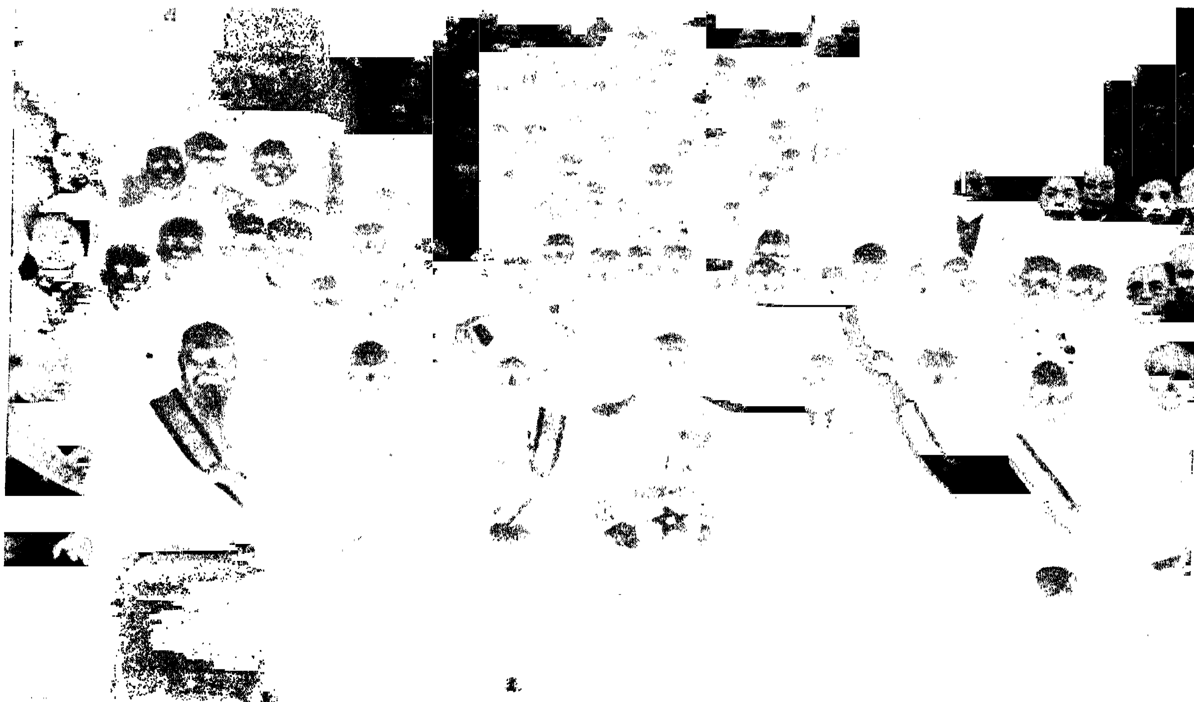


Civilian residents of Naples welcome U. S. troops

*Courtesy :* USOWI



Soviet soldiers in defence of Stalingrad



Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (centre), Madame Chiang (beside him) and High Chinese Military and Government officials are pictured after ceremonies during which the Generalissimo was inaugurated as President of China, at Chungking



Chinese workers are employed in the construction of a new Allied airport in China

*Courtesy :* USOWI

# ART MOVEMENTS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By N. SRINIVASARAO

### Impressionism

Twentieth century is the product of an age of scientific discovery, it for the first time put the vision of the artist upon a scientific basis. The retina picture was recognised for what it is, as colour sensations on a plane surface. For the first time the field of vision was considered as a field of colour sensations. Looked at in this way, putting aside every other association but the one overmastering idea of light and colour, a new visual world was opened up. Aspects of nature that had been hopelessly unpaintable on the old formulas, were found to lend themselves to expression in colour. Everything was colour. A wonderful freshening up of the palette followed, and a light and gaiety was introduced that has been a great gain to painting. The impressionist's way of seeing the visual picture, in which objects and back-ground, colour and light and shade, are all considered as one thing, as one symphonic texture of varying colour sensations, does offer a field of selection to the pictorial designer. This movement is perfectly sound in its core.

We know that white light is composed of all the colours of the rainbow, the rainbow being of course sun-light split up into its component parts. And that when white light strikes what we call a red object, the red pigment has all the power of absorbing all the rays of colour except the red, which it rejects and then allows it to come to the eye. And, moreover, these rejected rays in passing through the atmosphere, may and generally do, undergo modifications, so that by the time they reach the retina they may be very different from what they were when reflected from the surface of the object.

This dissociation of colour from objects, and the concentration of attention upon the retina picture, has placed us in possession of an entirely new vision. It seemed no longer necessary to build a picture by laborious study of outlines of the solid forms, filled in with light and shade, local colour, aerial perspective, etc., the visual picture could be studied directly for what it is—variegated rays of the solar spectrum passing through a point behind the lens of the eye and caught by the retina. If pigment can be so manipulated upon a painted surface as to reflect back light to the eye of similar quantities, the illusion of appearance is produced. And this is very much what the extreme impressionists, of whom Claude Monet is the type, in reality did. Instead of carefully drawn outline filled in with colours, the whole subject before the artist was considered as colour alone; drawing having only to do with the shape of colour masses. The colours of the rainbow, as being the colours that produce nature's effects, were chosen as their palette.

### Post-Impressionism

It was in winter 1910-1911 that the well-known English art critic and painter, Roger Fry, coined the word post-Impressionist, when he organised an exhibition in London of works of Cezanne, Gauguin, Von Gogh and other French painters of this epoch who were profoundly influenced by impressionistic methods of painting and differed from it to certain extent. Cezanne, while accepting the colour theories of Impressionists, never adopted their prismatic palette; he was concerned with eternal varieties. His aim is explained in his own words, " I wish to make of Impressionism something solid and durable, like the art of old masters."

A fellow painter who knew Cezanne has put it on record that " He would work slowly and deliberately, gazing intently and with extreme concentration—determined to put no touch down until he was absolutely sure of its meaning." What sound advice this would be to give to all the students of painting : to be sure of the meaning before putting a brush stroke to canvas or pencil mark on paper.

This brings us to the term invented by Clive Bell that has been used too much in recent years by all writers on art, namely, significant form. Each stroke must be significant in a pictorial sense : that is, it must help to create the form of the things seen, against their background. It is the antithesis of 'slick' painting. One must be looking for the meaning behind the objects looked at and only put down that which helps to give expression to that meaning.

Cezanne's work was unlike the Impressionist's for he was constantly searching out the

relationship of planes and contours, whilst endeavouring to keep the fulness of colour value. He took much longer time over his pictures than most artists do.

After he was 57 his canvases were liked. He was a great natural colourist whose colour was intensely personal. It is not exactly local colour nor is it atmospheric colour. His pictures seem to be painted at no definite time of day such as one senses in a Monet canvas, for instance. There is a certain timeless element pervading all his work that gives it a unique quality.

Two of the individual painters who stand out, apart from Cezanne, and both of whom were influenced by Impressionism, are Von Gogh and Gauguin. Both were strange characters, both were consumed by an intense passion about their work, and both lived tragic lives which ended in tragedy. Von Gogh worshipped the Sun and in his vibrant, intense canvases tried to give the intensity of glowing sunlight. In this he could be said to belong to Impressionists. But instead of breaking up colour and dividing tones, he gave a solidity to his pictures by outlining objects in strong colours, getting them down firmly with sweeping, passionate strokes. The primitive in Cezanne had affected him, and his work has often been likened to that of perfectly primitive painters. Von Gogh was no copyist of precious methods, he was essentially original and immersed himself in all he did.

Paul Gauguin gave up a lucrative career to devote himself to painting and had the same hardships and poverty to endure. Gauguin, like Von Gogh, was interested in the work of Cezanne and also was affected by the discovery of African carvings and Japanese colour prints. He was essentially decorative in his work, which was always less powerful but more lyrical than that of either Cezanne or Von Gogh. He was a pioneer in bringing linear, decorative pattern into prominence as an essential to stabilize the chaotic compositions of some of the more Impressionistic painters.

Seurat was another painter who had a certain influence upon the development of painting at this time, and whom one can claim as an Impressionist or as a post-Impressionist almost equally well. Seurant used the Pontillist method of out and out Impressionism, that is, the use of separate dots of more or less pure primary colours which were merged by the focus of the eye at a certain distance. He built up his pictures dot by dot from innumerable studies and sketches.

The passion for simplicity and the desire to secure a maximum of expression with the minimum of means, is found in the highest degree in the work of Henri Matisse. Though he retained the high keyed Impressionistic palette of bright clean colours, Matisse abandoned the mosaic method of painting, using a sweeping brush and large planes of colours to fill in the masses of what are essentially linear designs. Many of his drawings are wonderful in their summary expression of form and movement, but we are often bewildered by his wilful distortion of natural forms. Decorative interest is patent in all the works of Matisse and we frequently find that distortions of form are used to help and emphasize the rhythm and equilibrium of the linear pattern. Accordingly, it seems more reasonable to conclude that these distortions are wilful, not accidental, and that the painter subordinates natural representation to formal design, and desires us to admire his pictures, not because they are 'true' but because he created a pattern of line and colour which should appeal to pure aesthetic sensibilities. Matisse is historically important, therefore, as a pioneer of the doctrine that mere actuality is unimportant to pictorial art.

Another movement that subvented the old theories of painting is Cubism. This was based on the strange theory that the crystal was the primitive form of all things. Therefore to restore natural objects and human beings to the primitive forms, it was necessary to eliminate all curved lines and reconstruct forms and faces in their primary form in most suitable geometrical shapes. As a theory Cubism was based on two dogmatic assertions and a fallacious conclusion : (1) Strength is beauty, (2) A straight line is stronger than a curved line. Publico Picassio, a Spaniard, is the father of this movement.

The selectional representation of diverse aspects of different objects was developed, with an added emphasis in the expression of movement by the group of Italian painters known as the *Futurists*. These painters accepted divisionism and complementarism of the neo-Impressionists in the matter of colour; but in rendering the form they sought to introduce new principles. "Universal dynamism must be rendered in painting as a dynamic sensation; movement and light destroy the materiality of bodies." This is a synthesis of rapid motion photography. In concentrating their endeavours on the expression of movement, the Futurists

attempted at converting painting from an art of space to an art of time.

The widespread desire to break with all restraints and an outburst for free expression manifests itself in *Surrealism*. This was not only confined to the graphic or painting arts, it is essentially literary and psychological in its implications and has brought into its ranks as adherents poets and writers of genuine power and ability. The work of Dr. Sigismund Freud and his associates in the discovery and development of psycho-analysis and analysis of dream states was instrumental in the evolution of Surrealism.

In art it concerned with the subject-matter of pictures and the general outlook on life of the artist. It is the explorers of the sub-conscious mind who opened the door-way to recording the visions received in day dream conditions. Coupled to these scientific researches in psycho-analysis goes investigation into a certain literature of the last centry written by Baudelaire, Rim Baud, William Blake and Swinburne. These men had what is now termed the "spirit of fantasy" and this has been definitely influenced in Surrealistic art of all kinds.

One of the first beginnings of Surrealism was in the short-lived Dada movement which was started in 1916. There were simultaneous expressions of this weird Dada art in New York, Zurich, Berlin, Cologne and Paris.

The theme of the Surrealist manifests in the conception that Man's imagination should be freed from the chains of pre-conception; belief in the omnipotence of the dream and disinterested play of thought. In Surrealism one re-lives the best of childhood.

In 1935 it spread to other countries and became an international movement and in 1936 there was organised, the first and last, big Surrealistic exhibition in London. Certain British artists have experimented to a limited degree with certain phases of Surrealism and Anglicised it in their own peculiar ways. Among the most interesting of these artists is John Armstrong. He had an extraordinary precision in drawing in detail which is so typical of the Surrealistic movement, and his colouring has also been restrained and only indirectly related to nature. Edward Wadsworth, Henry Moore, Paul Nash, Graham Sutherland and others have experimented with various types of Surrealistic work, but have used it to help them gain their own individual expression rather than becoming definite "slaves of the movement."

Herbert Read, the critic, defines Surrealism as being "a form of art that seeks the unknown, the uncreated, in the dark labyrinth of the sub-conscious mind." It has certainly opened up new avenues of subject-matter for artists to explore, but it is essentially a literary movement and its effects on painting are not fundamental. Already the first rush of enthusiasm of its adherents has died away and there is a tendency to get once more back to nature.

Another queer and fantastic development of abstract art is the *Constructivist School* of which Piet Mondrian, Naun Gabo and Ben Nicholson are the principal exponents of distinction. The Dutch painter, Mondrian, is the real leader of the group. In many of his paintings straight lines are drawn heavily and evenly across the whole surface of the work, so as to make rigid rectangular patterns. Naun Gabo, a Russian who worked in Germany during the twenties, holds that what he calls the 'unseen subjects,' the reality that lies deeper than surface appearances, are the real matter of the art of the future, of which Constructivism is a fore-taste. In a broadcast discussion he stated that the constructivist's aim is to invent a new harmony and a new scale of emotion, and that to do this there is no need to borrow subjects from the external world.

Ben Nicholson arrived at Constructivism after many experiments. Ten years and more ago he was producing attractive landscapes in charming colour drawn somewhat in the down-right way in which a child draws, with blobs of trees sticking up and great emphasis on contours; and at the same time he was making amusing still lives, again in high sweet colour and often on big empty canvases, with a mug or a cup and a plate or two isolated in the centre. Then he arranged and composed and mainly in chalk white rectangles and circles in low relief. No one can deny the decorativeness of these austere compositions.

The present time is one of consolidation. All the experimental movements have reached their climax, and having been pushed to the extremes of what they can accomplish, have passed. Naturalism, which was entirely obliterated in some phases of experimentation, is gradually reasserting itself. The artist cannot remain without nature as a guide for long.

# ANATOLE FRANCE

## A Study

By P. SAMA RAO, B.A., B.L.

"There are splendid souls in whom the love of splendid things is natural and inborn."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

To be noble, to be compassionate, to be responsive to the joys and sorrows of the co-created, to distil pleasure out of pain, and suffer patiently with a good grace; to be open and unreserved to one and all, and to find oneself in the many and the many in one's self, are the traits of greatness. It is the great men who enrich life and act as beacon-fires to the stumbling humanity on their march from darkness to light. Anatole France is one such great man, the French Tagore.

Anatole France, the octogenarian, poet, philosopher, thinker, and novelist of France, shed his mortality in 1924, fully crowned with laurels of fame. He belonged to no one school of art or philosophy. He did not fit into any definite creed of thought. Like Nature whom he recognised as his mother, he had many a facet to present to the world. Some regarded him as the 19th century Voltaire, cynical, satirical, and morose. Some put him down as a sensuous egoist, a carping critic, delighting in his own melancholia of disappointment. Some called him a Cossack of easy morals, ever on the spree. The serious-minded dubbed him a pessimist. The religious viewed him as irreligious, and the orthodox as a heterodox. Monotheists condemned him as a Pantheist. But none of these classifications does any justice to the man who is unique in his own beliefs and formed a creed unto himself.

France was certainly irreligious in the sense he did not possess or subscribe to any religion or any ethical creed. He was still religious in the sense he belonged to that holy fraternity whose constant endeavour was to determine themselves and their relation to the Supreme. His conception of the Godhead as a compassionate Being who disregarded sin and unqualifiedly forgave it, might be defective from the standpoint of practical ethics; but the conception is however consistent with His Nirgunatva. God created the world not with the motive to figure as judge over its erring elements but only with the procreative impulse, to multiply Himself into various forms just for pleasure. It is motiveless as child's play. So France agrees with Sri Sankara in the motive of creation (*Vide* Verse 66 of Sivanandalahari) and the qualitylessness of God; so, how could he be labelled at all as though he is a chemical capable of formulisation? As an admirer of Pantheism, and as a believer of the existence of God in every earthly form, animate and inanimate and having said, "Whatever the artist conceives of Heaven is borrowed from earth, God, the Virgin, the Angels, Men and Women, Saints, the light, the clouds," how could he be a Monotheist?

This is of course the reverse of the Hindu Ideal preached in Kathōpanishad—"Urdhvamūla mathassākha etc"—which refers to the foundations of everything in Brahma that is above. In the common language, the Hindu thinks out his existence from the inner to the outer world in a language that does not pertain to the latter; that is to say, the start for any metaphysical thought is the self inside of him and not the world outside of him. In other words, the earth forms but a microcosm in the universe of many such, and the same does not on any account amount to any basis for metaphysical speculation. On the other hand, the Hindu sages have striven to perfect the earth in the pattern of the heavens, and whatever is found beautiful and enduring in this world, has been put down to be the result of the copying of its perfect prototype existing in the heavens. So France's thought "that whatever the artist conceives of Heaven is borrowed from earth" to that extent has to be accepted with a modification that is justified by Platonism and early Vedic thought. He, however, subscribes to the import of the Gita lines,

> "Yo ma pasyati sarvatra sarvancha mayi pasyati
> Tasyaham na pranasyami sa cha me na pranasyati."

which is the keynote of the Pantheistic Hinduism. Though born and bred a Christian, he is not a Christian in his profession or attitude.

The ennoblement of suffering in that religion is the only feature that attracted him to it. Mere faith in God's mercifulness cannot be deemed to turn him into a Christian. He goes to the extremity of declaring that religion was born of fear, because it is in the nature of mortals to ward off danger by propitiating the supernatural powers. This is the religion of Vedic utterances. But it is not the true interpretation of the Vedic message : still, it is to the point here, so far as France's theory of religion is concerned. There is, I fear, nothing explicit about France's knowledge of this message anywhere in his works, though he may have been influenced by it. He is such a free spirit, and a lover of liberty that he has no qualms to respect Satan, the embodiment of freedom in revolt, and exclaim from his house-top the Miltonic line, "It is better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven." The beauty in Nature's creation, according to him, is the handiwork of freedom, akin to Satan's revolt. Here he is one with Wordsworth when he ascribes the beauty of a flower to its freedom down to its very roots. This is the burden of France's song in his "Revolt of the Angels," where Satan as Purusha—the active or dynamic Principle—evolvés beauty out of the chaos of dead or inanimate matter or Prakriti.

France ascribes the birth of sin to man's misunderstanding of himself, his co-created, and the surroundings into which they are all projected by the Divine Spirit. Selfishness of Man to carve for himself a heaven is a material element to weigh in the formation of sin. If Man is selfless, passionless, and desireless, he and God meet on a common plane and in the recognition of each as but a form of the other, melt into each other's embrace to form the One and the Universal Self. That is the upshot of France's as well as any great spiritualist's message. So France, however right he may be in his condemnation of Science as still another parade of ignorance and as a force contributory to mere material civilization, he is not justified; for he does not take stock of the spiritual height to which it has attained and established beyond doubt that the phenomena, Heat, Light, Electricity, Magnetism, and Sound are but manifestations of the One Primal Energy, the Purusha or the Spirit in creation. This mistake on his part may be due to the fact that Science in his time had not become so very certain about its discoveries. Otherwise, his spiritual sensitiveness would not have missed to throb to this truth as well.

France has been referred to as a Pantheist striving to find the One among the Many He has created. Nothing is therefore essentially good or bad in itself. The Angels, the Devils, etc., are but his own conjuring, and have their home nowhere except in Man's fantastic imagination and fear. The nature or quality is therefore a figment of the human mind. But he still touches at the Absolute Truth when he says, "Nothing exists except that which is imagined"; for, Nature of which Man is but a dynamic particle,

"has no principle. . . . . . Nature in her indifference makes no distinction between good and evil."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

". . . . . Nature in itself is neither beautiful nor ugly. Nature is, that is all. It is only the senses of Man which ascribe to it ugliness or beauty. According to our disposition, our state of mind, we see poor deluded creatures that we are—shadow or light upon the neutral and indifferent picture of the Universe."—CONVERSATIONS.

France is a grateful son of Nature. His heart-strings have always throbbed to her touch. Like a good son he has understood her, and feels he can never exist without her. He describes

"the caressing melancholy of the evening and the beauty of that natal earth, which feeds us, not only with bread and wine, but also with ideas, sentiments, beliefs, and which will at last take us all back to her maternal breast again, like so many tired children at the close of a long day."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

What lovelier expression than this could be given of the Shakta's soul yearning for the grace of Kali, the Mother ! So, as a corollary it follows, that there is absolutely no difference in the degree of intelligence among men, for we are all children babbling merely of things we do not know. Further, because of the divine spark of intelligence in every bit of creation, all are on one level and so equal to one another. He is expressing nothing but truth when he asserts :

"At any rate the most stupid are not those who commonly pass for such."—CONVERSATIONS.

He reasons out thus :

(*a*) "No man has ever been understood by another. But those whom we understand the least are usually those whom we praise the most. Such is the melancholy irony of fame."—CONVERSATIONS.

(*b*) "But who among us shall boast of his wisdom ? The foresight of Man is short, and his prudence is for ever baffled."—CONVERSATIONS.

(*c*) ". . . . but we judge human actions by the pleasure or pain they cause us."—THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS.

because the standard by which we measure is selfish and is set up by Man for his own ends.

## II

Anatole France has no illusions whatsoever about the presence of an outside Agency—call it

the Universal Principle, or freak of Nature, or Superman, or Destiny or Fate, as you will—who wills everything in this world, regulating Man's conduct, as though he were a toy in His hands. For, he says :

(*a*) "The blows of fate are ineludable; no man shall evade his doom. There is no Counsel, no caution that avails against destiny. Hapless as we are, the same blind force which regulates the course of atom, and of star, fashions the Universal Order from our vicissitudes. Our ill-fortune is necessary for the harmony of the Universe."—The Revolt of the Angels.

(*b*) "In this world we call a Cosmos, though it is but a microcosm no thinking being can imagine that he is able to destroy even one atom. At the most, all we can hope for is, that we can succeed in modifying here and there the rhythm of some group of atoms and the arrangements of certain cells. That when one thinks of it must be the limit of our enterprise."—The Revolt of the Angels.

(c) "Everything passes away . . . . , but life is immortal; it is that life we must love in its forms eternally renewed. All the rest is child's play; and I myself with all my books am only like a little child playing with marbles."—Sylvestre Bonnard.

(*d*) "Nature makes and unmakes all these divine treasures (means mother, wife, friends and children) with gloomy indifference and at last we find that we have not loved. We have only been embracing shadows. But how sweet some shadows are !"—Sylvestre Bonnard.

The first two extracts, namely (a) and (b), while proclaiming the ultimate powerlessness of Man against the will of God, cry a halt to the riotous Ego of the scientist who may assert he could make and unmake creation. His knowledge or wisdom like any other thing has its own limitations; and his 'infinitude' is still narrowed down and circumscribed by Destiny. Thus France is a fatalist in a sense. The other two are an optimistic say of the continuity of creation, with Maya veiling the truth of it from our purblind vision, and enticing us to still hug with ardour the mere shadows.

There is as much truth in this as untruth. The ultimate is in the hands of the Supreme; but the proximate may not be. It does not stand to reason—unless that faculty of reasoning is itself an illusion—that if one has the capacity and the desire to do a thing, he cannot do it, irrespective of the result. If the above are accepted without any reservation, they mean nothing but this; that Man a willing power, is nothing but a lifeless clod, passive and inane. If 'willing' and 'desiring' are not at one's instance alone, but are dependent upon the willing and the desiring of an outside Agency, the statements are an entire truth. This is a metaphysical problem that cannot be discussed any further in this short space.

Then the question crops up, What is Life, and What is Man's place in His scheme ? Man becomes a crude material to fashion anything out of it, for His own ends. In the Hindu conception of creation it is so. When France says "There is nothing in life worth having except sensations" it might mean that life is a force which by impact causes sensations. This implies Dynamic energy, These sensations cannot but be ephemeral; they take the form of ordinary joy and pain. If only people knew what would be the ultimate result of their actions, they would never act at all; that is to say, there would be no pulsation of life with the result that one does not live. That is to say, there would be no life at all. But for purposes of His play, mortals are not only invested with capacities to will and desire with their emotions but cry wild at disappointments. The only happiness, the genuine happiness, that is vouchsafed to man comes about when he loses the 'consciousness of his own existence'

Life is no bed of roses or a continuous song of melody for France; to his contemporary N. Segur he says :

"No, my friend, the secret of all the Universe is not desire, not love; it is pain. Love in reality, is but a by-product. Pain is the lamentable pearl of this earth of ours. We spin unceasingly the web of sorrow. It is our hell, our tribulation, but it is also our greatness. If Man builds at all it is at the price of endless efforts and tears. If he were happy he would be as though he existed not. If he were prosperous he would not progress. Every one finds a pedestal on which to raise himself, a little higher and the name of that pedestal is suffering. As for love, the love of woman, it is but the greatest source of sorrow that there is, and that is saying a great deal."—Conversations.

There is no pessimism in this. It is a grand truth if understood rightly. The pain is not merely physical. It is (that which precedes the birth or the dawning of life) the quickening force that determines the birth, the being, and the eclipse of existence on the physical, the mental, and the spiritual planes.

With this delimitation of life as a mosaic of light and shadow is there anything like the best and the enduring there, despite the mortal tragedy ? Yes ! answers France. It is the spiritual attainment to One-ness with God after one's self is cleansed by suffering. He advocates the avoidance of certain sensations that are a menace or danger to one's self and others. He considers the nature of sensations and says :

"Those which a noble memory or a grand spectacle creates within us certainly represent what is best in human life."—Slyvestre Bonnard.

He is such a firm believer in the permanence of beauty and its nature that he considers it as a chastener of human morals and says that "it is indestructible as Life itself."

"Beauty is so great and so august a quality that centuries of Barbarians cannot efface it so completely that adorable vestiges of it will always remain.—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

So France's conception of Beauty is no more flicker of light that could be extinguished by circumstance. It is a concomitant of divine pleasure, that is, *Ananda* of the Hindu philosophy. But the sorrow, its antithesis, comes about only when there is its abuse; then

"it corrupts the intelligence and impairs the understanding. The devil takes possession of the sinner's senses, penetrating even to his soul."—THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS.

It is only when beauty is abused and also misused that a pretty face becomes a 'curse from Heaven.' But beauty in its right activity

"is but one of the innumerable snares which Nature employs to lure us to the fulfilment of her hidden designs. Beauty is the supreme artifice of that wonderous and essential mirage we call love."—CONVERSATIONS.

and helps us to attain beatitude; for

"In beauty we shall find salvation, for in it we find oblivion."—CONVERSATIONS.

Beauty is therefore God, and in its narrowest sense, cannot but be His own complexion. The burdens which life has cast on one's shoulders become considerably lighter, aye, even become non-existent when self forgets itself in its contemplation. France has no doubts about it. He is emphatic :

"In the contemplation of Beauty, we cast off the burdens of Life. It is as though we were eating of some enchanting lotus, as if we were being wafted into another sphere where all pain, all sorrow are forgotten. The Crowning Opiate, the source of art and letters, of every worthy thing that Man has created, of everything in which he may take a legitimate pride—Beauty is the ransom of the Universe."—CONVERSATIONS.

Then Life becomes tolerable "with the deluding hope of discovering the Infinite in one's self."

Thus France sees Infinity in the complexion of youth, and understands the "bliss of being beautiful";

"Her complexion was slightly pink and her half open lips smiled with that smile which makes one think of the infinite—perhaps because it betrays no particular thought and expresses only the joy of living and the bliss of being beautiful."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

*The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard* contains many a reference to the superiority of the Grecian aesthetic sense to that of any other Western nation. To France as well as to Tagore, the physical body in which the divine spirit is housed, is sacred. One makes the other visible, and as such, one cannot but be an expression of the other. It is so in the Platonic sense as well. It is therefore a folly to judge beauty by the garments one is clothed in. "The dress often proclaims the man" is quite deceptive so far as aesthetic judgment is concerned;

"For the tissues of Lyons and Genoa are worthless compared with the beautiful living tissues, rosy and pure with blood; the most beautiful draperies are despicable with the lines of a beautiful body."—THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS.

Herein lies the secret which actuated the Grecian sculptor to adore the naked in preference to the dressed form of beauty. This seems to be the basis for the Nudist Cult of the present day.

Faith and Love are the two Magic Keys to the 'House of Life,' with the help of which Man finds permanent solace to his being. For he is

"born to enjoy what is beautiful and what is good and to do what one pleases, when the things one wants to do are noble, intelligent, and generous."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

III

According to France, education must be fruitful of this benefit. Otherwise, it would be leading one into the quagmires of depravity and misery, from which there is no riddance. Like Sankara, he holds that "it is the teacher's duty to teach the pupil how to will the good." He sets forth the ideals of such an education in pages 198-199 of his *Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard*:

"It is only by amusing oneself that one can learn. The whole art of teaching is only the art of awakening the natural curiosity of young minds for the purpose of satisfying it afterwards : and curiosity itself can be vivid and wholesome only in proportion as the mind is contented and happy. Those acquirements crammed by force into the minds of children simply clog and stifle intelligence. In order that knowledge be properly digested, it must have been swallowed with a good appetite."

Further on he adverts to the education of girls :

"If that child is entrusted to my care, I should make her—not a learned woman, for I would look to her future happiness only—but a child full of bright intelligence and full of life, in whom everything beautiful in art or nature would awaken some gentle responsive thrill. I would teach her to live in sympathy with all that is beautiful—comely landscapes, the ideal scenes of poetry and history, the emotional charm of noble music. I would make loveable to her everything I would wish her to love. Even her needle-work I would make loveable to her, by a proper choice of the fabrics, the style of embroideries, the designs of lace. I would give her a beautiful dog and a pony to teach her how to manage animals; I would give her birds to take care of, so that she could learn the value of even a drop of water and a crumb of bread. And in order that she should have a still higher pleasure, I would train her to find delight in charity. And inasmuch as none of us may escape pain, I should teach her that Christian wisdom which elevates us above all suffering, and gives

a beauty even to grief itself. This is my idea of the right way to educate a young girl."

These ideals are the same for both boys and girls, if for the embroideries we substitute games like the Football and Cricket. They are at once practical and philosophical. They are meant not only to make a person fit to earn a living but also to enable him to confront the inevitable sorrows of life, and participate in the emotional life of other creation in this world.

France is a great believer in Darwin's theory of Evolution, and in consequence, a sponsor of the theory of the transmigration of souls. According to him, "the future is shaped out of the past." So that one could have peace and joy in future, one must lead a contented life in patience without fretting oneself, having learnt to be meek and gentle. "When one suffers patiently one suffers less," is the maxim he preaches to the suffering humanity.

Life is a change without cessation. There is nothing like happiness in a change, for 'the most longed for' one has its own melancholy. The process in the changing is an aching, a pain. Only the most sensitive could feel how after aching the tender fronds come out. Since life is a succession of changes it is immortal.

To France as well as to Vivekananda everything is unreal excepting Thought. In an excellent interpretation of his he says :

"Think well about great things; we know that thought is the only reality in this world. Lift up Nature to thine own stature; and let the whole universe be for thee no more than the reflection of thine own heroic soul."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

To concretise this conception, he has parallels in Don Quixote and Sancho :

"Within everyone of us there lives both a Don Quixote and a Sancho to whom we hearken by turns; and though Sancho most persuades us, it is Don Quixote that we find ourselves obliged to admire."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

This may sound pessimistic; but it is an expression of Truth that cannot be rebutted. So Anatole is not a pessimist.

Passions and desires as have already been said, were created in Man so that he could live out his tenure of life on earth. Without these he becomes deadened and creation would cease. Althiugh, according to him, the "passions are enemies of peace and quiet," they are all the same necessary not only for procreation but also for arts and industries. He says that without them he could not feel and experience the joy of Beauty :

"I have known that mysterious charm which Nature has lent to animate force; and the clay which lives has given to me that shudder of delight which makes the lover and the poet."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

France is a perfect artist with these passions and desires so well regulated that every beautiful sight in Nature renews his being, and like a veritable Anteus, he feels young at every touch of the earth :

"I have touched the earth and am now a new man; and, now at 70 years of age, new feelings of curiosity take birth in my mind, even as young shoots sometimes spring up from the hollow trunk of an aged oak."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

A life of passionlessness and inanity which synonumously amount to death has never been an attraction to him. The 'wisdom of indifference,' or rather the static state does not appeal to him. Age did not wrinkle up his heart. It continued eternally young, for he derived youth at every touch of his mother, the divine Earth :

"In spite of my tranquil mien, I have always preferred the folly of the passions to the wisdom of indifference. But just because my own passions are not just of that sort which burst out with violence to devastate and kill, the common mind is not aware of their existence."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

In Whitman's vein he explains the why and the wherefore of his passionate attachment to Paris :

". . . all the old and venerable part of Paris, with its towers and spires—all that's my life, it is myself; and I should be nothing but for all these things which are thus reflected in me through my thousand varying shades of thought, inspiring me and animating me. That's why I love Paris with an intense love."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

He flies into ecstasy when he sees the young couple, Jean and her bethrothed, receding from him after his blessings, and describes their state in a most poetical mood :

"They smile at the earth which sustains them; they smile at the air which bathes them; they smile at the light which each one sees in the eyes of the other. From my window I wave my handkerchief at them—and they smile at my old age."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

What could be a more enduring touch of nature than this sight of the beautiful satisfaction of old age at the happiness of youth, which he has achieved ? Could this be the mood of a pessimist ?

But, France is still aware of the "evil in all passionate desires, even the noblest," as they enslave a Man and make him depend on others; in a sense, according to him, the poor man is the richest man :

"The poor man who has no desires possesses the greatest of riches; he possesses himself. The rich man who desires something is only a wretched slave."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

This is nothing but a paraphrase of the Sanskrit saying "Kaupinavantah, khalu bhagyavantah."

## IV

Anatole France like Bacon is capable of expressing universal truths in a laconic manner:

(*a*) "The daughters of Eve adore adornment."

(*b*) "Time deals gently only with those who take it gently."

(*c*) "Those who have given themselves the most concern about the happiness of people have made their neighbours very miserable."

(*d*) "But one cannot always remain in Heaven."

(*e*) "There was so much expression in her beauty that she could not breathe without seeming to sigh."

(*f*) "To know is nothing at all; to imagine is everything. Nothing exists except that which is imagined."

(*g*) "A pretty face is a curse from heaven."

(*h*) "Lovers who love truly do not write down their happiness."

(*i*) "Since it is woman who dispenses love, man is wholly in her power."

(*j*) "All progress is the result of will. Well, the more we understand, the less we exercise our will. If we succeed in understanding everything, we would will no more."

(*k*) "In independence of thought is the proudest of all aristocracies."

(*l*) "We judge human actions by the pleasure or pain they cause us."

These are some but not all the precious sayings contained in his works.

Anotale France is not enamoured of civilization and progress as understood by the moderns, to which science has contributed not a few accessories that pander only to one's physical cravings. If one boldly asserts, they have dwarfed and deteriorated the spiritual sense :

"Our science is only another form of ignorance, the very one indeed, which most clearly brings home to us that we know nothing. All it has done for us is to give us spectacles that do not increase the vastness and terror of the infinite Unknown, which surrounds us. Science, alas ! can change nothing since it can only illumine the world to perceive ourselves, the only world to which we have access. As for the Unknown Universe round about us its riddles will remain eternally unsolved. Science is but part of the illusion great, that's all."—CONVERSATIONS.

Anatole as well as Whitman have infinite compassion for the fallen woman—the prostitute and the courtezan. They are as sacred to them as any other piece of creation, for suffering, as Christ said, endows them with divine grace :

"Courtezans do not offer themselves for pleasure, but, because they must, for money, in order to support life and so as not to die, so to speak, by their own hand, which would be a still greater sin. No; a courtezan is rather a woman who practises humility."—CONVERSATIONS.

Genius to Anatole is not Carlyle's "capacity for infinite work." It is a "product of culture and polish, the fine flower of epochs of strength and refinement." He expands this conception :

"It is a kind of mysterious ray which compels those who possess it ever to see the skeleton where others see the flesh in all its beauty; compels them to contemplate the hideous grin of the naked muscles where others see only smiles. Or, better, it is a still more powerful ray that passes alike through grinning muscles and gaunt skeleton and reveals the loneliness, the belt of utter solitude in which each man dwells, which sunders him from all communication with his kind and condemns him for ever to live in lonely sadness."—CONVERSATIONS.

This is the import of Ethel Mannin's *Pilgrims* and *Ragged Banner*. What the French litterateur has shortly expressed she has developed into novels of size, fully informing and artistic.

France like the Vedic seer believes in the existence of the superhuman agency of angels, to guide the conduct of man and bless him whenever he deserves their blessings. As in the Gita, the relationship is fruitful of good or bad just as the mortal chooses. To make this understandable to the ordinary mentality, France gives a business equation :

"God has appointed tutelary spirits to be near us. They come to us laden with His gifts. They return laden with our prayers. Such is their task. Not an hour, not a moment passes but they are at our side, ready to help us, ever fervent and unwearing guardians, watchmen that never slumber."—THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS.

There cannot be a better summing up of Anatole France and his genius than in the following from N. Segur :

"His whole work may be summed up as one long meditation on the vanity of human endeavour, on the futility of the problems, even the mightiest that exercise the mind of man. To juggle with the puppets which from time immemorial men have regarded with fear or veneration—such was his favourite occupation."

"But, . . . . . like a winged songster which sings more pathetically and charms the more by its voice when sundered from its mate, weaving its sorrows into song—so, too, he with spirit yearning yet for ever unappeased, gazing from his lonely tower, at the tragicomedy of life, has soothed us with the most profound, the most intense and the most subtle of intellectual music."



# RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE AS I SAW HIM

By BIJOY LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA

It was a bright morning. Ramananda Babu was conducting the Divine Service in the Brahma Samaj Hall at Santipur. Tears were rolling down his cheeks. He was crying like a child. At once the inner man became transparent to me. Behind the Editor of *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* I saw the real man whose one ideal in life was the realisation of God. The idea of God he steadily held before his mind, it really filled his mind. All his outward activities were inspired by the single idea of realising God through disinterested Karma. To seek Him in the lonely dark corner of a temple apart from the world did not appeal to him. Like Rabindranath he found his God among the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost.

He hated Imperialism, because he loved humanity; he protested against tyranny and injustice because he identified himself with the hungry millions of his country. He was a Nationalist to the core of his being because he realised that only freedom could make the people of India happy and prosperous. He was a seer, an intellectual giant. So it was clear to him from the very beginning that no amount of charity could give fulness of life to the unfortunate people of his country. The huge problem of freeing hundreds of human beings from the cruel jaws of abject poverty could never be solved by multiplying charitable institutions. The problem could be solved only by political and economic democracy, by making victorious the principle of national liberty. It was not a question of individual charity but of collective mass action. And so Ramananda Chatterjee, in his effort to meet God "among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost," made his ideal the Service of Man and this ideal inspired him to dedicate his life at the altar of Liberty. Faith is a battle, as Romain Rolland so aptly puts it in his famous book *Mahatma Gandhi*. Ramananda Babu had absolute faith in the ideals of liberty and equality. He could not tolerate the idea that millions of his countrymen would continue to live the unlivable lives of slaves. The word "domination" was hateful to him. He knew that the way to peace was not through weakness. He was not only a good man but a strong and brave man too and a strong man in his passion for justice never hesitates to antagonise the mighty. Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee did not hesitate to antagonise those who would uphold Imperialism in India. Ruthlessly he exposed the evils of foreign domination; fearlessly he fought the battle for freedom with all his might. What he wrote he wrote with his blood and his writings cheered up the spirit of all lovers of freedom and terrified the Imperialists. What he wrote was no sentimental effusion but hard logic. His proofs were convincing and arguments unassailable. Naturally those in power looked upon *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* with consternation. They found in Ramananda Chatterjee a relentless enemy of Imperialism who was incorruptible and whose heroic soul nothing could coerce into submission. Month after month and year after year, Ramananda Babu carried on his campaign against injustice in every form.

It was true that in the fight for freedom that is being carried on by the Congress he did not actually participate in action but still he was an immense force on the side of Revolution and he would be remembered by posterity as a great revolutionary who gave his life-blood to make the dream of a new world a reality. Truly has Rolland written in *I Will Not Rest*:

> "The Revolution is not the property of a party. The Revolution is a mansion of all those who wish for a better and happier humanity."

Elsewhere he writes in the same book:

> "It is quite true that mind is a force of Nature. But the force must find its place among other forces which, with due regard to their free functioning, the Revolution must organise for the construction of a new world."

Woe to those who scorn the forces of the mind and pay all their homage to heroes of action. Men of action are no doubt necessary for making ideas victorious; for an idea simply by its rational value cannot become the force that creates a new world. The loftiest and most sublime idea remains ineffective until the day when a man of action appears on the horizon and by transfusing his heroic blood into it makes the idea a living force. The ideas that had lain dead in books like items in a museum suddenly come to live at the touch of the dynamic personality of a hero. But when all have been said it still remains a fact that the world is finally ruled by ideas and men who have been the transmitters of fervid and tremendous ideas would always be respected by posterity and creators of history.

Sreejut Ramananda Chatterjee's role in history has been the role of the builder of a nation. His creative genius was utilised by Destiny for building a new India. His style was vigorous, he had limpid clearness of mind, his reasonings constantly reminded one of Socrates and he had that sincerity which is as rare as intelligence or beauty. It was meant by Destiny that this

great intellectual giant should appear on the horizon of India with the pen of a Thomas Paine so that thousands of his countrymen might get a new inspiration and light from his writings, men and women beyond the frontiers of Hindusthan should know the real character of British Administration in India and understand the great ideal for which the Congress is still fighting on. Emerson in his famous essay, "The Young American," says :

"Good nature is plentiful, but we want justice, with heart of steel, to fight down the proud."

Sreejut Ramananda Chatterjee was no weak pacifist. His ideal was justice and he sternly criticised whatever insulted the dignity of human life. He made ruthless war on the sin of untouchability, vigorously used his prolific pen to vindicate the rights of women, gave his wholehearted support to every movement that stood for freeing man from his degrading conditions. He was a fighter from beginning to end and fearlessly fought down the proud that would lord it over his fellowmen and use them as means for their own glorification. Like Rolland's "Christopher" he said, "It is not peace that I seek but life." And life is where the sufferings of men and their combat are, in the sun and rain-storm. He belonged to the tribe of those strong men whom Emerson calls "formidable individuals," who never submit to the will of the evil-doer and never hesitate to raise their voices against the will of the tyrant. He would not tolerate the slightest domination. He would not brook the slightest assault on justice and truth. He was never an agitator but he hated that murderous silence that has its root in cowardice. That emasculated goodness which always fights shy of danger and ever seeks peace and security aloof from the battle of life had no fascination for his heroic soul.

But the man who was brave as a lion in his uninterrupted fight against injustice had nothing of the self-assertive superman. Clive Bell in characterising a civilized man writes : "Tolerant and unwilling to interfere, a civilized man will have manners." Ramananda Chatterjee was a man with graceful exterior and irreproachable manners. His chief characteristics were his silence and modesty. He was never over-bearing. He never imposed himself, never interfered. He did not share the common error of judging another by himself. He had respect for faiths that differed from his own. His contact with the world, therefore, was never one-sided. Conversation with him was always a keen delight. The youthful generation who came in close touch with him have lost in his death their friend, philosopher and guide.

## BENGAL : A GANGETIC DELTA ?

BY BISWESWAR CHAKRAVARTY, B.T.

BENGAL is popularly known as a gift of the Ganges. The river is still building and unbuilding a vast portion of the province. So the pet theory may find a wide currency. But Geology has a different story to tell.

The upper soil of Bengal consists chiefly of bluish clay and white sand. Those have been deposited by the Ganges river system, no doubt. Had this alluvium alone been found over a rocky bottom or a marined bed that would have supported the popular belief. But only sixty feet below the surface lies the stratum of yellow sand, extending from the foot of the Himalayas down to the lower courses of the Hoogly. Moreover a high belt of laterite formation extends from the Rajmahal district of Bihar to the Madhupur Jungle in Mymensingh. The belt has been broken only by the changing channels of the Ganges and the Bramhaputra. This laterite formation is an outcrop of the old alluvium. The districts of Tipperah and Chittagong in the east and Burdwan in the west are formed of the same. Thus we see that underneath the present surface lies another stratum formed of yellow sand and red clay traversed by a high bridge extending right across from the west to the east. This alluvium was not deposited by the rivers of the west.

"The red clay of Rangpur, Burdwan, Murshidabad and Madhupur Jungle is very different from the clay brought down by any of the Himalayan rivers, while the underlying sand bears no resemblance to the micaceous white sand these deposit."[1]

It may be pointed out that the Gangetic silt is only sixty feet deep but a rocky bottom can not be found within 481 ft. This shows the magnitude of the deposit made by the older rivers.

An explanation is, perhaps, due regarding the existence of a high belt in the middle and not at the southern extremity of the old stratum. It is generally found that the tidal bore pushes

1. Dr. R. K. Mukerjee : *Changing Face of Bengal*, p. 123.

back a river and the hugest quantity of mud and sand is deposited not at the mouth but at a distance up the current. The same happened to the rivers flowing through the then North Bengal and the present high belt was the outcome.

To the extreme south is the Sundarban area.

"Its soil, as ascertained by boring, shows how ancient is the soil on which the forest grows; it tells of wonderful changes in the face of the once deep valley now filled up by the deltaic alluvium, hundreds and hundreds of feet in depth, when the ocean sweeping round the base of the Himalaya mountains covered what is now the valley of the Ganges and joined the sea at the mouths of the Indus."[2]

Later on this high region deflected the currents of the North Bengal rivers to the west and the old laterite region of Burdwan extending upto Chotonagpur Hills was the product of the silt thus deposited.

"Another boring in the Middle Ganges plain at Lucknow was carried down to nearly 1,000 ft. below sea-level with no further sign of an approach to the bottom than was shown by the appearance of coarse sand near the end of the hole."[3]

This clearly proves that the Ganges deposited much more silt in its middle course than in its eastern course. This is possible only when a river finds it blocked by a higher level region. The same was the fate of the Ganges. After many days the middle course was silted and the river began to push its way to the east. In doing so it broke through the old alluvium.

It is an admitted fact that the Bengal rivers are shifting eastward. Most of the rivers of Northern Bengal now flowing south-east then flowed south-west. With the appearance of the Ganges they found themselves faced by a strong river trying to push eastward. New *char* lands began to be formed at these junctions and they gradually turned to the east. The whole of northern Bengal soon became a tract of dried up rivers and marshes.

At first the Ganges found the old high laterite formation too strong and bent southward. That gave rise to the western and now dying up branches of the Ganges. Further to the south the river met the ocean tide and the huge delta at the Hoogly estuary was formed. Again being faced by a high level region the river pushed further east in the channel of what is now called the Padma. That the western branches are older than the Padma is admitted by all. This would never have been possible if the land sloped towards the east. The land eastward was higher and so the river found a way to the south and only when the southern channels were blocked, it began to push eastward. Thus we find that the greater part of Bengal was formed long before the Ganges appeared on the scene and when the mid-Gangetic valley was semi-aquatic.[4]

The Aryan migration of Bengal in later period has often been cited to prove the comparatively recent formation of the delta. But anthropologists have shown that Bengalees are more pre-Aryan than Aryan. In our craze for Aryan civilization we have carefully overlooked our more ancient heritage. The Aryans certainly came later but that does not show that there was no habitable land before that. Traces of earlier habitations are found in this high laterite region.

We are now to see which are the rivers that originally formed this land of ours. James Fergusson in a valuable paper read before the Geological Society of London in 1863 hinted at the possibility of the Bramhaputra flowing through North Bengal. Mr. S. C. Majumder, Chief Engineer, Bengal, writes: "The Bramhaputra must have contributed to the building up of North Bengal even in old days."[5] The face of the land has changed remarkably. The Karatoyā whose upper course may still be found near Siliguri has become a river in the Bogra district. The Arialkhān that once carried the waters of the Ganges is now a dying river in Faridpur. The Jhinai that up till very recently was the main spill course of the Bramhaputra can hardly be traced off Gopalganj and Hemnagar in Mymensingh. The Ichamati that once flowed through North Bengal and South Bengal has now lost itself in the Arial Bil. All these are most recent changes. But many more drastic ones might have taken place in days now lost in oblivion.

A discerning eye will still be astonished to find the traces of the western beds of most of these rivers now marked by bils and jhils. The geologist tells us that the Gangetic silt lies not to any great depth. The lower and more ancient stratum of red and yellow sand was deposited by the rivers of the East. Should we still cling to our belief that 'Bengal is a Gangetic delta'? The more correct statement would be that Bengal is a gift of the Bramhaputra and the Ganges has only carried harrowing destruction into the land and made a complete change. "Bhabatbhiranumanyatām."

2. Major Sherwell: "The Gangetic Delta," *Calcutta Review*, January, 1859, and Mukerjee, p. 119.
3. *Imperial Gazeteer*, Vol. I, p. 100.
4. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in his article "Antiquity of the Lower Ganges and its Courses" in *Science and Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 232-239 has shown that the eastern branch originated before 300 B.C.
5. Majumder: *Rivers of the Bengal Delta*, pp. 53-54.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor.

## ENGLISH

OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEM : *By P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant. Published by New Book Company, Bombay. 1943 (October). Pp. 536. Price Rs. 6-8.*

This is a new book on Indian Economics. The authors deal here primarily with the problems of our production, distribution and consumption. The problems of our trade, transport, currency, banking and finance are to be expected in a companion volume later.

The authors do not confine themselves in this volume to a mere description of India's economic conditions and problems. But they indicate as well the ways and means by which the economic ailments from which our country suffers can be removed by a socially controlled *planned* economy. Their purpose in writing this book is two-fold : "an analytical and historical survey of our economic life and problems as they face us today, and what a free India of the future can immediately achieve by a considered programme of economic reconstruction." When India will be "free," if ever, we do not know. But it need not deter us from welcoming the authors' suggestions for our economic improvement. India needs such suggestions from her thinkers, economic and non-economic. She must devise an effective plan to lift her millions from that depth of poverty that is degrading them to the level of beasts.

The most valuable feature of the volume is its fine collection of useful statistical materials. The book will amply repay its reading to readers of all classes.

P. C. Ghosh

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA : *By Sir B. P. Singh Roy. Thacker Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. 1943. Pp. 411+ix and an Index. Price Rs. 9.*

The author of this erudite volume is at present President of the Bengal Legislative Council. His claim to be heard on the problems of Indian constitutional affairs arises from the fact that he had been a member of the provincial legislature from the beginning of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and a Minister in Bengal for over a decade. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who contributes a commendatory foreword, rightly observes that "there are few among our public men who are better qualified" to write on the subject. It is a pity, therefore, that Sir Bijoy has rest contented with a mere "analysis and account of the working of the parliamentary system," and has "carefully avoided" the "expression of personal opinion on the existing political problems or suggestions regarding their solution." While congratulating the author on the production of a balanced, up-to-date and informative book of reference on Indian politics—albeit marred by the oddities of expression through the medium of a foreign language—academic readers cannot but feel disappointed at the author's detached standpoint : they sadly miss the bold strokes of imagination and controversial kite-flying which are usually associated with the politician's excursions in similar fields. It is thus an unexpectedly good compendium of the development of constitutional reforms in India and an acute analysis of the working constitution in British India; an admirable text-book for advanced students and a safe guide for the foreign reader.

The seven chapters are well-planned. The first one traces the growth of the constitutional structure since the Mutiny and is interesting reading for even the initiated. The intellectual and religious revival, the early years of the Indian press and the National Congress, the summary of the working of the instalments of reform and particularly of Diarchy are all judiciously discussed in the first hundred pages. The next chapter on "India and the British Commonwealth" is a fair but critical analysis of the concept of Dominionhood, ending with the war-time "offers" to India including the Cripps Mission : implicit in the chapter is, of course, the link with Great Britain, but why describe the distracted empire by the obvious misnomer—the *British Commonwealth*? Next comes a short chapter on the federation of India, which serves as the connecting link to his next three chapters on "Responsible Government in the Provinces," "Provincial Autonomy" and "The Party System"—which constitute the special features of the book. Bengal gets a special corner in each of these chapters, both for illustrating the author's arguments and for bringing to relief some of the peculiar aspects of Bengal's parties *vis-a-vis* the bureaucratic elements in Government. There will obviously be cause for disagreement with regard to some of the conclusions on constitutional controversies, which the author seeks, unobtrusively and with the help of suitable citations of authorities, to buttress. But the narration of facts leaves little to be desired in the matter of impartiality and even emphasis. But why does Sir Bijoy fight shy of giving references to texts which he quotes within inverted commas, and why should he take to the text-book method of discussing issues seriatim by giving numbers to his points? Are not these attempts at precision carried to the extreme? With his experience and in his capacity as an elder liberal politician, he should have been less hesitant and, let me repeat, more bold in his exposition.

While the chapter on "Provincial Autonomy" includes topics which are not usually expected there, (*e.g.*, judgments of the Federal Court admirably summarised, the recent amendments to the Act of 1935, short accounts of the civil service and the judicial system), the chapter on "The Party System" (which even mentions the Azad Moslem Board) is singularly unappreciative of, and free from references to, the newer forces in Indian politics due to the emergence of leftist

groups and organisations of industrial labourers and peasants, especially as a result of the war.

It is interesting to note that while Sir Bijoy would like to combat the "fanaticism" of the political parties in India, Sir Tej Sapru's grievance is that the party-machine in India "has been far too successful; and it would have been much better if the rigidity with which the party machine is worked in India leading at times to the concentration of power in a few hands had been less in evidence." This democratic liberal note is, however, of little practical significance inasmuch as it does not take account of *either* the socio-economic forces in Indian society which make for such authoritarian high-and-mighty tone of the political High Commands imitating the temper of fascist prototypes, *or* the pitfalls of parliamentary democracy in India unless every instalment of it is accompanied by transference of power to such elements whose interest it would be to secure a further democratisation of the social structure and not to buttress the feudal, quasi-capitalistic forces that be. But such a discussion would lead us beyond the reviewer's limits.

The last chapter entitled "The Background of Moslem Awakening" is a sympathetic study of the Moslem point of view, and emphasises the point that the Pakistan idea is logically related to the reluctance of Moslems to live under a non-Moslem government, which is said to be a part of the Moslem's religious faiths. Sir Bijoy hardly discusses Pakistan and seeks to dismiss the controversy by suggesting that "political India has no clear notion of its implications." The whole chapter thus closes abruptly and does not justify its inclusion in the volume; though it is otherwise informative and suggestive.

The volume is nicely printed and got-up; and the few misprints, especially of some names, may be easily recognised and corrected. Apart from the weight lent by the author's position, the volume by the intrinsic merit of its contents deserves a wide circulation.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE: *Vol. 8, Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs, 1794-1799. Ed. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Pp. 36+280. Price Rs. 10.*

*Vol. 9, Daulat Rao Sindhia, 1800-1803. Ed. by Maharaj-Kumar Raghuvir Sinh, D.Litt., Pp. 64+456. Price Rs. 15.*

*Vol. 11, Daulat Rao Sindhia, 1804-1809. Ed. by Prof. Nirod Bhushan Roy. Pp. 40+456. Price Rs. 15. (Govt. Book Depot, Bombay, 1943).*

With the publication of these three volumes, this indispensable series of "English Records of Maratha History" reaches the year 1810, and there remain only three volumes—two of them for Elphinstone's long and eventful Residency with Baji Rao II, and one for Daulat Rao Sindhia,—to complete the story down to the extinction of Maratha independence. The Bombay Government deserve our cordial thanks for its enlightened policy of making these records available to the public in such a handsome form and under the most authoritative historical editorship available anywhere. The introductions to the volumes are learned, critical, and truly helpful, while the topographical and personal notes, the chronological table, alphabetical list of writers and addresses, and long index added to each volume indicate that the editors have spared no pains to smooth the path of those who will utilise these precious original sources. They may stand as a model to others publishing Indian historical records in the English language. The band of editors—Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, Maharaj-Kumar Dr. Raghuvir Sinh, the late Mr. Y. M. Kale, Dr. V. G. Dighe and Prof. Nirod Bhusan Roy—are all honorary, and the Bombay Government must be congratulated on its good fortune in securing a team of such workers gratis.

That the war and the economic crisis created by it have not stopped this cultural work though slightly delaying it, is a matter of rejoicing to students of modern Indian history and they must thank the Bombay Government and the Government Press for this enlightened regard for "letters," so seldom met with elsewhere.

The long annals of the Peshwas' government and their Court intrigues, war and diplomacy have been taken in the capable hands of Sardesai, and we are glad to learn that he has lodged the remaining two of the five volumes covering this subject, with the Government Press, in MS.

The Sindhia volume (No. 11) covers a subject made partly familiar by Capt. T. D. Broughton's charming *Letters Written in Maratha Camp*, and supplies the much needed elucidation to the latter book. Prof. Ray has taken here, as in his volume (No. 3) on Cornwallis's War with Tipu Sultan, infinite pains in identifying place-names and also discussed the connected problems in a dispassionate critical manner, with the result of throwing much new light on the policy of Wellesley. Similarly, in Vol. 8, Sir Jadunath Sarkar has put forth a fully documented and, as it seems to us, unanswerable defence of Shore's much-scorned Non-intervention policy. The tragic figure of Krishna-Kumari, the Indian Iphigenia, flits through Prof. Ray's volume, and the sombre personality of Wazir Ali (the author of the Benares massacre of 1799) dominates the last section of Sarkar's volume (No. 8).

What a contrast do these contemporary reports and confidential discussions of policy present between the two races then contending for mastery in India! On the side of the English Residents and Governors we have shrewd patient diplomacy, far-sighted planning, and an efficient spy system which brought to them prompt news of every plot and every private conversation in their enemy's camp and court. They knew the price of every Indian minister to the pice and also the roots of their internal quarrels. On our side we see our great men torn by jealousy, dissensions and ignorant pride, which neutralised the valour and sacrifice of their men. It is a tragic tale illustrated in life-like detail.

Now that the end is amost in sight, we pray to the Bombay Government and Press to put in three more strokes and publish the last three volumes (covering the years 1810-1818) soon, in order to put the crown on a great undertaking, carried out with incredible cheapness.

B. N. B.

JEAN JAURES: *By J. Hampden Jackson. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 1943 Pp. 204. Price 12s. 6d.*

This book was written at a time when it was commonplace to talk of the decadence of Republican France and of the decadence of International Socialism. In a way, of course, the talk was true enough; anything that has been defeated may be called decadent. But Republican France and International Socialism were defeated not so much because they were decayed as because they were divided; divided between the ideals of individual liberty and organized, communal planning. There was once a Frenchman and a Socialist who perceived the consequence of that division and devoted his life to bringing about a synthesis between the two ideals. He was a great Frenchman in a sense in which no French-

man has been great since Gambetta; a great Socialist in a sense in which no Socialist has been great except Lenin; and he was a great European in a sense in which no twentieth century statesman has been great except Masaryk.

Jean Jaures was born in 1859—and was thus 18 years younger than Clemenceau and three years younger than Petain. He died, assassinated, in 1914, on the eve of the first World War. It was as if Lenin had died at Zimmerwald or Masaryk in London. He was never in power, never even a minister in a capitalist cabinet. The party which he had spent twenty years in building up went to pieces after his death. The war which he had spent a decade in trying to prevent broke out with the consequences which he had foreseen. The victor was not the France that he had stood for but another France, that lived only to die in another war, which he had also foreseen. Yet the ideal for which he lived stands today as the only ideal capable of giving France and Europe peace with justice. The aims which he laid down for the divided nations in 1910 became the aim of the United Nations in 1942: "It is only by the free federation of autonomous nations which have given up the exercise of military force and have submitted themselves to the rules of law that human unity can be realized. But it will not be by the suppression of national life but by its ennoblement. Nations will rise to be part of humanity without losing any of their independence, their integrity, their liberty or their genius."

The problems which Jaures devoted his short life to solving are still the major problems of western civilization. The relationship between science and religion are yet to be established. The synthesis between liberty and order has yet to be made. The old question has yet to be answered about Socialism which divided the men of the Left in Jaures' time and continued to divide them in 1920's and 1930's: is it to be parliamentary and democratic or violent and authoritarian? Gradually a conclusion on all these debates is being reached among western peoples now, and in each case it is in the direction indicated by Jaures. Science without a philosophy of life which leaves room for the spirit is diabolical. Political democracy without economic democracy is impotent. If international socialism is ever to be created, it will not be after the manner of the Third International, whose architect was Lenin, but after that of the Second, whose inspiration Jaures was. If France is ever to rise again, it will not be in the image of Petain but of Jaures. He died a generation ago, but he lived among conflicts which are those of our own generation.

Yet Jaures, who was the greatest statesman of the Third Republic, if not of contemporary Europe, has not become as much a world figure as Gambetta or Lenin or Masaryk. Even France has not yet acknowledged his true greatness, although I found his ashes interred in the Pantheon of Paris and French postage stamps bearing his effigy during the late thirties. This is probably because the legends that live longest in France are always those of fighters,—Jeanne d'Arc, Napoleon, never those of peacemakers. The author has rendered unique service to the English-speaking world by writing this warm little volume on the life and thought of this remarkable man.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: *By Com. M. N. Roy. Renaissance Publishers. P. B. 580. Calcutta. Pp. 73. Price Re. 1.*

Dissolution of the Communist International is one of the most important events in contemporary history and it has been interpreted in different ways by different parties. The International Association of Workers or the First International was founded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1866. The establishment of Paris Commune in 1870 as a result of an insurrection and its ultimate failure was the cause of the disruption of the First International. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, there was steady improvement in the conditions of the working classes and the Second International was born in that atmosphere of optimism. But when the World War I broke out in 1914, National Parliaments and Working Class Parties not only failed to check it but supported the War and as a result the Second International failed as a World organisation of Workers. The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought into being the Third or the Red International.

"Between the first and second World Wars, two new factors had appeared on the scene, *viz.*, the Soviet Socialist State and Fascism. According to Com. Roy, Fascism is the last phase of Capitalism. Imperialism fighting against Fascism is Capitalism destroying itself. According to Com. Roy, the Third International already ceased to function so far as Russians were concerned as far back as 1926, or more correctly its existence after 1924 was superfluous. The Communist International failed to bring successful revolution in any other country, it underestimated the dangers of Fascism and finally it was disrupted by its internal contradiction. When the war broke out, its confusion was complete. Its very existence even in name became an absurdity. So its dissolution was only formal. 'Marxism has already been the philosophy of the progressive mankind. Communism has come to its own." To conclude in the words of Com. Roy, "an exclusive organisation is no longer necessary and being unnecessary, it has ceased to exist."

Com. Roy is certainly an authority to speak on a subject like the Communist International and as such the book is not only interesting but thought-provoking also and we have no doubt that students of International Politics will find it useful.

A. B. DUTTA

PURVA-MIMANSA (IN ITS SOURCES): *By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., etc. With a critical Bibliography by Dr. Umesha Misra, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the Benares Hindu University, Benares. Pp. 386+xvii+81. Price Rs. 10 or 15s. net.*

This book is the first volume in the Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion inaugurated by the Benares Hindu University of which Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan is the General Editor. The present volume is the first volume of the series and has been specially edited by Prof. R. D. Ranade.

The intellectual eminence of the author of the book, of its editor and also of the general editor of the series to which the book belongs, is a guarantee of its value and usefulness. The author gives a succinct summary of the general philosophical notions underlying the Mimansa and also its fundamental principles. And in each case, he refers to, and, also quotes when necessary, from the works of the chief writers of the school. The presentation of the theme is thus lucid and at the same time complete. The critical bibliography at the end gives a comprehensive view of the literature on the subject. The book will thus be found useful and helpful both by the beginner as well as a research worker.

Barring a few errors here and there, the printing and get-up of the book also leave little to be desired. But the use of "sh" for the palatal "s" is against the usually accepted convention of transliteration. With and without diacritical marks, the letter "s" is enough

to express all the three allied sounds in Sanskrit. There is no reason why the Benares Hindu University should not follow this convention.

The Introductory Note by Prof. Amaranatha Jha was perhaps not much necessary. It has undoubtedly added one more distinguished name to the list of sponsors of the publication. But the author of the book was too well-known to require an introduction from his son, however high-placed.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

CURRENCY INFLATION—Its Cause and Cure: *By J. C. Kumarappa. Published by the A. I. V. I. A., Maganwadi, Wardha. Price annas eight.*

In this small booklet, the author has enunciated the principles of Currency and Inflation and has narrated the German experience of Inflation. He has then discussed the Indian situation and has suggested his solution of the evil. His main suggestion is "until the Government are ready to follow public opinion the people should resort to barter as far as possible." Many will differ from the author's views including the suggestion mentioned. Barter presupposes a small community within a self-contained unit. In a vast country like ours with highly complex divisions of labour, barter as a system is impossible. It is difficult to agree with the author when he says, "Barter completely erases the chances of inflation and is within the reach of the people who have control neither over their Governmental policy nor over the financial manipulations of the Reserve Bank." He has not clarified how barter is possible under a Government which maintains full grip over all means of transport—from railway to the country boat—in his own words, and, over whose policy the people have no control. Barter, in certain respects, regarding some principal items of consumption goods, might have been probable under a reverse condition, *i.e.*, when the Government is absolutely within the control of the people and is built on a socialist foundation.

D. B.

## SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

VAKYAVRITTI AND ATMAJNANOPADESHAVIDHI OF SRI SANKARACHARYA: *By R. K. M. Vidyapith, Ramakrishna Mission Vidyapith, Deoghar. Published by Swami Jnanatmananda. Double Crown 16mo. Pp. i-x+1+40+i-vi+1-58. Price annas twelve.*

This is a popular edition of two small philosophical treatises. The text is accompanied by English translation (word-to-word as well as running) and notes on selected words and expressions.

It is gratifying to find that the Ramkrishna Mission Vidyapith of Deoghar has joined hands with several other institutions affiliated to the Ramkrishna Mission and with the Adyar Library of Madras in their endeavour to present to the average man and woman of culture the contents of old Sanskrit texts on religion and philosophy in an easily accessible and attractive form. But the needs of the scholar should not also be ignored. And every work may be so planned and executed that it can satisfy the general reader and be useful to the scholar as well.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

## BENGALI

PRABHATA-RABI: *By Bijan Bihari Bhattacharya, "Prakasani," 15, Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

This is an authentic and carefully written account of Rabindranath's early life. The writer has utilised all available materials and given us an interesting record. From the historical as well as the literary point of view, this book is important. Almost all the works on Rabindranath deal with his maturer writings. But to the inquisitive reader the preparations for such a glorious life are no less important. Mr. Bhattacharya has removed a long-felt want and taken all pains to make his work lively and informative.

D. N. Mookerjea

## TELUGU

PATHA MANGALI: *By Chakrapani, Yuva Karyalayam, Tenali.*

Mr. Chakrapani needs no introduction to the Telugu litterateur. His able translations of *Sarat* and other eminent novelists and story-writers have earned him well-merited renown. This little volume containing some of his original writings is a rare treat. Pointed sarcasm, allegory and brilliant humour make the sketches gorgeous. The purposeful twist at the end of every skit leaves a delightful impression behind. His style is snappy and felicitous.

The get-up of the book is very good, but it is a pity the price is not mentioned.

THOONEERAM: *By Pydipati Subbaramasastri, Sayapuram, Uyyur Post, Kristna Dt. Price annas two.*

It is a collection of nine pieces which the author, who audaciously calls himself a poet, calls lyrics. Is poetry merely an effort of setting up high-sounding words to a meaningless metre? "Oh, Death, where's thy sting! . . . ."

A. K. Row

## GUJARATI

VEDAMRIT: *Edited by N. J. Mehta, B.A., LL.B. Baroda. Printed at the Lohana Printing Press, Baroda. 1942. Thick Card Board. Pp. 224+354+224. Price Rs. 5.*

The philosophy of the Vedas and their comprehensions is set out here in such detail as would give some idea of the reason why they have proved themselves true guides of human life, at least in India. The contents are so set out that you ask for anything in the way of instruction and guidance and you are sure to find something in response to it here. It is sufficient to say this much to show its usefulness.

GITAYOGA RAHASYA: *By Rao Bahadur C. S. Pandya, B.A. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. 1942. Cloth Bound. Pp. 114. Price annas ten.*

Rao Bahadur Pandya is a retired Government servant and spends the days of his retirement in thinking over problems of the *Sanatan* religion. In doing so, he thought that children at home do not receive adequate religious education and that one way of getting over the difficulty was to impress upon their minds some of the principles set out in the Gita. With that view, he has described them in such a way as to enable parents to inculcate those principles in to the minds of their young ones. The object is undoubtedly praiseworthy but the subject being stiff and complicated success cannot be wholly assured.

K. M. J.

# DECAY OF THE LOWER CASTES IN BENGAL IS MORE APPARENT THAN REAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

THERE is an idea widely prevalent among the educated classes that the Bengalee Hindus, especially the so-called *lower* castes are dying out or decaying. We have tried to show in the pages of *The Modern Review* that the Bengalee Hindus are not decadent (see *The Modern Review* for January, 1940, pp. 36-41). We shall now try to examine the cases of some of the *lower* castes and see how far they are decadent or dying out or how much of their decadence is more apparent than real.

The *Bauris* are said to be one such caste. Their numerical strength at the different censuses have been as follows:

| Census and Number | Inter-censal | increase +, or decrease — |
|---|---|---|
| 1901—3,09,842 and 1911—3,13,654 | + 1·2% | 1901-1931 |
| 1911—3,13.654 and 1921—3,03,054 | — 3·4% | + 6·8% |
| 1921—3,03,054 and 1931—3,31,268 | + 9·3% | |

The population of Bengal has increased during the same period, 1901-1931, by 19·1 per cent; and that of the Bengalee Hindus by 10·2 per cent. Surely then the *Bauris* are decaying; their growth has been slower than that of the Bengalee Hindus even.

Let us now examine their geographical distribution. They were distributed as follows in 1931:

| Area | Males | Females | Percentage of the *Bauris* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Burdwan | 61,380 | 62,484 | 37·4 |
| Birbhum | 18,380 | 18,618 | 11·2 |
| Bankura | 58,834 | 60,516 | 36·0 |
| Midnapore | 7,110 | 6,658 | 4·2 |
| Hooghly | 12,735 | 13,259 | 7·9 |
| BURDWAN DIVISION | 1,58,654 | 1,61,595 | 96·6 |
| PRESIDENCY DIVISION | 3,937 | 3,972 | 2·4 |
| All BENGAL | 1,64,205 | 1,67,033 | 100·0 |

The practical equality of sexes in the different districts or different areas shows that immigration or emigration plays a secondary part in their geographical distribution. It appears that an overwhelmingly large proportion of the *Bauris* are concentrated in the Burdwan Division; and that the two contiguous districts of Burdwan and Bankura account for some 70 per cent of their total strength.

If we now compare the increase or decrease of the *Bauris* with that of either the total population or of the Hindus of the Burdwan Division where they are mostly concentrated, we shall get a clearer comprehension of the nature of their decay or their slower growth.

The percentage increase or decrease of the total population and of the Hindus of the Burdwan Division during the period 1901-1931 has been as follows:

Percentage increase +, or decrease — during

| | 1901-11 | 1911-21 | 1921-31 | 1901-31 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total population | + 2·8 | — 4·9 | + 7·4 | + 5·0 |
| Hindus | + 1·7 | — 5·2 | + 8·4 | + 4·5 |
| Bauris | + 1·2 | — 3·4 | + 9·3 | + 6·8 |

Thus the growth of the *Bauris* have closely followed that of the general population, especially the Hindus of the Burdwan Division. This is not due to the fact that they are an overwhelmingly large proportion of the local population—they being only 3·8 per cent of the general population, and 4·6 per cent of the local Hindus. How closely the *Bauris* have shared the general growth or decay will be evident from the following table showing the differences in the growth or decay of the *Bauris* with that of either (*i*) the general population or (*ii*) the Hindus of the Burdwan Division.

+ indicates *lesser* growth of the Bauris.
— indicates *greater* growth.
Differences as Percentages as before during

| | 1901-11 | 1911-21 | 1921-31 | 1901-31 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (*i*) General population | + 1·6 | — 1·5 | — 1·9 | — 1·8 |
| (*ii*) Hindus | + 0·5 | — 1·8 | — 0·9 | — 2·3 |

What strikes one at the first sight is the comparatively small differences in either the growth or the decay of the *Bauris* compared with that of either the general population or the Hindus. But the most striking fact is this: while the *growth* of the *Bauris* was *less* than that of either the total population or of the Hindus in the first decade, their *decay* has also been *less* during the second decade, and their *growth* in the third decade has been greater than that of the general body of the Hindus or of the general population. Taking the period of thirty years (1901-1931) together, the *Bauris* have

increased at a rate greater than either the Hindus or the general population.

So what appeared to be an apparent decay at first sight is more *apparent* than *real*. The *Bauris* cannot be said to be a decaying community. Rather during the last 30 years they have shown themselves to be more vigorous than either the general body of the local Hindus or the local population. Their apparent slower growth is more due to their inhabiting the unhealthy and malarious Burdwan Division and addiction to drink than anything else. The *Burdwan District Gazetteer* says at p. 66 :

"The *Bauris* are addicted to strong drink, and, with few exceptions, are indifferent to the nice scruples regarding food which have so important a bearing on the status of the average Hindus; for they eat beef, pork, fowls, all kind of fish, and rats."

Among the *Bauris* there is not the same restriction on widow re-marriage as among the higher caste Hindus.

"Divorce is easily obtained. It is effected by the husband taking away from his wife the iron ring which every married woman wears and proclaiming to the *panchayet* the fact of his having divorced her. Divorced wives may always marry again." [See the *Bankura District Gazetteer*, p. 58].

The age-distribution of the *Bauris* in 1931 and in 1921 was as follows :

1931 (Bauris)

| Age | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|
| 0-6 | 188 | 183 |
| 7-13 | 164 | 146 |
| 14-16 | 60 | 64 |
| 0-16 | 412 | 393 |
| 17-23 | 114 | 142 |
| 24-43 | 328 | 311 |
| 17-43 | 442 | 453 |
| 44 & over | 146 | 154 |

1921 (Bauris)

| Age | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|
| 0-5 | 107 | 116 |
| 5-12 | 201 | 191 |
| 12-15 | 76 | 56 |
| 0-15 | 384 | 363 |
| 15-40 | 440 | 446 |
| 40 & over | 176 | 191 |

Sündbärg, the great Swedish statistician demographer, in an address before the International Statistical Institute in 1899, pointed out that in all western countries the number of persons aged "15-50" is uninformly about half the total population, and that any variations which occur in the age constitution take place in the other two main groups "0-15" and "50 and over." Where the population is growing the number in the former group is much greater than in the latter; but where it is Stationary the numbers in the two groups approach equality, the mortality in these two groups, he says, is far greater than in the intermediate one, but it is about the same in both cases. Consequently variations in their relative size do not affect the total mortality, which is thus independent of the age-distribution.

Sündbärg divided populations in *three* categories : Progressive, Stationary and Regressive, if they conformed to the following standards :

Proportion per 1,000 of the Population of Different Types in certain Age-Periods

| Type | 0-15 | 15-50 | 50 & over |
|---|---|---|---|
| Progressive | 400 | 500 | 100 |
| Stationary | 330 | 500 | 170 |
| Regressive | 200 | 500 | 300 |

According to Sündbärg's age-categories, they belong more to the Progressive category than the Stationary one. They cannot be said to be Regressive by any means.

Let us now take the case of the *Doms*. Their numerical strength at the different censuses has been as follows :

| Census and Number | Percentage of intercensal increase +, or decrease − | |
|---|---|---|
| 1901—1,86,612 and 1911—1,73,991 | − 6·8% | 1901-1931 −24·8% |
| 1911—1,73,991 and 1921—1,50,263 | −13·6% | |
| 1921—1,50,263 and 1931—1,40,067 | − 6·6% | |

Here surely then is a case of actual and rapid decay.

Let us first of all examine the geographical distribution of the *Doms*. They are distributed in 1931 as follows :

| Area | 1931 Male | 1931 Female | Percentage of *Doms* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Burdwan | 17,799 | 17,111 | 24·9 |
| Birbhum | 17,972 | 18,306 | 25·9 |
| Bankura | 7,014 | 6,901 | 9·9 |
| Midnapore | 7,728 | 7,451 | 10·8 |
| Burdwan Div. | 56,200 | 54,918 | 79·8 |
| Presidency Div. | 7,422 | 6,702 | 10·1 |
| Rajshahi Div. | 3,103 | 2,655 | 4·1 |
| Chittagong Div. | 3,051 | 3,101 | 4·4 |
| BENGAL | 71,284 | 68,783 | 100·0 |

The practical equality of sexes in almost all the districts shows that immigration or emigration plays an insignificant part in the apparent decrease in the strength of this caste. From the above Table it appears that more than *three-fourths* of the *Doms* are localised in the Burdwan Division. If we compare the growth or de-growth of the *Doms* with that of the Hindus

in the Burdwan Division as well as for that of the whole of Bengal, we shall get a clearer idea of the magnitude of the *decrease* of the *Doms*.

Percentage increase +, or decrease — during

| Hindus in | 1901-11 | 1911-21 | 1921-31 | 1901-31 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (*i*) Burdwan Div. | + 1·7 | — 5·2 | + 8·4 | + 4·5 |
| (*ii*) Bengal | + 3·9 | — 0·7 | + 6·7 | +10·2 |
| Doms | — 6·8 | —13·6 | — 6·6 | —24·8 |

The algebraic differences between the growth of the Hindus of Bengal in general and that of the Hindus in the Burdwan Division in particular, and the (de)-growth of the *Doms* are measures of their real decay. They are set out below :

Percentage of Differences between the Growth of the Doms and the Hindus in— during—

| | 1901-11 | 1911-21 | 1921-31 | 1901-31 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (*i*) Bengal | —10·7 | —12·9 | —13·3 | —35·0 |
| (*ii*) Burdwan Division | — 8·5 | — 8·4 | —15·0 | —29·3 |

This decay, whether we compare it with the all-Bengal figure or the Burdwan figure, is both serious and large. To what then is this due ? Is it due to shortage of women among them ? Is it due to restriction on widow re-marriages ? Is it due to the prevalence of infant marriages among them or due to some other cause ?

The proportions of females to males at the last several censuses among the general population, the Hindus of Bengal, the *Doms* and the *Bauris* have been as follows :

| Census | Total population of— Bengal | Burdwan Division | Hindus | Doms | Bauris |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1901 | 960 | 1,001 | 951 | 989 | 1,049 |
| 1911 | 945 | 987 | 931 | —— | —— |
| 1921 | 932 | 963 | 916 | 976 | 1,001 |
| 1931 | 924 | 942 | 908 | 965 | 1,017 |
| Total decrease | —36 | —59 | —43 | —24 | —32 |

A part of the decrease in the proportion of females, both among the total population of Bengal and among the Hindus is due to the excess of immigrant males over females; but a large part of the shortage is real. The decrease in the proportion is far greater in the Burdwan Division than in all Bengal. It is far greater among the Hindus, and among the Hindus (in general), and among the *Bauris* who live mostly in the Burdwan Division as has been shown above than among the *Doms*. So shortage of women does not seem to be a primary cause of their rapid decay. The *Bauris* or the general body of the Hindus with a far greater decrease in the proportion of women, or shortage of women may increase and have actually increased during the same period.

The proportion of Unmarried, Married and Widowed among the several castes and classes of population, as in 1921 and in 1931 are shown below.

Proportion per 1,000

Males

| 1921 | Unmarried | Married | Widowed |
|---|---|---|---|
| Doms | 432 | 511 | 57 |
| Bauris | 462 | 493 | 45 |
| Hindus | 498 | 451 | 51 |
| Total population of | | | |
| (*i*) Burdwan Division | 487 | 462 | 51 |
| (*ii*) Bengal | 518 | 444 | 38 |
| **1931** | | | |
| Doms | 392 | 555 | 53 |
| Bauris | 421 | 504 | 75 |
| Hindus | 469 | 486 | 45 |
| Burdwan Division | 452 | 505 | 43 |
| Bengal | 469 | 498 | 33 |

Females

| 1921 | Unmarried | Married | Widowed |
|---|---|---|---|
| Doms | 261 | 513 | 226 |
| Bauris | 306 | 479 | 215 |
| Hindus | 298 | 447 | 254 |
| Total population of | | | |
| (*i*) Burdwan Division | 271 | 462 | 267 |
| (*ii*) Bengal | 343 | 460 | 197 |
| **1931** | | | |
| Doms | 235 | 562 | 203 |
| Bauris | 271 | 535 | 194 |
| Hindus | 293 | 481 | 226 |
| Burdwan Division | 265 | 500 | 235 |
| Bengal | 310 | 514 | 176 |

It will be noticed that the proportion of the Married, both among males and females, is the highest among the *Doms*. This was so in 1921 as well as in 1931. The proportion of the widowed females, though a little greater than that among the *Bauris* is less than that among the general body of the Hindus, and of the total population in the Burdwan Division. Further the proportion has decreased during the decade 1921-31. If the *Bauris* and the general body of the Hindus can increase and have increased with a greater proportion of widowed females, there is no reason why the *Doms* should not increase instead of registering a rapid decay. So the civil condition of the *Doms* does not seem to be a major cause of their rapid diminution in numbers.

It may be that the proportion of the Married is swelled to an undue extent on account of the greater prevalence of infant marriages among

them. Let us examine this aspect of the question at some length.

On account of the passing of the Sarda Act (Child Marriage Restraint Act XIX of 1929) there was a spate of infant marriages among the different castes and classes; and the Census Statistics of 1931 have been thrown out of gear. So we are choosing the 1921 statistics. The proportion of the Unmarried, Married and Widowed by different age-periods among the Hindus of Bengal and of the Burdwan Division; the Muhammadans of Bengal and the *Doms* are given below. The *Doms* being only 1·5 per cent of the Hindus of the Burdwan Division can not be said to have weighted the Burdwan figures.

Civil condition of 1,000 of each sex among (*i*) the Hindus of Bengal (*ii*) the Hindus of the Burdwan Division and (*iii*) the Muhammadans of Bengal by different age-periods.

| Males | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Unmarried | Married | Widowed |
| 0-5 | | | |
| (*i*) | 997 | 3 | .. |
| (*ii*) | 997 | 3 | .. |
| (*iii*) | 996 | 4 | .. |
| 5-10 | | | |
| (*i*) | 990 | 9 | 1 |
| (*ii*) | 989 | 10 | 1 |
| (*iii*) | 990 | 10 | .. |
| 10-15 | | | |
| (*i*) | 951 | 47 | 2 |
| (*ii*) | 950 | 48 | 2 |
| (*iii*) | 949 | 50 | 1 |
| 15-40 | | | |
| (*i*) | 319 | 645 | 36 |
| (*ii*) | 297 | 665 | 38 |
| (*iii*) | 276 | 698 | 26 |
| 40 & over | | | |
| (*i*) | 26 | 801 | 173 |
| (*ii*) | 29 | 785 | 186 |
| (*iii*) | 13 | 894 | 93 |

| Females | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Unmarried | Married | Widowed |
| 0-5 | | | |
| (*i*) | 992 | 7 | 1 |
| (*ii*) | 989 | 9 | 2 |
| (*iii*) | 991 | 8 | 1 |
| 5-10 | | | |
| (*i*) | 909 | 85 | 6 |
| (*ii*) | 880 | 111 | 9 |
| (*iii*) | 936 | 60 | 4 |
| 10-15 | | | |
| (*i*) | 378 | 584 | 38 |
| (*ii*) | 301 | 647 | 52 |
| (*iii*) | 496 | 486 | 18 |
| 15-40 | | | |
| (*i*) | 18 | 750 | 232 |
| (*ii*) | 13 | 728 | 259 |
| (*iii*) | 23 | 857 | 120 |
| 40 & over | | | |
| (*i*) | 4 | 253 | 743 |
| (*ii*) | 4 | 242 | 754 |
| (*iii*) | 5 | 326 | 669 |

We give below the Civil Condition of the *Doms* in 1921. As the age-grouping is not identical with the age-grouping as given above we could not include their figures in the above Table.

Civil Condition of the Doms

| Males | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Unmarried | Married | Widowed |
| 0-5 | 999 | 3 | 1 |
| 5-12 | 979 | 19 | 2 |
| 12-20 | 737 | 256 | 7 |
| 20-40 | 106 | 836 | 58 |
| 40 & over | 19 | 808 | 173 |

| Females | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Unmarried | Married | Widowed |
| 0-5 | 990 | 10 | .. |
| 5-12 | 793 | 199 | 8 |
| 12-20 | 130 | 806 | 64 |
| 20-40 | 9 | 769 | 222 |
| 40 & over | 8 | 289 | 703 |

From the above figures it can be said that infant marriages are not more prevalent among the *Doms* than amongst other classes. It cannot be said that they are addicted to it, and hence their rapid decay. Rather the lesser proportion of widows of the reproductive age-period among them indicates that we may expect a more rapid growth of the caste.

If we examine the proportion of children among the several castes and classes, it may give us an useful clue. The proportion of children under 10 of both sexes per 100 married females of the reproductive age-period, generally taken to be from 15 to 40 among the several classes are shown below. Here we meet with an initial difficulty. In 1921 the proportion of children among certain castes were shown for all ages under 12; in 1931, the reproductive age-period for these castes were taken to be 14-43 instead of the usual 15 to 40. So the figures are not strictly comparable with each other.

Proportion of Children under 10 per 100 Married Females aged 15-40

| | in 1921 | in 1931 |
|---|---|---|
| Doms | 142† | 153* |
| Bauris | 172† | 161* |
| Hindus | 163 | 163 |
| Burdwan Division | 146 | 148 |
| Bengal | 172 | 170 |

The proportion of children among the *Doms* is certainly low; but it is not so low as can account for their rapid decay. For the proportion among the *Doms* was 82 per cent of that among

† Here the proportion is for children under 12.
* Here the reproductive age-period has been taken to be 14-43.

the *Bauris* in 1921; in 1931 it increased to 95 per cent of that among the *Bauris*. If the *Bauris* can *increase* by 9·3 per cent during the decade 1921-31, surely it would not be unreasonable to expect that the *Doms* would also show a positive increase of some 7 to 8 per cent instead of a *decrease* of 6·6 per cent during the decade in question. Hence the small proportion of children does not seem to be a major cause.

If we apply Sündbärg's test of age-categories to the *Doms*, we find them to be more Progressive than Stationary. They cannot be said to be Regressive by any means. The age-distribution of the *Doms* in 1921 and in 1931 were as follows :

1921 (Doms)

| Age | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|
| 0-5 | 99 | 101 |
| 5-12 | 169 | 168 |
| 12-15 | 74 | 64 |
| 0-15 | 342 | 333 |
| 15-40 | 459 | 479 |
| 40 & over | 199 | 188 |

1931 (Doms)

| Age | Males | Females |
|---|---|---|
| 0-6 | 168 | 174 |
| 7-13 | 159 | 140 |
| 14-16 | 60 | 62 |
| 0-16 | 387 | 376 |
| 17-23 | 117 | 144 |
| 24-43 | 344 | 329 |
| 17-43 | 461 | 473 |
| 44 & over | 152 | 151 |

Neither the *Bauris*, nor the *Doms* suffer from the usual restrictions on food imposed on an upper class Hindu; they freely partake of rats and fowls and pigs and other unorthodox food. Their dietary is in this respect more liberal and approaches that of the local Muhammadans. Their only vice is that they are addicted to *pachwai* or toddy drink. Restriction on food can not, therefore, be said to be a cause of their decay; neither their drink-habit can be said to be responsible for their rapid diminution in number, for many other castes, equally addicted to drink, have increased during the same period.

The **real** and main reason for the apparent rapid decay of this caste seems to be the concealment of their true caste at the time of the census; and their return under some other castes. The Bengal Census Report of 1921 speaks of the *Doms* " denying their true castes at the time of enumeration." [See p. 353]. The Bengal Census Report of 1931 accounts for their decrease in these terms :—" Some part of the decline in numbers may be due to the return of members of this caste under the generic name Mehtar, but the total so returned is comparatively small (23,281), and it is more likely that on this as on previous occasions the true caste has been concealed." [See p. 463].

Of the total decrease of 46,000 among the *Doms* during the last 30 years, the district of Chittagong accounts for 19,000 or nearly 41 per cent. Let us, therefore, examine the relevant Statistics for this district in some detail.

Doms in Chittagong

| | Males | Females | Total | Proportion per 1,000 Males |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1901 | 11,745 | 12,617 | 24,372 | 1,078 |
| 1931 | 2,708 | 2,808 | 5,516 | 1,034 |
| 30 | | decrease | — 18,846 | — 42 |

The decrease in their number has been abnormal even for the *Doms;* it being as much as 77 per cent of their strength in 1901, as against the provincial decline of 25 per cent. This rapid decrease may be due to either emigration outwards from the district, in which case more males are likely to go out than females and thus tending to increase the relative proportion of females in the population of the caste which remains in the district instead of the *decrease* (42 per 1,000 males) actually noticed—a *decrease* far greater than their (the *Doms'*) provincial decrease in the proportion of females, *viz.*, 24 per 1,000 males; or it may be due to their bodily absorption in some other caste or castes. Emigration out of the district seems to be unlikely.

There is connubium between the *Doms* and the Kayasthas [see 28th volume of Calcutta Weekly Notes p. 343]; so it is likely that many *Doms* may have returned themselves as Kayasthas. This supposition seems to be supported by the Statistics. The number of the Kayasthas in the Chittagong district has increased from 71,421 to 1,84,735 *i.e.*, by 158·7 per cent during the thirty years 1901-31 as against their provincial increase of 58·3 per cent. Even in the city of Calcutta the increase of the Kayasthas, due mainly to immigration from rural areas, is 138·6 per cent. This phenomenally large increase in the number of the Kayasthas in the district of Chittagong may be due to either (*i*) immigration into the district, or (*ii*) to wholesale absorption of other castes, like the *Doms*. There is no earthly reason why the Kayasthas, a highly intelligent Bhadraloke caste, should immigrate into one corner of Bengal in

such a wholesale fashion. Chittagong is a rural area, only 14 persons per mille live in towns.

So we are forced into the other alternative conclusion that there has been wholesale absorption of other castes among the Kayasthas. This is also supported by the fact that in Chittagong the Kayasthas formed (in 1931) 47·1 per cent of the entire Hindu population—a proportion reached nowhere in Bengal, the next highest proportion being 20·7 per cent in the contiguous district of Noakhali. The Kayasthas formed 22·3 per cent of the local Hindu population in 1901. The Hindu population of the district has increased from 3,18,245 in 1901 to 3,92,352 in 1931 *i.e.*, by 74,107. The Kayasthas alone have increased by 1,13,314 during the same period. Even if we assume that the entire increase of the Hindu population of the district is due to the Kayasthas—a very large assumption, the Kayasthas must have absorbed 1,13,314—74,107=39,207 persons from other castes. Had the *Doms* of the Chittagong district increased at the same rate as the rest of the local Hindus—a very legitimate assumption—they would have numbered 29,500 in 1931. But they number 5,500. Their loss during the same period has been 29,500—5,500=24,000. It is far less than 39,207; and the absorption by the local Kayasthas may well account for their decay.

It seems very likely, therefore, that there has been no decay of the *Doms* in Chittagong, but that they have been returned as Kayasthas at the time of the censuses. Chittagong is a healthy area, free from malaria and other scourges of Western Bengal. The local Hindus have increased by more than 23 per cent as against their all-Bengal increase of 10·5 per cent during the same period. There is no reason to suppose that the *Doms* are decaying, excepting the census record of their total strength. What is likely to be true of the *Doms* in Chittagong may be true of them for all Bengal.

It may seem that we are defaming the Kayasthas; but the writer is himself a Kayastha of the bluest blood and was the Secretary of the All-Bengal Kayastha Conference and he cannot have any motive for defaming the Kayasthas. If our lower castes are really decaying to the extent reflected by the Census Statistics, it is high time our leaders should be up and doing in finding out the causes. The first step in this direction should be to form a small committee consisting of sociologists, anthropologists and medical men to investigate the problem, and to help them by supplying funds so that they may carry field investigations with the help of research scholars over different areas and over a considerable length of time. Otherwise the conclusions of such a representative committee are more likely to consist of dogmatic assertions based on imperfect data.

---

# LATE MR. R. S. PANDIT

By P. D. TANDON

On January 14, in Lucknow a grief-ridden voice trembled on the wires and said, "Ah, my father passed away this morning at six." It was Rita Pandit. There was a lump in her throat and sorrow was choking her. I, immediately, slammed the receiver and rushed to the place where the scholar-patriot, Mr. Ranajit Sitaram Pandit, lay covered by the untimely frost of death, to pay my last homage. Mrs. Pandit there sat sobbing, drenched in sorrow. To me she appeared to be an embodiment of grief. Nothing could console her and her daughter. The more they tried to close their eyes, and compress their lips in control the greater was the rush of feelings, and the flood of tears broke through the eyelashes which tried to stop them, and trickled down their faces. As I looked at the face that was dead, I felt that Mr. Pandit was sleeping soundly. But, alas, from that sleep there would be no awakening, and the dark, dismal truth, once again dawned upon me, that ours is a mad world where nothing else is certain, except death.

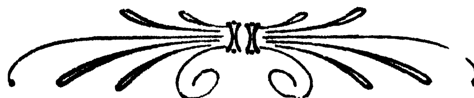
Mr. Pandit was wrapped up in the tri-colour flag, for the honour of which he lived and died. The dead body was kept in Mrs. Pandit's lap in the car and we drove for Allahabad. In life Mr. R. S. Pandit followed the path, which Pandit Moti Lal trod, and on death, too, he was taken along the same path in which Pandit Moti Lal's body was brought to Allahabad from

Lucknow, some twelve years ago. On the night of the 13th January, Mr. Pandit was well and cheerful, but in the early hours of the morning of the 14th he had a severe heart-attack which agonized him for about forty minutes and then his face became calm and the expressions of struggle vanished away from it. His brows were then knit in everlasting pain, and his face never smiled again.

Mr. Pandit, like all sensitive souls, was deeply stung by the humiliation that is slavery. He served his country to the best of his capacity and went to jail in every movement. Imprisonment during the Satyagraha days broke his health, and he was released in 1942. He could hardly recover when the bugle of the Mahatma blew once again, and like a faithful soldier he responded to the call. This time the ordeal proved too much for his shattered health.

Mr. Pandit was a profound scholar of genuine merit. His book *Rajatarangani* won approbations from eminent scholars in India and abroad. One foreign critic commenting on the book said that Mr. Pandit had discovered a fine new way of writing history. This time in the Naini Central Jail, he translated *Ritu-samahara,* the famous lyrics of Kalidas. His translation has fully captured the spirit of the original, and one is thrilled as one goes through it. This will now be Mr. Pandit's posthumous publication; Mr. Pandit often used to say in jail that he wanted to write one more book, and that would, perhaps, be the last one, and it should be a real contribution to the world of letters. Mr. Pandit's knowledge was almost encyclopaedic. He knew so much on so many subjects. He had a fine, sweet voice and he often sang to us his favourite songs in the jail. He was a musician who could play on many instruments. In his early days he was a front rank cricketeer in the Bombay Presidency. He had abiding and insatiable love of beauty, and his fastidious delicacy of taste was supreme. His farm at Khali was his great passion. He often used to say that it was his desire to develop cottage industries to such an extent at Khali that they may give employment to all the poor population in the neighbouring villages and towns. It was Mr. Pandit's plan to start a first-rate "weekly" on the American lines. Once in the jail he told Pandit Kamlapati Tripathi, M.L.A., former Editor of the "Aj" that he and his wife intended to join the world of journalism and hoped that they would be welcomed there.

Mr. Pandit in life always roused people to fight for country's freedom, and his dead body, too, did the same thing, as it passed through the streets. His bier was once again a reminder to the people that the greatest thing was to fall fighting for the freedom of the motherland. Lo! this is Nehru family, where every individual, young or old, suffers in a unique way for the country. I wonder, if there is any parallel, where one whole family had been suffering so much and in such a way for the liberation of India. Our hearts on this occasion go to Jawharlalji, who must have been greatly distressed at the sad demise of his brother-in-law and a comrade, whom he loved so well, his daughters Chandralekha and Nain-Tara, who are so far away from their native land. Mr. Pandit had a plan to go to America in 1945 along with his family and bring back home his children to India. Mr. Pandit leaves behind his wife, three daughters, one brother and two sisters, and a host of friends and admirers to mourn his death. The thing that pains us the most is that death took away Mr. Pandit, from our midst, at an early age, at a time when the country is more orphanic and desolate than ever before, when his friends and relatives remain behind bars to mourn the loss, and Jawaharlalji, in whose loving lap he must have yearned to spend his last few minutes, was not with him. As his bier passed through the streets surging crowds of people joined it and lustily shouted "Sahidana-Watan Jindabad" (Long live country's Martyr). It was not the bier of an individual only which was followed by a vast number of people of all shades of opinion at a moment's notice, but it was also the bier of suffering and sacrifice. Yesterday Mr. Pandit was a living reality in the worlds of politics and literature, but to-day he remains only a revered memory. He has left the land of the living and gone to the place where the immortal to the immortal speak.



# SWAMI SHANKERANANDJI

## A Great Preacher, Scholar and Philosopher

### By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

I do not feel very curious when a telegram arrives, as I receive a number of them regularly from India and abroad, but some strange premonition dominated my mind tenaciously on getting one from Thakur Mahendra Singh of Sarwan (Central India) on the 23rd December, 1943. My presentiment was not an illusion as the contents conveyed to me the news of the sudden death of His Holiness Swami Shankeranandji Maharaj, a man of deep knowledge, ardent energy, wonderful concentration, indomitable will, lofty visions and magnetic personality. He revealed the glory of the ancient Vedic religion and Aryan culture not only to his own countrymen but also to the white men of England and South Africa.

Swami Shankeranandji was born in the land graced by the five great rivers, the Punjab, in Samvat 1921. It was an era of awakening in the Punjab. During this period great and potential personalities like Munshiram, Hansraj, Lajpat Rai, Devaraj and others appeared in quick succession in the Punjab to demonstrate the futility and hollowness of western civilisation and rejuvenate the Aryan life and culture in the minds of the Indians under the banner of the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj attracted Swami Shankeranandji like a magnet and he dedicated his life at the altar of Mother-India in particular and humanity in general. His whole life has been spent in the religious and social upliftment of the Hindus of India and abroad. He worked vigorously and incessantly for rousing the spirit of Vedic religion and Aryan culture lying dormant in the minds of the Indians. It is no exaggeration to say that the seed of Arya Samaj sown by Rishi Dayanand has developed into a full-grown tree through the service and sacrifice of his disciples like Swami Shankeranandji and has given a foretaste of its fruit in the Gandhian era.

Swami Shankeranandji was preaching the gospel of Vedic religion in England during the year 1908 when the tales of woe and misery reached him concerning the indentured Indian labourers of South Africa. Though his ambition was to preach the religion of the holy Vedas throughout Europe, yet he gave up the idea of the spiritual elevation of the white people and rushed to South Africa in order to save his own countrymen from religious and social degeneration. When Hinduism and every trace of it was in danger among the indentured Indians of South Africa, Swami Shankeranandji appeared there as a saviour of those unfortunate Hindu settlers. He lit the darkness of their ignorance with his light of wisdom, aroused them from slumber and prevented them from falling a prey to other denominations. He not only saved Hinduism from total extinction but also succeeded in bringing home to the white settlers of South Africa that India is not a producer of coolies according to their presumption, which is an unfortunate result of foreign subjection but she has produced prophets like Krishna, Buddha and Dayanand, the mere mention of whose names makes the land sacred and great beyond expression. He convinced them in the course of his powerful orations that the Vedic religion and the Aryan culture were the source of the various civilisations in the world.

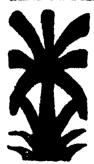
He was the father of the Hindu Mahasabha. Thirty years ago he had laid the foundations of the South African Hindu Mahasabha which has survived somehow up till now. A few years later the Hindu Mahasabha was established in India whose Silver Jubilee is now being celebrated after twenty-five years of its existence. Swamiji also assisted in the formation of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha along with Lala Sukhvir Singh and other Hindu leaders.

After his return from South Africa, where he incessantly and courageously preached the doctrine of the Vedic religion for a period of four long years, he toured all parts of India as a Vedic Missionary but his main field of activity had been Kathiawar, the birth-place of Dayanand and Gandhi. He chose Virpur, a State in Kathiawar, as his headquarters, where now he has breathed his last. He was greatly loved and revered by the Princes and the people alike of Kathiawar. The religious and social awakening which is being perceptible among the Royal families and the general masses of that Province, is mostly due to the strenuous efforts of Swamiji.

My friendship with Swami Shankeranandji lasted for more than a quarter of a century. During this period I met him from time to time and enjoyed his wonderful company. There were many matters of public character in which we differed honestly and fundamentally with each other. For instance, being a Congressman, I never agreed with his communal outlook and sectional politics of the Mahasabha and the League variety though we both belonged to the same religious fold of Arya Samaj. Yet, these differences on the public affairs never interfered with our personal relations and mutual friendship.

It is not possible to narrate even briefly the life-work of this great man in this short article. It would suffice to say that he was a celebrated scholar, philosopher and orator and a man of striking personal appearance. Even his critics admired him and gave him credit for conscientious actions. He played his part in this life and played it well. The mortal remains of this Sannyasi are no more to be found. With Vedic ceremonies and services, impressive and solemn, the body of this saint has been offered to the pyre. He is gone but his work will live as a lasting monument to memorise his name.

I have written a biography in Hindi of this friend of the Indians overseas which contains more than 450 pages of medium size, dealing with every aspect of his noble life. I earnestly hope that the South African Hindu Mahasabha and the Veda Dharmasabha will erect some suitable memorial as a token of gratitude to Swami Shankeranandji for his selfless service and signal sacrifice in the cause of the Hindu settlers of South Africa.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Hindu-Mussalman

In a letter to Dr. Kalidas Nag written sometime in the last week of June, 1922 (the first portion of which we quoted from *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* in our January number) Rabindranath Tagore says:

As I was setting tune to a new song, singing all to myself, sitting at the window:

My mind is tuned to the melody of fresh clouds
And my thoughts are listless for no reason . . . .

the question came from you, from across the seas: "What is the solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle in India?" I was suddenly reminded of the fact that I too have my duties towards society. It will not suffice giving mere tuneful answers to the rumbling clouds; I shall have to think out answers to the thundering questions of human history. So I must needs leave my seat in the musical soiree and face the problem that you have set before me.

Among all the religious communities in the world today, there are two that are in strong opposition to other religious creeds. Christianity and Islam are not satisfied with preaching their own faiths; they are ever ready to oppose other faiths.

To be converted to their religion is about the only way of collaborating with them. One point in favour of the Christians, however, is that they are the forerunners of the modern age; their minds are not so much confined within medieval folds; they do not allow the whole of their life to be completely circumscribed by their religious creed and hence they do not offer extreme opposition to other faiths. "European" and "Christian" are not synonymous terms and there is no inherent conflict in such expressions as an European-Buddhist or an European-Mussalman. But when a whole nation like the Muslims is characterised by the creed it professes, its chief criterion is religion. "Mussalman-Buddhist" and "Mussalman-Christian" are contradictions in terms.

On the other hand, the Hindus are somewhat similar to the Mussalmans in this respect. They too are completely entrenched in their own faith.

Only they are not as actively opposed to other religions, with regard to which the Hindu attitude is that of non-violent non-co-operation. In the case of a Hindu, his religion being based on birth and observances, the barriers are stronger. One may mix on equal terms with Mussalmans after one embraces their faith but even such a possibility is remote and severely restricted within the folds of Hinduism. Mussalmans do not reject others by refusing or prohibiting social contacts, but the Hindus do. That is why the Hindus could never draw their Mussalman brethren as close to themselves as the Mussalmans did draw the Hindus in their mosques and elsewhere,—specially during the Khilafat movement. Social contact bridges the gulf between one man and another, one community and another. It is here that the Hindus have segregrated themselves by raising one wall after another. When I first took up the work of managing our Estate, I observed that a Mussalman ryot having business in the Estate office would be offered a seat on the bare floor and not on the carpet. There cannot be a more serious obstacle to human solidarity than this practice of looking down on people, professing religions other than one's own, as impure and untouchable. It is very unfortunate that in India Hindus and Mussalmans live side by side but have not come together. It is not his religion proper but only his social observances that accentuate the exclusiveness of the Hindu. In the case of the Mussalman it is the other way round; socially he is liberal but his creed is his greatest barrier.

Thus each of them has a door open somewhere but not for the benefit of the other.

How will they unite? There was a time when India served as a common meeting-ground for a free union of such a variety of races as the Greeks, Iranians, Huns, etc. But remember, that happened long before the Hindu epoch, which was an age of reaction and when conscious attempts were made to strengthen the fabric of Brahmanism. Ritualistic walls were reared up to unscalable heights, practically making all intrusions impossible. The Hindus forgot that any living organism, kept hermetically sealed, is sure to suffocate and die. However, that may be, the fact remains that at the end of the Buddhist age, the Indians swelled their ranks by enlisting the help of such quasi-foreign races as the Rajputs already settled, and made assiduous attempts to protect themselves against outside contacts and influences. In this way, they raised the formidable wall of a religion whose very essence was prohibition and refusal.

Perhaps nowhere in the world so dexterous a barrier was ever erected to close all possible channels of human relations.

It will be a mistake, however, to suppose that this barrier exists as between Hindus and Mussalmans alone. You and I and such of us as would like freely to order our social conduct ourselves, find that we too are not only left out but are even actively hindered. Herein lies the complexity of the problem. The solution may come only with a change of heart or with the change of time. Europe emerged into the life of modern age out of the darkness of medievalism only with the extension of her knowledge and with a devoted pursuit of truth. In the same way our two communities, Hindus and Mussalmans, have to break away from the limitations and march ahead. If the whole race is buried under the tomb of the burden of the past, there cannot be any progress, and human unity will remain an impossible dream. The barriers and inhibitions are inherent in our present mental make-up. These we must

shake off before we can hope to attain freedom in any sphere of life. Such a radical change can come only with true education and spiritual discipline. We must discard such worn-out conventions as teach us to hug the cage and forget the wings. And then and then only we shall attain real well-being (*Kalyana*) for all. Hindu-Muslim amity waits for the fullness of time. This need not cause us despair, however, for there are instances in history of how human endeavour has succeeded in ushering the age of the great Revolution—from the age of the chrysalis to that of the glorious wings. We should also be able to do the same, to lift the siege from our mind. If we do not, nothing can help us, for there is no other path to salvation.

## The Classics

Century after century the great literatures of the world have silently but surely affected the lives of men in a hundred ways, stimulating thought, quickening activity, kindling imagination. E. H. Blakeney writes in *The Aryan Path*:

We commonly speak of the "classics" without always reminding ourselves how the word passed into everyday use. Originally *classicus* meant belonging to the highest *class;* then we find the word modified later by the sense of "used in the classes of schools." In the seventeenth century, it took on the signification it usually has today : that is, it was applied to the standard Greek and Latin writers, though it ultimately was expanded so as to embrace any writer of established reputation. And the word is often now applied to art, style, appearance.

Matthew Arnold, in a well-known essay on the Study of Poetry, rightly emphasized the importance, in any fully civilized community, of a just appreciation of all that is *best* in literature,—especially the best in poetry, which is literature at its highest level. And this because of the supreme destiny of poetry as a "criticism of life." That famous phrase is right, up to a point, because it is powerful in proportion as it helps to keep the domain of the excellent, in life and in art, free from the incursions of the inferior and the half true. But the definition is not enough : I, for one, should prefer to speak of great literature as an *interpretation* of life, because "interpretation" has a wider scope than "criticism," though it implies the presence of the critical faculty at all times. What, we may ask, may the best in literature accomplish for us? Surely this : it can both sustain and delight us, and therefore become, as it were, a "discipline," touching to fine issues both mind and emotion. In so doing, it has no rival,—save religion itself, which may in some degree aptly be termed the poetry of God, as revealed to mankind in moments of intense emotion, and noble aspiration. All the most vital poetry of the world has the power to awaken that transcendental feeling, which we can never wholly explain, though we are (in our most precious hours) conscious of its presence in our inmost hearts.

The value of the Classics (that is, the highest thought of the world's greatest men enshrined in the written page) cannot easily be overestimated. Consider for a brief space one or two examples of the power of the "Word" in its impact on life. Has the literature of the past or present any more magnificent asseveration of the glory and immensity of the Divine than these lines in the first *Mandala* of the *Rig-Veda?*

He giveth life, He giveth strength,
Whose hiding-place is immortality,
Whose shadow death.

Or that pregnant saying in the Upanishads? "Know thou that the divine Spirit is one alone; He is the bridge of immortality."

## Nazi Strategy

*The New Review* observes :

Hitler's choice of strategy has become clear. When the Allies landed in Italy and the Russian pressure was gathering strength, he had the choice between two strategies : maintain his far-flung positions or withdraw on an inner fortress line. This inner line could rest on a formidable line of mountainous ranges : the Etruscan Appennines, the North Albanian Alps, the Kopaonik massif, the northern peaks of the Stara Pian, the Transylvan Alps, the southern sector of the Carpathians. Only a few gaps would be left : the Ancona beach, the gorges of the Morava, the Iron Gate on the Danube, and the plains of eastern Poland. This shortening of the front would not only save men and material, but it would especially relieve an over-burdened transport service.

Hitler proved unwilling to let go his prey and his High Command knew the dangers of shortening the eastern front in the course of a battle. Moreover, a withdrawal on such a scale might have proved fatal to the morale of soldiers and civilians. Finally, it would have laid the whole of Nazi war industry open to a more thorough bombing by the Allied Air Forces. This decided Hitler to cling to what he had, as long as he could, and he will have every point defended at all costs. He nurses the hope that he will in that way make the advance so costly that the Allies might grow disposed to contemplate a peace compromise. Time has passed on to Hitler's side and the Allied invasion of the continent should take place as soon as possible.

## Light and Shade in South Africa

There is a long road to travel before non-European peoples in South Africa obtain justice. Rev. W. J. Culshaw writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

South Africa is a very young nation with a long history of conflict between the white settlers and the Africans in the first place, and, secondly, between the two sections of the white race; and the existence of racial problems in such a setting is not surprising. One can however gain some encouragement from the fact that in the public life of the country a liberal-minded man like the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr occupies a prominent position and may even come to occupy a position of greater prominence in the future. The position of the Indian community is part of the general problem. The parallel with anti-Semitism in other lands has often been drawn.

The Indian community contends against the twin giants of Prejudice and Fear, against which, up to the present, progressive forces have been able to make little headway.

Field-Marshal Smuts is recently reported to have said that 'Durban is a European city and we intend that it shall remain a European city.' It is difficult to

understand the sense in which he made this amazing statement. The population of Durban at the 1936 census is given at 251,000; of this number 90,000 were Europeans and 85,000 'Asiatics.' The mosques and Hindu temples in Durban are a witness to the fact that the Indian community brings with it a different civilization. This fact irritates the prejudice and feeds the fear of the politically dominant European section. The lower standard of living of the Indian community in general gives point to the fear of economic competition. Indians by their labour have built up the sugar estates of Natal and Zululand and they were well-spoken of by their employers, for in that sphere there is no question of their labour competing with that of the white man.

In common with other non-Europeans Indians are excluded from entering those skilled occupations in which they would be able to oust the Europeans.

The recognised trade unions have deliberately excluded non-Europeans from their membership, and the non-European labouring community has been compelled to organise itself in parallel organizations which have not yet obtained legal recognition from the Government of South Africa. Political rights will probably wait upon the creation of more economic equality between the different communities in South Africa.

### A National Research Council for India

The following extract is taken from the presidential address by Sir J. C. Ghosh at the Annual General Meeting of the National Institute of Sciences of India, held at Delhi in December 1943, as published in *Science and Culture* :

The Council of the National Institute of Sciences felt that the time had come when the scientific men of India should gather together and formulate a plan for post-war organisation of scientific research in India. Accordingly, they arranged a symposium on that subject which was held in Calcutta on the 27th and 28th September last.

At the last symposium, an appeal was made that 0·1 per cent. of the national income might be set apart for research and another 0·1 per cent. for the training of research workers. This was generally accepted at the meeting and it was resolved that to enable effect being given to the policy of scientific development by the National Research Council, the Government of India should make an annual grant of five crores of rupees.

One cannot help quoting in this connection from the eloquent address of Prof. Hill : "We must insist that the cheapest and most certain method of human betterment is the improvement, in Benjamin Franklin's words, of useful knowledge. If a country's poor and undeveloped let us spend *more* on research, not less : the amount we can possibly spend is insignificant—only 1 or 2 per cent. of the national income any how—and will bring a very handsome dividend. As Herbert Agar says, this is a time for greatness—we must either be great or dead—and one important element of greatness is intelligence. Stupidity and ignorance are not compatible with greatness.

"In what ways can science help us directly in promoting human betterment ? In England now we are contemplating a vast expenditure on housing, in the next 20 years £2,000 million or 2,600 crores of rupees. One per cent. of that spent on research, on

design, materials, building, heating, lighting, ventilation and amenities will certainly make the new houses many times one per cent. better, healthier and more efficient. We are, in fact, already devoting whatever effort we can spare from the war to research on building. We mine 20 crores of tons of coal annually—1 per cent. of its cost spent every year on research will certainly improve the efficiency of its utilisation by many times 1 per cent. We're intending to spend half at least of that by a joint co-operative effort between Government and the industry. There are 60 million people in the Colonial Empire. The Colonial Research Committee, under the Chairmanship of Lord Hailey, is able to spend £500,000 or 6½ million rupees annually of Government money as soon as research workers are free from their war duties. Its purpose is by research to improve the welfare of the Colonial peoples. It sounds a lot but it only comes to one or two annas a head. Your Department of Scientific and Industrial Research is allowed to spend 10 lakhs of rupees per annum. It's doing very fine work for your country, as I've seen already for myself, but the cost is only 1/26th of an anna for each inhabitant of India. It could usefully spend 10 times as much. Your annual budget now, I'm told, is 600 crores of rupees; 1 per cent. of that is 6 crores. Scientific men in India would be very happy indeed if they could look forward to anything like that. In England, £50 million a year is spent on medical treatment and to this might be added several times the amount for time and health wasted owing to preventible diseases. Medical Research in all its forms does not spend more than 1 per cent. of that. The Industrial Research Associations in England spent in 1938 about half a million pounds—a very small fraction of 1 per cent. of the annual value of British industrial production. The listeners may get the very simple idea into their heads—1 per cent. It doesn't sound very much. Let us aim at giving 1 per cent. of our national budget, 1 per cent. of the value of our industrial and agricultural production, 1 per cent. of the loss due to ill-health, 1 per cent. of the cost of our food, our transport, our houses, our water, our coal, even our broadcasting, to research—and in 10 years we shall find that we're getting back not 1 per cent. but 10 or 20 or 40 or 200 per cent. in dividends. . . .

"If those who call themselves 'Practical men' object, let us remember Francis Galton's definition of the practical man—'the practical man is the man who practises the error of his forefathers. . . .'

"Perhaps in India you will be able to profit by our mistakes. One piece of advice, however, I'm confident in giving, namely, that it's worthwhile devoting a greater fraction of your national effort to scientific research and technical development: and I'd like to leave you with the three words—'one per cent'."

We may do well to re-echo his noble words and press for an annual grant of rupees 25 crores for Scientific and Production Research, and training of research personnel.

## Obscenity in Literature

Prof. P. S. Naidu discusses in *The Aryan Path* a problem of wide application—the deplorable trend to obscenity in more than one present-day literature. He observes :

What effect does great literature produce on the mind of the reader? Does it stir up his lower nature into strange restlessness; does it produce an irritating sense of disquietude? No, it does not. Objectionable passages there may be in a great drama, but after reading through the whole play, or after seeing it enacted on the stage, our mind is charmed into quietude. In fact, every sense is soothed and charmed. Good literature allays restlessness, resolves conflicts, and pours balm over the troubled mind. Is it not for this reason that we seek refuge in great literature from the turmoils of this world? Consider, on the other hand, the undesirable effects produced on our mind by one of these short stories or novels with a strong sex element in it. Passion is stirred, mental balance is upset and a strange commotion is produced in our lower nature.

An artificial separation has been made between intellect and feeling, and a false belief has been propagated that a man may attain intellectual eminence while his feelings are in a disordered condition.

The lack of harmony and balance between two parts of our own nature is a thing to be condemned, and not applauded. It is this lack of harmony that is the root cause of all the ills that man is heir to at the present day.

Really great literature must be intellectually great, and must also be morally great and decent. Great art is the creation of a great mind.

The nature of our mental structure is such that it must find an outlet in some suitable channel. The mind of the great man or the genius, under the stress of a great inspiration, is filled with an exalted sentiment, unique and inexpressible.

Great art is the creation of a great and good mind. It is the outward expression of a noble sentiment generated in the mind of a great artist. Such art has also the capacity of inducing sympathetically the same noble sentiment in the mind of the onlooker or enjoyer. And there is something more wonderful about great creative art. When a Sahridaya (he who can respond sympathetically) has been caught up in its charms, his mind goes through the same stages as the mind of the creative artist, that is, the Sahridaya recreates the work of art afresh every time he enjoys it. In this act of creativity lies the secret of the joy which suffuses the mind of one who contemplates great art.

Great art is æsthetically great, and morally good, both in its origins and in its effects.

How fares it with these ultra-monern works of art which revel in indecency? What is the nature of the mental structure which has created a drama, a novel, a short story, a statue or a picture steeped in indecency while managing to maintain the æsthetic demands of outward form? The mind which creates such forms and the mind which enjoys them are both filled with bizarre complexes, phobias and repressions, ugly and unsocial in essence. And the most distressing thing about these mental states is that they are *unconscious*. The author does not know that they are lurking in the depths of his own mind. They are, moreover, never quiet, but are constantly seeking a channel of expression for themselves. These complexes make of the artist an unwitting slave, and escape into the world through his pen, brush or chisel. *Indecent literature is the unwitting expression of indecent complexes lurking in the unconscious mind of the artist; and when such literature appeals to other minds, these minds too, we may be certain, have hidden inside them similar complexes of an unsocial nature.* Indecent literature serves both to the mind which creates it and to the mind which enjoys it as a channel of escape for the ugly complexes hidden in their unconscious depths. When the creation and enjoyment of such literature becomes widespread, then they are the unmistakable symptoms of a decadent age.



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS



## Science in Soviet Russia

Under the above caption in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* J. G. Crowther goes on describing the progress of science in Soviet Russia :

The planned development of science proceeds step by step according to the dictates of commonsense.

First, the needs of the nation for a satisfactory life, in goods and services, are estimated. The magnitude of the agriculture, industry and services to provide them is then calculated. The next step is the survey of the resources of the nation. These consist of human ability and genius, and the natural resources of the country.

It is insufficiently understood that the Soviet planners attach at least as much importance to human as to natural resources. In the planning of the development of physical research, the Soviet began, as we have seen, with the finding and training of men, and then built the institutes later. They did not start with paper plans of institutes into which men were subsequently made to fit. This is the reason why the founding of special institutes for men of outstanding ability has been a feature of the scientific development. For instance, an institute for the study of experimental genetics was built near Leningrad for the famous physiologist, I. P. Pavlov. (It has recently been shelled by the Germans). A fine Institute for the Study of Physical Problems has been built in Moscow for P. Kapitza, and an Institute of Chemical Physics was founded at Leningrad for N. N. Semenov.

The importance of the Academy of Sciences in the planning of scientific development and research has steadily increased, and now the Academy is directly responsible for this work to the Supreme Soviet, the chief executive of the state. Its executive power is equal to its intellectual prestige. The Academy determines the general lines of scientific work, in accordance with the needs of the state, and possibilities in subjects and personalities. It sees that balanced attention is given to all sides of science, that no important branches are neglected, and overlapping is reduced.

The actual planning of research programmes is a process that proceeds simultaneously from the top and the bottom. In every institute the research staff prepare a programme for each year's work. The members of the staff naturally propose to work on the problems in which they are interested. The heads of departments reduce these proposals to plans for their departments. The director incorporates the departmental plans into one for the institute.

The Academy then calls a meeting in Moscow of the directors of institutes working on the same line. Their various plans are compared and co-ordinated, and adjusted to meet the Academy's general directives.

It will be noticed that Soviet planning of scientific research does not consist of dictation by non-scientific officials at the top. It is a mutual process of adjustment in which ideas flow equally from the top and the bottom, and are brought into a harmonious scheme by the Academy, which has direct contact with the Supreme Soviet, or what we would call the Cabinet. More than this, science is directly represented in the Supreme Soviet, or Cabinet, by a leading scientist. At present, this is the famous agricultural scientist and developer of vernalization, Academician Lysenko.

The Academy's plan of research for 1943 is mainly directed to the improvement of war industries and armaments. The geologists and geographers are engaged on the exploration and study of new sources of oil, ores and minerals, especially in the Urals, West Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Middle Volga regions. Agricultural scientists will devote special efforts to increase the yield of cereal and industrial crops such as rubber-bearing plants, potatoes and beet.

Technologists are to develop the use of industrial gas, the gasification of new forms of fuel, so that local fuels can be utilized, and long hauls be reduced. Numerous secret researches on aircraft, radio, weapons, etc., will, of course, also be pursued.

But pure science will not stop. Researches in the theory of numbers, the dynamics of the atmosphere, etc., will continue.

In an important speech at a meeting of the Soviet Academy of Sciences at Sverdlovsk in May, 1942, Academician Joffe has given a very interesting account of how Soviet physicists have taken part in the war. They are expected to observe the performance of their inventions under actual fighting conditions, to ensure the most intimate understanding of the soldiers', require-

ments, and they have transferred much of their research work from their laboratories to the factories where the new weapons are made.

Joffe describes how a small group of his colleagues at the Physico-Technical Institute at Leningrad remained in the city during the siege. In spite of the terrible conditions, they continued researches which gave considerable results.

He saw one group of physicists that did not leave their laboratory for three weeks, snatching intervals of sleep on their benches. But at the end of the three weeks they were able to send a large apparatus away for testing.

At Kazan, Joffe saw physicists working in the open air with bare hands at temperatures of —45° centigrade. The metal of the instruments froze to their skin and tore it off. But not one of these scientists stopped until the work was done.

The scale of scientific development in the Soviet Union is very great. Hundreds of research institutes costing a hundred thousand pounds or more have been built. Research scientists have been trained in thousands, and applied scientists and engineers in hundreds of thousands. These have been reared on a basis of elementary scientific education given to millions.

---

### 27 Nobel Prize Winners Now Living in U. S. A.

Of 27 Nobel Prize winners living in the United States, 17 are Americans who came from Europe to escape Nazi and Fascist persecution and stultification of intellectual freedom. Two more, Dr. Karl Landsteiner and Professor Jean Perris, also fled Nazi tyranny but have since died. Novelist Thomas Mann and Professor Albert Einstein, physicist, reached the United States from Germany in 1933. Dr. Mann has continued his attacks against Nazism in his writings.

Professor Einstein became an American citizen in 1940 and made his home at Princeton, New Jersey. The U. S. Navy Bureau of Ordnance revealed in June, 1943, that Einstein had become a "staff member extraordinary" and was assigned to special research in high explosives.

Several others among the world's scientific leaders have turned their genius to American war production to help defeat Germany. Peter B. Debeys, Dutch chemist, became a chemistry lecturer at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. He is now engaged in special chemical research. Prof. James Franck, German physicist, became affiliated with the University of Chicago and is now working in industry. Mme. Sigrid Undset, Norwegian author, and Maurice Maeterlinck, Belgian playwright, two Nobel Prize winners in literature, are now living in the United States. Mme. Undset carries on the fight against Hitlerism by frequent speeches.

Dr. Otto Loewi, for 28 years leading Professor of Pharmacology at the German University of Graz and Nobel Prize winner for medicine in 1936, continues his work at New York University in New York City. Victor Hess, Austrian physicist and discoverer of cosmic radiation, joined the faculty of Fordham University in New York City.—USOWI.

---

### Indian Scientists Making Notable Contributions Toward Winning War

American newspapers and magazines recently have been giving increased attention to the achievements of Indian scientists, both in India and in the United States, who are making invaluable contributions to the Allied war effort through their research in medical and chemical fields. The following paragraphs have been gleaned from such tributes :

Allied troops in remote outposts or at advanced bases inaccessible from the ground have been greatly aided by the invention of "unbreakable containers" in which even liquids can be dropped from airplanes upon hard earth without being shattered. These containers are the work of Prof. Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, director of the recently established All-India Board of Scientific and Industrial Research.

Sir Shanti is also the inventor of a widely used stove hardly larger than a matchbox, which gives off intense heat for 12 hours from a single filling of solid fuel. He has produced fabrics and other materials resistant to poisonous gases, and cotton cloth with the insulating properties and warmth of wool.

The deadly new flame-throwers that the American Army used against the Japanese before Munda are, in part, the invention of an Indian resident in America, Dr. Alamjit D. Singh of the University of Illinois. Dr. Singh has also made important contributions to the art of camouflage, as has an Indian chemist of Detroit, Michigan, K. N. Kathju. Mr. Kathju collaborated with American chemists in developing green and other paints that cannot be told from surrounding vegetation even under infra-red photography.

Among the chemists originally from India whose discoveries have affected American agriculture is Dr. Jagan Nath Sharma of Los Angeles. Dr. Sharma recently announced a process for preserving melons for long periods of time while being stored or shipped. Several years ago he developed a process for artificially colouring oranges which is estimated to have added 45

million dollars to the annual income of Florida orange growers, on good but dull looking fruit.

In the field of medicine, Allied soldiers preparing for the invasion of Burma are indebted to Sir Upendranath Brahamachari for research into the treatment of a very serious fever known as "kala azar."

Other scientists who have gone from India to America to carry on research include Dr. V. K. Kokutnur, working in chemical warfare; Dr. D. Saklatwalla, whose subject is metal technology; Dr. Sharat Kumar Roy, Dr. Yellapragada Subarrow, Prof. Subramanyam Chandrasekhar and many more.

The proportion of distinguished scientists in India is recognised as exceptionally high, one magazine comments. The proportion of scientists originally from India who are now carrying on research in the United States is still higher.—USOWI.

## Science Editor Exemplifies India's Contributions to the United States

India has provided fifty of the ablest scientific workers in the United States, including one of the great astronomers of the world, Gobind Behari Lal pointed out recently in an interview in New York City. As science editor of International News Service and the Hearst chain of newspapers in the United States, it is Lal's function to report the progress of science and medicine in the United States. He is read by millions of people, reports scientific meetings of all kinds and knows many of the world's outstanding scientists.

Lal is an Indian who has made a distinctive career for himself in the United States. Born in Delhi in 1890, a graduate of the University of the Punjab, winner of America's Pulitzer Prize in 1937 for excellent journalism, he is a witty and accomplished member of the American Press. He lectures on science and is the author of three books.

He observes: "Scientific journalism should be a democratic service to the people. For my daily column I always select a story with a bearing on the common man. I try to point out wherein technical and scientific discoveries can be used in his service. For instance, in writing about relativity I have tried to show that this is an instrument of science which helped to streamline the discoveries of nature and bring order out of chaos. It is simply the law of the world and its neatness gives people a sense of security. Scientific writing should remove some of the paralysing fear that comes from lack of knowledge of the world, through increasing confidence in life as a whole. We have got to warn people of what is going to be of importance to them. The purpose always is to make man's life better as a democratic experience."

Lal writes on physics, chemistry, medicine, surgery, biochemistry, biology astronomy, psychiatry, psychology, archaeology and other technological subjects. With extensive scientific background himself, he simplifies his subjects for popular reading. He was one of the pioneers in the American trend to give the public science and medicine in popular form.

Lal is a bachelor and lives in Greenwich Village, an artistic and intellectual centre of New York City. He is interested in drama, art and music as well as in scientific subjects. He is a scholar, world traveller and esthete in his tastes. His books are "Chemistry of Personality," "Joseph Mazzini as a Social Reformer" and "Politics and Science in India." In 1940-1941, he was President of the National Association of Science Writers in America.—USOWI.

## Mexico Plans A University in Every State

Unlike countries that are relegating social progress to the post-war period, Mexico is ambitiously going ahead with numerous projects of social, economic, and cultural advancement. Not least of these is a new plan announced by the rector of the national university in the country's capital whereby, instead of the few universities now existing outside Mexico City, an institution of higher learning, under control of the federal government, will be established in every one of Mexico's 28 States. Although it is realized that the funds for such a vast program are not at hand, and that the completion of the plan will require considerable time, surveys are already under way and preliminary data is being assembled. As the program comes to fulfillment, it will be an immense boon to young men and women who cannot afford to travel to the capital and live expensively there. Thousands more will have an opportunity to obtain a university education.—*Worldover Press.*



Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

HUNGER
By Khagen Roy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

# THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH  1944

VOL. LXXV, No. 3 WHOLE No. 447


## NOTES

### *Kasturba Gandhi*

One school of ancient Eastern philosophy considered woman as a writing tablet on which was inscribed the will of Man. This assignment of the functions of womanhood to the purely passive is regarded by the Western schools of thought as being typical of the East and it is perhaps because of this obsession that Western writers of the obituary notices of Mrs. Gandhi have laid stress along such lines. But we, who belong to the soil that bore her, are far more aware of the positive qualities that this great lady possessed, qualities that made her long life shine with a soft radiance like that of a gem-natural, devoid of the glitter and ostentation of the artificially cut and polished brilliant. Great were the trials and tribulations through which she had passed, right up to the end of her life, and through all the suffering and stress she had retained the calm dignity and poise, based on unflinching faith and determination, that was native in her own self. Indeed her life was one long act of faith and sacrifice but little of the suffering that she had to undergo was obligatory on her, judged even by the highest ideals of Hindu womanhood. More often than not she had a choice of the path, and if in each instance this selfless noble soul chose the harder track, it was of her own volition that she did so.

Amongst the legends that enrich the Golden Treasury of Hindu Mythology, a particularly shining gem is that about Dadhichi's sacrifice. Brittra the king of the Asuras, had invested the domain of the gods. He was



Kasturba Gandhi

a mighty warrior, and further he bore a charmed life. Indra, the king of the gods, was sore pressed and was in despair, seeing that the most potent of all the weapons in his armory was powerless against the magic that shielded the person of his adversary. In the last resort he took counsel of his elders and was advised to have a new weapon forged, in the making of which the bones of a man who was pure of heart and absolutely free from sin and guile was the most necessary ingredient, and it was also essential that the bones be obtained as an unconditional and voluntary gift from him who bore them in life. Of the sages and the saintly ones on earth there was none that surpassed the Rishi Dadhichi, in the crystal purity of the soul and in the utter freedom from sin in the body. Dadhichi on being approached made the sacrifice with the utmost of willingness, and out of this act of self-immolation was born the thunderbolt—the Vajra—the divine missile, which in the hands of Indra the cloud-borne, wrought destruction on Brittra and his hosts.

Kasturba was no austere anchorite, nor was she of the metal that goes in the making of sages and Rishis. She was of the common clay from which are moulded the numberless loving mothers and faithful wives that still adorn this luckless land. She lived and loved, and was beloved of all that came in contact with her all along the path of a long life, in the same fashion as did her mother and the mothers of her mother before her. She laid claim neither to learning nor yet to saintliness, she merely followed the dictates of her heart and her soul, pure and serene as the moonlit skies of her motherland. But in faithfulness, in selfless devotion, and in the courage of her self-sacrifice, she surpassed by far many a hero—or heroine—of the sages of the ancients. Peace and ease and leisure could have been hers for the mere asking, for she was long past the age at which her sex usually retires from an active life, and further she was frail of body and ailing in health for some time past. But she preferred to tread along the arduous and thorny path blazed by her husband. Like Gandhari, the consort of the blind king Dhritarastra of the Mahabharata, she desired no pleasure that was denied to her husband, rather she desired union with her partner-in-life through communion in sacrifice.

She was *saubhagyabati* in death in more senses than one, though she died in a British prison, away from many who loved and respected her. She has attained that freedom in death that was so intensely desired by herself and by the millions upon millions who follow her husband, and she has obtained the peace and the rest which she had so long denied herself. The life she had lived was a shining example of selfless devotion to an ideal, may she in her death serve as an inspiration to us as did Dadhichi to the ancients. May her soul attain the same serenity in *mukti* as attained by the sage old Rishi and may the glory of her love and devotion serve as shining armour to guard her beloved husband Mohandas Karamchand, Mahatma Gandhi.

### *Further Lights on the Bombay Plan*

The Bombay Plan has received the attention it deserves. The practicability of the Plan has been generally admitted. The financial aspect of it, although apparently very large, has been accepted in almost every quarter as being realistic. There have been no two opinions about the need for a plan; the Bombay Plan has supplied it, together with a financial calculation that such a plan would need. The Plan has crystallised the opinion that if India is to survive, organised effort must immediately be made to raise the standard of living and the purchasing power of the people. Foreign industrialists and merchants also cannot overlook this essential need, if they desire to look upon this country as a future market for their commodities.

The Bombay Plan, however, needs some clarification. The distribution aspect of it should now be explained. Of the financial part, the Rs. 3400 crore "created money" has come in for some amount of criticism, Prof. Vakil, writing in the *Commerce,* has called it inflation and has given his reasons for calling it so. The *Eastern Economist* has attempted a reply which is not convincing. Prof. Vakil has pointed out that "there is no means of knowing in advance whether the net 'gap' to be filled between the available saving and the necessary investment would be of the magnitude of Rs. 3400 crores or more or less." He does not think that "*any* creation of money is inflationary in effect" and draws attention to the fact that "any plan that we make should estimate our resources fundamentally in terms of savings." The *Eastern Economist's* argument that "The Bombay Plan schedules an increase in production of Rs. 4400 crores as against only Rs. 3400 crores of created money," does not explain the problem. To our mind, the most important aspect of this problem has been overlooked both by Prof. Vakil and Dr. Lokanathan. About Rs. 200 crores of created money is needed to remain in circulation to move a national aggregate income of more than Rs. 1000 crores. Annual aggregate national

income should be increased by at least five times Rs. 3400 crores in order to offset the inflationary tendency of this amount of created money. But the planners envisage a doubling of national income and a 'created money' circulation of Rs. 400 to 500 crores ought to be sufficient to effect its distribution.

The second important point that should be cleared up is the question of employment. The Plan envisages to raise industrial employment from 2½ million to 12½ million in a country of 400 millions. *The Capital* wants it "to be borne in mind that even if the proposed target were reached, this would mean an absorption of only 10 millions or about 13 per cent of the expected net increase of population over the whole period. Besides, rationalisation of agriculture as indicated in the Plan will inevitably throw vast numbers out of employment." The pertinent question which necessarily follows is: How will all these people be employed? The Plan has no doubt stressed the importance of small and cottage industries both to economise machinery and to provide employment.

The third point which needs elucidation is the problem of technical personnel which would be required to work out the plan as well as for its successful direction. Importing foreign experts should be discouraged from the very start. These experts have not only been costly but also have failed in their mission in many cases due to insufficient and imperfect knowledge about India. The adaptability of Indians to technical skill has been more than sufficiently demonstrated during years after the last war and the quickness with which technical skill is acquired by Indian technicians has been conclusively shown during this War. The planned denial of technical education has been an obstacle to the Government's War Effort at the beginning of the war which was quickly overcome by expanding facilities for it. For a successful working of the Plan, technical skill will be required not only at the top Executive, the workers entrusted with the fulfilment of specific duties as well as their supervisors will also need technical skill of a high order. Technical skill should also be provided for those attending road or house building, and directing cottage industries or scientific agriculture. The Planners should now tell us how they propose to utilise the human element in the country. Harnessing the Schools, Technical Institutes and the Universities for the production of skilled executives and technical staff must be done years ahead if the Plan is to run smoothly from the start.

### *The Governor-General's Speech*

Viscount Wavell has delivered his first political speech in the Central Legislative Assembly. Detailed comment on it is hardly called for as the new Governor-General has hardly trod on any new ground.

The new points discussed are mainly two—firstly, he said that "you cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a national unit;" and secondly, he admitted that "we are bound in justice, in honour, in the interests of progress, to hand over India to Indian rule, which can maintain the peace and order and progress which we have endeavoured to establish." But immediately after, he paused, remembered his allegiance to Churchill and Amery, and said, "I believe that we should take some risk to further this; but until the two main Indian parties at least can come to terms, I do not see any immediate hope of progress." Pleas of this kind are so well known in this country that no explanation is needed. It is a pity that a Governor-General who has the vision to look into the depth of nationalist thought, lacks in boldness to translate it into action. In his book "Allenby in Egypt," Viscount Wavell has summed up the Egyptian nationalist thought in the following words: "They probably felt like a man whose house has been used as an hotel for a long period by uninvited, though paying, guests without a word of gratitude to their host." *The Statesman* compares this passage with a similar one in Louis Fischer's book "A Week with Gandhi." In this book, Fischer reports the following comment made by Khursed Ben (Naoraji) at Sevagram Ashram in June 1942: "We want to be alone....It is like a housewife who has had guests staying with her too long and she is impatient to see them leave, and can think of nothing else but the pleasure of the moment when she sees them going out through the front door." Viscount Wavell will have a hard testing time in India. The words and actions of this soldier Viceroy will be watched with keen interest, particularly in the light of his own beliefs and leanings expressed in his own words. He should realise the import of the "Quit India" resolution as expressed in the quotation from his book cited above.

We do not agree with the Viceroy when he says, "The Cripps offer was a bold and generous offer and gave India a great opportunity to progress towards solution of her problem."....The Cripps offer was thrashed out and discussed

threadbare by persons who cannot be said to have any leanings towards the Congress. Not a single political party in India had a good word to say in favour of the Cripps offer. It was the Congress who paid the most attention to it. At any rate, this has been proved beyond doubt that the offer was a doubtful document which aimed at taking away whatever little power India had gained in exchange for a future promise. A person held in high esteem and a non-Congressman at that, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, had revealed that the action of Sir Stafford in this country was no less doubtful.

### *Sir B. L. Mitter on Indian Constitution*

India has a painful remembrance of British promises to her. During the last war, self-government was promised to India, but in reality more restrictions have been imposed on her which were not present under the old constitution. The following report of a speech by Sir Brojendralal Mitter, Advocate-General for India, is quoted below as an illustration of how popular government has been denied to India in spite of the past promises :

> Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Advocate-General of India lecturing on "the legislative power under the present constitution" to law students of the Benares Hindu University, explained the background of the present constitution and said that all federal constitutions were more or less copies of the federal constitution of the United States of America with local variations. After the war of independence two representatives of each of the 13 American States met in a secret conference at Philadelphia and discussed various schemes and eventually the American constitution came into existence. As a result of that conference each State surrendered some of its sovereign powers of common interest to all, such as defence, foreign policy, post and telegraphs and currency where a uniform policy was needed to the centre and this was the essence of the American constitution.
>
> The same principle of distribution of powers was followed in the constitution of Canada and Australia but in the case of India *there was a fundamental difference and that was in India the Central Government had all the powers.*
>
> The executive, the judiciary and the legislative independent of each other made a federal system of Government perfect. But in India this principle had not been strictly followed, in that, *here the executive was overlapping the legislature.*
>
> Sir Brojendra added that the concept of federalism, which connected independence of the three branches of the Government of one another, did not obtain in the Indian constitution. "Here the executive head is also a law-maker. With regard to the position of legislature, *the constitution of 1935 has imposed restrictions which were not present in the old constitution.* The restriction may be classified under two heads : Firstly, the necessity of the Governor-General's previous sanction for initiating legislation of certain categories. Secondly, the positive restrictions with regard to specific matters and against discrimination. The restrictions on the head of discrimination and justified on the ground of reciprocity between India and the United Kingdom."
>
> Reciprocity could not work fairly when the parties were no equal. We said that an equal partnership operated to the disadvantage of the weaker party. The field of legislation was occupied partly by the legislature and partly by the Governor-General.
>
> Concluding his lecture Sir Brojendra contested the assertion that the Indian constitution was a democracy. He said that *here some of the essential attributes of democracy were wanting.* Due to communal franchise the tendencies of parties were to align on communal lines and not on economic or political lines. The result was that a majority tended to remain a majority and a minority, a minority. Hence no alternative Government was possible when a government of majority was out of office. That explained the operation of Section 93 in five big provinces.

### *Reprisals at Midnapore*

Cases of incendiarism in Midnapore between August and December 1942 were discussed in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. In reply to a question, the Premier Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin stated that many houses, kutcha and pucca, had been burnt in the Contai and Tamluk Subdivisions during that period. Congressmen, villagers and Government forces were responsible. In the Tamluk and Contai Subdivisions, houses belonging to the Government, public bodies and private persons burnt by the Congress numbered 43 and 38 respectively; while Congress camps and houses burnt by Government forces were 31 and 162 respectively; while Congress camps and houses burnt by villagers were 1 and 2 respectively.

Questioned whether the Government, "in view of the widespread incendiarism committed by official forces," would inquire into the matter, the Premier said that he felt that the Government then in power should have looked into the matter and not his Government which took office 18 months later. Asked whether the Government contemplated appointing a Tribunal to investigate "excesses committed by the military and police in Tamluk and Contai Subdivisions, as promised by the ex-Chief Minister on February 15, 1943," Sir Nazimuddin said that he did not consider himself bound by any undertaking given by the former Ministry. The several statements of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq inside and outside the Legislature amply showed that he could not fulfil his promise owing to the opposition of Sir John Herbert.

### *Increase in Railway Fares*

The manner in which railway fares have been increased by 25 per cent, can only be characterised as the Government campaigning against the people. The reasons advanced in support of this iniquitous impost are that it would be an anti-inflationary measure and that

it would reduce travel. To obtain support for this measure, a clever temptation was thrown out that a fund would be created with the increased amount of the fare to be utilised for the improvement of third class travel after the war. These "reasons," if they can be called so, have been universally condemned by the Press all over the country and by every non-official member of the Central Legislature except the Europeans. The general feeling in the country is that the Railway Department has become the handmaid of the War Department for the purposes of transport, and of the Finance Department for yielding huge profits, and that the Railway administrations' credit with the public is at its lowest ebb. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta had tabled a cut motion to debate "the unholy alliance with the Finance Department in giving to the latter a forced loan of Rs. 10 crores in exchange for its agreeing to add Rs. 4 crores to the Depreciation Fund." In the debate on Railway Budget, Mr. Mehta characterised it as predatory in its purpose, oppressive in its results and contemptuous of public opinion. He said that the arguments advanced in support of the increase in fares were childish. He pointed out that the present railway fares entitled the traveller to all the facilities that could be given him; yet to mention only one difficulty, overcrowding was disgraceful, worse than the mythical Black Hole of Calcutta. He vigorously refuted the argument that Railway travel in India was the cheapest in the world. It was in fact 400 per cent costlier than in England.

Mr. K. C. Neogy said that the War Transport Member was treating the Indian Railways as a machine of war rather than as a commercial proposition. The warfare he was conducting was, in fact, directed as much against the travelling public as against the Axis Powers. In fact, the contempt with which Sir Edward Benthall treated the general opinion in the Legislature and the country leads to the only logical conclusion that the Government have determined to wage war against the people of India.

Sir Edward Benthall, replying on the Debate, dealt at length with the increase in fares and placed before the House further facts in support of his stand. He said:

> The increase of 156 million passengers last year, equivalent to 600 trainloads a day, could only be explained by an increasing ability to spend and not by any corresponding increase in war activity. Some drastic action to check this tendency was in his view necessary. While military traffic had increased, the bulk of the increase was in public traffic. The quality of service had admittedly deteriorated but this was the case in all countries at war and the shortage of fittings was due to the general shortage of consumers' goods. Steps were being taken to rectify this and so far as possible to curtail military passengers.
>
> Short distance passengers within the 50-mile zone, who formed 83% of the total of third class passengers, were to be relieved of the incidence of the burden. No increase was contemplated on journeys up to ten miles. As regards long journeys Sir Edward said, it could not be maintained that a farmer who was getting Rs. 40 for what he got Rs. 10 before the war or a mill worker who was receiving three times his pre-war wage could not afford an extra three annas if he wanted to travel 50 miles. Complaints against such modest increases came ill from people who were charging 200% or 300% more for their goods or services.
>
> The possible inflationary effect was negligible while the deflationary effect of removing the money from circulation was obvious. It would be put into circulation again when there was a decline in activity and prosperity, and would be spent for the benefit of those from whom it was now being largely taken. If the contribution to general revenues were cut, he gave a solemn warning that the cut would have had to be replaced by other taxation in the General Budget.

These additional arguments are equally unconvincing. The increase of 156 million passengers have been due to several reasons over which the public had no control. Bus Services plying along railway lines have been suspended and all their passengers have been thrown on the railway. War constructions on the Eastern zone have required a large number of personnel to be moved from place to place and railways must have been utilised for long distance travels. The Transport Member pointed out in the Council of State that in 1942-43 the revenue from civilian passengers showed an increase of Rs. 10 crores while the corresponding revenue from military passengers travelling on ordinary trains showed an increase of only about Rs. 3 crores. In making this calculation, Sir Edward has probably taken into account only the Railway Warrants issued to military personnel, but has he taken into account military men travelling with ordinary tickets? Besides, in computing this extra yield, the two increases effected in railway forces during the war must be taken into account.

His second argument is equally unconvincing. In Bengal, according to the Floud Commission, only 8 per cent of the agriculturists have the means to command fair price of their commodities. More than half were landless agricultural labour for whom the income was the lowest while need for movement for him was the highest, because he had to search and find out employment. Even if a farmer was getting Rs. 40 for what was worth pre-war Rs. 10, his cost of living had gone up 500 percent. Sir Edward is angry with the labourers who had been charging 200 to 300 per cent for their services,

but he has not taken into account Government's own statement that the cost of living Index for industrial labour had gone up by more than 300 per cent.

The measure is not anti-inflationary. It seeks to draw money from people having no surplus, while at the same time it swells the Army Budget, specially as the Defence Services will have to make the utmost use of railways at the enhanced fare. More notes will have to be printed to meet this cost. Again, a business man cannot stop travelling and whatever increase he has to bear will be reflected in the cost of production of his goods, which means that the price structure must expand further, a development which the Government is ostensibly trying to discourage. In short, this measure which the War Transport Member and the Finance Member both call anti-inflationary, will directly contribute towards accelerating the inflationary trend.

Mr. B. Das's cut motion that the demand under the head "Appropriation to Reserve" be reduced by Rs. 10 crores—the estimated revenue from the proposed increase in railway fares, was carried in the Central Legislative Assembly by 51 votes to 46. Muslim League, Nationalist, unattached Members, and some of the Independent members voted with the Congress for the motion. Sir Edward Benthall's attitude, reflected in his reply on the debate, was remarkable to say the least. He threatened that the effect of the motion, if passed, would be that the sum of Rs. 10 crores would not be transferred to the Reserve and would be left in the railway surplus with the automatic result that it would be transferred to the general revenue, and it would deprive third class passengers of the fund intended to improve amenities for them. This shows that the Government were determined to increase the fare in complete disregard of the verdict of the Legislature.

### *Slaughter of Cattle in Bengal*

A resolution moved in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, to which all parties agreed, stressed "the importance of cattle for agricultural purposes and of milch cows for health" and referred to the "rapid decimation of cattle due to indiscriminate slaughter for food supply for military purposes."

Mr. D. N. Sen (Hindu Nationalist) who introduced the subject in the form of a resolution, drew attention to the seriousness of the problem from figures for all-India given by the C.-in-C., India, in the Council of State in August last about cattle slaughtered in 1942-43, numbering 62,000 for prisoners of war, and 216,000 for Chinese, U. S. and British forces stationed in this country. The number in 1943-44, he said, must have been higher still. The figure for Bengal, a war zone, must be higher than the all-India average. This meant rapid depletion of the cattle wealth of the Province; and unless effective precautionary measures were taken the future position was dangerous. *In spite of the orders of the Central Government that no milch cow and no bullock under 10 years of age was to be slaughtered, prime cattle in large numbers were even now being purchased from the rural areas to meet the requirements of the defence services.* In normal times only the surplus and old cattle were sold for slaughter, but even healthy cattle were now being sold because of the attractive prices offered. The abnormal demand had forced up prices to fantastic levels. Unless the decimation of the cattle resources of the Province was stopped, agricultural operations as well as the marketing of crops were likely to be adversely affected. The production and consumption of milk in India was very low and the depletion of livestock would worsen the position.

In reply, the Chief Minister, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin read out a letter from Major-General Stuart which stated :

"In order to conserve supplies of beef it has now been agreed to issue a portion of buffalo meat to troops instead of beef. Certain limited supplies of beef are still obtainable from Bengal. These are purchased through contractors in possibly the cheapest market, but the Army has no control over them."

Bihar and U. P. had already taken actions to stop indiscriminate slaughter of cattle. Bombay people made the same complaint to Viscount Wavell when he visited that city. But in Bengal, where the slaughter may be feared to have been the highest, no action has been taken. The Premier has given no assurance whatever to stop the slaughter.

### *Anti-malaria Drugs*

NEW DELHI, Feb. 9.

As some of the necessary chemicals are not available either in India or from any outside source, the Government of India have at present no measures in contemplation for the encouragement of the production of synthetic anti-malaria drugs, said Mr. J. D. Tyson, Health Secretary, in reply to Mr. Neogy in the Central Assembly today. "The Bombay Government," he added, "prepared a scheme for the manufacture of synthetic anti-malaria drugs at the Hafekine Institute, and certain chemical manufacturers also proposed to undertake manufacture. Both the Bombay Government and the commercial concerns referred to applied for assistance in obtaining the imported chemicals required for the manufacture of the drugs. The Government of India were unable to give assistance in the matter because of the necessity for economy in the use of shipping space. The weight of the imported chemicals required for manufacture is about 10 times that of the finished product and in view of war-time shipping difficulties it was decided to import the finished product. It was also ascertained that the chemicals required could not be obtained from the U. K. or the U. S. A."—*A. P. I.*

It seems as if the Government of India do not desire expansion of the manufacture of quinine or any other substitute drug in this country. Shipping space is available in plenty

for the import of whisky, but not for bringing the raw materials for the manufacture of an anti-malaria drug. If it has to be brought at all, the Government prefers to import the finished product rather than encourage its manufacture here and that at a time when, according to a pamphlet published by the Indian Tea Association about quinine, "An ampoule of 10 grains is selling locally in the black market at Rs. 2-8, that is about Rs. 2000 per lb. and one cannot be sure if it is 10 grains. The powder is adulterated with glucose upto 50% and here also the price is prohibitive." Bengal has 20,000 acres available for cinchona cultivation of which only half is under the drug. The Bengal Government propose to increase cultivation at the rate of 300 acres a year which would take 31 years to bring this area completely under cinchona, if even this rate is maintained. The Government, however, are not ashamed of this progress.

### *Schools in America*

Mr. W. G. Humphrey, Head Master of the Leys, Cambridge, writes in *Spectator* for December 3, 1943 :

The most striking fact about the administration of American elementary and secondary education is that in spite of the general tendency in all democratic societies towards amalgamation and centralisation of administrative, executive and fiscal authority, the *American people have for the most part resolutely refused to allow their schools to come under the control of local government authorities.* The State Legislature decides and controls the general educational policy of the State in much the same way as our policy is decided by Parliament and controlled centrally through the Board of Education. The cost of education is also met partly by local taxation and partly by State taxation, with a steady increase in the proportion contributed by the States, which, in the country as a whole, rose from 17 per cent. in 1930 to 30 per cent. in 1938, and in some States is now as high as 50 per cent. The main difference from administration in this country lies in the fact that the local School Boards—which are the American equivalent of our Local Education Authorities —*are separately elected by the people and are constitutionally and financially independent of the other local government authorities.* In other words, the American people regard their system of free education as much too important to be administered by a sub-committee of a municipal or county council. *Those who serve on an American School Board are elected by the residents of a locality for the specific purpose of administering the Schools in that locality;* they are not persons who have been elected to supervise a miscellaneous collection of public utilities which happens to include the Schools. *American School Boards remain independent simply, because the American people believe that this is the most certain way of ensuring that their children shall receive the best education that their community can afford to provide.*

In support of his contention, he quotes Mr. Willard E. Givens, the Executive Secretary of the National Education Association of America, who **says :**

"Wise public policy demands the retention of separate control of our public schools. No convincing evidence has come to my attention indicating that a school board subordinate to municipal government is more economical or efficient than a board which derives its powers directly from the people. . . *Everyone will agree that our schools can serve our society best if kept free from partisan politics.* Separation of education from general municipal government is helpful in doing that. There is no other public service where partisan interference is more disastrous than in education. Control of the budget is an essential function of the local school board. *A budget is a statement of educational policy in financial terms. Those who control the budget have the last word regarding educational policy.* The culminating argument in favour of a separate school board rests on the unique function of education in American Democracy. That function is to help our citizens, young and old, to evaluate intelligently the social, economic and political arrangements which serve us. . . . The school cannot carry out this function if it is subordinate to any of the units which it must fearlessly and impartially evaluate."

In India, education has always been controlled fully by the Government. In spite of the persistent Government policy of denial of education in this country, it has expanded to some extent with essentially non-official effort and money. Whenever Government has taken any step in this field, it has been mainly to deter the progress by bringing the entire educational system more and more stringently under their control. The experience of School Boards in Bengal show that these are under sinister influences from two directions—the Government, as well as the majority community in Bengal. Recognition of Schools, sanction of grants in aid, approval of text-books, teachers' salaries—all these vital matters are controlled with the sole object of ensuring the production of spineless, weak and servile creatures whom an alien Government may not have reason to fear.

### *British "Expert" Method of Arithmetic*

*The Sylhet Chronicle* for February 15, reports :

One Mr. McAlpine, British Specialist Instructor of an Engineering College near Calcutta, and now a member of the Trade Testing Panel, came on a visit to the Surma Valley Technical School on the 4th of February. The school has its own British Specialist Instructor in one Mr. McLean Smith. These two British Specialists together set a sum to the trainees as follows :— 14+4×2÷4. The poor Indian boys naturally made out the result to be 16. But our British Experts flared up. "Look at this bloody answer," said one of them; "This is your Indian way of doing things : then he showed the boys and the Instructors present there his British and "expert," method of doing sums. "14+4 is 18, is not it ? Then, 18×2 is 36, isn't it ? Then 36÷4 is 9. The result is very plain and the method simple. You must begin from the left and go right on. This is how it is taught in Britain and this is on British method."

As everybody was looking aghast at these British Experts and wondering at their British method, one poor Instructor, Bidhu Bhusan Sen Gupta had the hardihood to protest against what he thought to be making Arithmetic a war-casualty rather unnecessarily. Down came the British Experts on the poor 'native'; "You twenty-five rupees Instructor, what do you know of arithmetic and of our British method? Dare you protest against what we experts say. It is not for nothing that you bloody people are kept in your places." The Instructor again had the audacity to make some reply and he was at once turned out of the room with many expletives of blood and bloom.

Nearly a fortnight has passed, and no contradiction of this news has been reported. This gives an idea of how British "experts" are working in this country.

### *Rationing in Calcutta*

Viscount Wavell is reported to have told the Bombay Food Advisory Council that, in his opinion, rationing which was the best method of ensuring equitable distribution would have to be continued for at least another five years. For Calcutta, it is bad news. Rationing can be successful only where the *voluntary* co-operation of the people has been secured and due attention is paid to the people's difficulties while working the scheme. In Bombay both have been done and in Calcutta both have been denied. Bombay has her Food Advisory Council which holds such an important position that the Viceroy during his short visit to Bombay, had found it necessary to spend a considerable time in discussion with them. In Calcutta, there is nothing of the sort, only, a few days ago, a pious proposal to set up Regional Food Councils, with the ultimate object to set up a Central One, has been announced. The functions enumerated contain only one important item—policing on behalf of the Civil Supply Department to check the Ration Cards and to stop its misuse.

The Rationing Authorities in Calcutta have not considered it important to make the Ration Cards useful. Serious complaints have been made about the quality of rice supplied. Samples of very bad quality had been shown to the Governor of Bengal when he visited certain godowns and Rationing Centres. The Central as well as the Provincial Governments have both admitted that poor quality rice has been supplied but after four weeks of rationing the complaint remains where it was at the beginning. Choice of rice according to price has been denied under the rationing scheme, people have been compelled to use whatever quality is forced on them even at the cost of health. Had the Calcutta Rationing Authority the least regard for public opinion and welfare, they should either have maintained very good quality from the very start or should have given the public opportunity to choose according to price. Not only that nothing of the sort has been done, but Corporation Food Inspectors have been denied facilities to detect supplies injurious to public health and bring the offenders to book.

The second serious complaint has been about the quantity supplied. The Calcutta ration is less than half of the Bombay quota and is actually insufficient for the manual labourers. The Authorities here in Calcutta have shown their usual disregard of public opinion in conceding to this very reasonable demand as well.

### *Inequity in Jute*

The recent fixation of jute acreage at eight annas of the basic acreage of 1940 will cause another shortage of food in Bengal in 1945 if Burma be not reconquered and imports of Burma rice available by that time.

The maximum prices of jute have been fixed from Rs. 15 to 17 per maund while the ruling price of hessian is Rs. 28-8. The Bengal Government Press Note dated the 7th February says "The Government of India will also under statutory orders simultaneously fix the maximum prices for manufactured goods." These have not yet been fixed and, when done so, are not expected to go below Rs. 26 the price offered by the U. S. A. Government last year. Besides, it is nobody's contention that the price of hessian should go down in these days of high prices all round. What is most objectionable is the inequitable margin of profit to the jute mills mostly under British management. 35 seers of jute are required to manufacture 100 yards of hessian so that quantity for quantity raw jute sells at Rs. 14 in Calcutta and hessian at Rs. 28-8 or Rs. 26. And this after a terrible famine when the jute-growers had to pay Rs. 40 to Rs. 80 for a maund of rice and with some such dreary prospect before them. The Finlow Committee of Jute Enquiry compiled a table showing the prices of jute and its manufactures during the period of 1920-21 to 1931-32. The ratio there stood at 1:2. The prices of jute recently fixed by the Government compared with the current price of hessian give the same ratio. Unless the Government fix the hessian price sufficiently lower, it will legalise a tyranny carried on for decades by a strong and wealthy ring of jute mill interests, preponderantly British against millions of poor, dumb unorganised cultivators.

—SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

## *What Will Russia Do After The War ?*

*The World Digest* published a summary of Albert Rhys Williams' admirable book "The Russians: The Land, The People, and Why They Fight" which gives a reply to the unjust suspicions about the U. S. S. R. Mr. Williams, although an American, has the right to speak with authority on Russian subjects. An eye-witness of the Revolution, he has lived in the U. S. S. R. for thirteen of the succeeding twenty-five years. He has known Russia's leaders from Lenin to Litvinov. The book will go a long way to clear the old-fashioned ideas of those Imperialists who see Russia embarking on a career of looting and land-grabbing. The substance of the summary is given below :

What could the Soviets gain by a policy of Red imperialism ? More territory ? With half of Europe and half of Asia, they have room enough for generations to come, even though they increase at the present rate of ten thousand a day. More raw materials ? They have a third of the wheatlands of the world, vast reserves of gold, oil, coal, iron—ample supplies for industries for centuries to come. Investments and concessions in other lands ? The Soviets have no surplus. Consumption more than keeps pace with production. The money gets into the hands of the people to buy back the goods they make as fast as they make them and a bit faster. This gives Russia an insatiable market at home. Why should it set out to acquire abroad what it already has in abundance ?

It is apparent that none of the usual motives for imperialism exist in Russia. But doesn't the Soviet belief in Revolution provide ideological reasons for aggression ? The assumption that revolutions can be exported is not in accordance with Soviet theory. Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly said : "Revolutions cannot be carried to other countries in a suitcase." Much less can they be imposed upon them by the bayonets of an invading army. The history and experience of the Russian Revolution itself confirms the truth of that principle. The exile of Trotsky virtually brought to an end the notion that the Russians must force their ideas and institutions on other peoples.

This does not imply that the Soviets have renounced their principles. To be sure, they hope and expect socialism to spread. As America rejoices to see any country go republican, so Soviet Russia would rejoice to see any country go socialist. It is very probable that there will be revolutions in Europe to overthrow the Quislings, the Lavals, and the Nazis. Some of these revolutions, because they occur in countries with close geographical and racial ties with the Soviet Union, will probably look to it for their example and guidance, just as other countries will look to the West. As the Scandinavian nations will probably turn to England and America, quite naturally the Slavic nations of the Balkans will turn to Russia. But in Stalin's words : "Our aims are clear and noble. Our first task is to liberate our own people from the fascist scoundrels. We have no ideas of imposing our regime on other peoples, Slav or otherwise. Our aim is to help liberate them from Nazi tyranny and then to leave them free to live in their own lands as they wish."

Without either the mood or the means to engage in any revolutionary adventure, the policy of Russia will be dictated by its own national interests and needs.

What are the basic needs of Russia ? First, Russia needs time and opportunity for the colossal task of post-war reconstruction. Take the single item of roads. To construct a system of highways comparable to America's will take from fifty to a hundred years at the present rate. Or go into the interior and see 300,000 villages lacking not only the comforts and amenities of life, but often the bare necessities. The prime reason for this was that up to a third of the national income went into the army and armaments. And the standard of living is now further drastically reduced by the war itself. Thousands of schools and hospitals gone up in flames. Millions of homes turned into ashes. Bridges and factories dynamited. Whole cities razed. Millions of youth slain or maimed, blinded, or legless. Great as are the resources of the Russian land and the recuperative powers of its people, it will take a long time to restore their shattered economy. More than ever will Russia need good relations with foreign lands—the credits, tools and machines that follow in their train.

The second basic need in the words of the Atlantic Charter is "access on equal terms to trade and raw materials."

While the Soviets attained a high degree of self-sufficiency, they in no wise believe in autarchy or isolation.

In the words of Stalin, they want trading in order "to cement friendly relations with other countries and actually promote a policy of peace."

The third and most important need of the Soviets now is security against aggression. Except in the icy wastes of the North and along the fortress-wall of mountains in the South, the Soviet Union has no natural boundaries, for the great Eurasian plain sweeps on unbroken from the English Channel almost to the Pacific. For that reason Russia pushed back the Finnish frontier in 1939 and took over those territories wrested from her in the last war. This includes the Baltic States, reincorporated into the Soviet Union by plebiscites; likewise Bessarabia and a part of Poland up to the Curzon line, repatriating five million Ukrainians and Belorussians. Quite likely the Soviet Union will want to reconstitute its frontiers along these lines.

But it is not making this an issue. Boundaries are not the first prerequisite for security. No people know this better than the Russians; no people have striven harder to set peace upon a firmer case than strategic frontiers and armaments. The only way for any country to be safe is for all to be safe. For more than a decade Litvinov was a proponent of this idea before the world. At the League of Nations he pleaded for collective sanctions against fascist aggression in Ethiopia, in Spain, in China, and in Czechoslovakia. Just as zealously, he strove for that measure which might have stopped Hitler dead in his tracks—a collective security pact between England, France, and Russia. Tirelessly, he kept reiterating : "Peace is indivisible. All nations keep the peace or all go to war."

By its actions and utterances for the last decade Russia shows that it favours some form of a world federation. More explicitly in its 1941 Treaty with Poland it declares that, "Just and lasting peace can be achieved only through a new organization of international relations on the basis of unification of the democratic countries in a durable alliance. *Respect for international law, backed by the collective armed force of all allied states must form the decisive factor of such an organization.*" This necessity for unified action after the war, as well as during the war, is increasingly stressed by eminent leaders in England and America.

What could Russia contribute to a world federation besides its share of the armed forces ? After immediate

relief of the hunger-stricken peoples the first post-war problem to grapple with is that of general poverty and unemployment. *Russia has done away with unemployment, raised the standard of living for great populations of backward primitive peoples and carried the principles of social security for the individual citizen further than any other country.* To a world council intent on solving such problems, Soviet experience would be invaluable.

More valuable still would be a study of Russia's methods in dealing with a second and age-old source of wars—the *problem of nationality.* The U. S. S. R. presents the spectacle of 189 of the most diverse and onetime hostile peoples and races sending their representatives up to Moscow to debate their common affairs and work out their common problems. *In this realm Russia has already done on a considerable scale what must be done on a still larger one.*

That leads to a third contribution that Russia might well make to a world council—*its experience in large-scale planning and administration.* To many people that is a chief obstacle to a federation of nations. Where are the brains and the vision to order and organize affairs throughout the world—or even half of it ? The Soviets have done just that in one-sixth of the world. Starting from scratch, by trial and error, they have worked out methods, technique of administration, and controls on a colossal scale.

The present one is fear as to what Russia will do after the fighting is over. What Russia intends to do is fairly and precisely reflected in statements by Molotov, Stalin and Litvinov. It is set down in the various agreements and treaties with the United Nations. But will Russia live up to them ? To that query the reply of Ambassador Davies is "that *of all the nations of the earth, none has a finer record of living up to its treaty promises than the Soviet Union.*"

But more important than written agreements are mutual understanding, confidence and respect. The Soviets are winning that for themselves by their conduct of the war. They are doing other things : they are sending to the United States manganese, formulas for rubber, as well as captured Nazi tires for chemical analysis. They are sending over their specialists from experts in explosives to crack sharpshooters, putting their battle experience at our disposal. In turn the United Nations are sending to the Soviets in the words of President Roosevelt "everything that can float or fly." For this the Soviets are duly grateful. *But any attempts at double dealing—exclusion of Russia from the common councils, evasion of our obligations, letting Russia continue to bear its undue share of the fighting—will stir up the deepest resentment.*

*In the last analysis what the Russians do after the war depends largerly on what we do during the war.*

In a brilliant article entitled *Ourselves and Russia*, in the *Spectator* for October 29, 1943, Viscount Castlereagh, M.P., gives a good account of the still suspicious attitude of some powerful elements in the British national life. He has pointed out that the British policy towards the U. S. S. R. has been one of aloofness, verging on rudeness. He asks, "Did we really expect Russia to come to us, hat in hand, after we had so consistently snubbed her for years ?" Then describing Russia's part in the last as well as in the present war, he says, "In spite of this invaluable support, there is still a small though powerful minority in this country violently opposed to our Ally; it consists of certain Church elements, some regular soldiers, the motive being presumably professional jealousy; old-fashioned diehards and *that dangerous class which still prefers a Nazi to a Russian at any price.*" We perfectly agree with Viscount Castlereagh when he says, "The overwhelming proportion of our people must now realise that the previous attitude adopted towards the U. S. S. R. was radically wrong. Had our foreign policy been directed towards a rapprochement with them; had we established cordial relations with this nation which alone of the Great Powers has a consistent record in the League of Nations, then I believe that this war would never have taken place. Similarly, I am of the opinion that unless we secure truly friendly relations with the U. S. S. R. then the prospects of a lasting peace are not hopeful."

### *"Reign of Terror" under Defence of India Rules*

The Central Legislative Assembly carried by 43 to 42 votes, Mr. Kazmi's adjournment motion to censure Government on the misapplication of Defence of India Rules in the Provinces. The Congress members, Muslim League members, Nationalists and Independent Members combined to vote for the motion. Moving for adjournment, Mr. Kazmi said :

The responsibility for ensuring that the Defence of India Rules were being applied appropriately must rest with the Central Government who had sponsored the Defence of India Act. That responsibility was all the greater in view of the assurance given to the Assemly during the debate on the Act.

He complained that the Defence of India Rules were being used to defeat the ends of justice in several places and said that the executive was thereby showing a distrust of the judiciary.

Instead of listening to the advice of the courts and rectifying the errors, the executive had invented other methods to circumvent the defences of law.

He condemned the arrests of Mr. Pardiwala at Lahore and Pandit Baijnath at Allahabad—both lawyers, whose only fault was that they were trying to defend a political suspect.

Mr. Frank Anthony said :

As a lawyer he had watched with the deepest pain the assault on the rights and privileges of the Bar. He commented on the fusion of judicial and executive functions and declared that British principles of jurisprudence had not only been misapplied but abused, travested and prostituted in Magistrate's courts.

The Magistracy was nauseatingly servile and characterised by a complete lack of independence.

The magistrates, themselves, he said, could not be blamed. They had told him that they were virtually subordinate to the police and were against their better

judgment provoked to convict persons whom they would otherwise have acquitted.

If in addition to this, the executive attempted to inaugurate a reign of terror against the Bar, persecute and coerce lawyers, they would be installing in the country a system which could not be distinguished from injustice or oppression.

The Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, put in a very poor defence.

He referred to the distribution of responsibility between Provincial Governments and the Central Government under the Defence of India Rules and declared that responsibility for any legislation did not necessarily confer on the Central Government executive authority required for carrying out that legislation.

The Home Member explained that in the administration of the Defence of India Rules, detailed control by the Central Government would not be possible.

The Secretariat would have to be enlarged at least ten times before it could undertake the job.

Even then, what would be the Muslim League's attitude for instance, if the Central Government attempted to interfere with the League Ministries in Sind or Bengal in discharging their functions?

Proceeding to refer to the two cases mentioned in the motion, the Home Member said that in the case of Mr. Pardiwala, there was no interference by the Punjab Government with his professional activities.

The Home Member's information was that he was arrested after his engagement, which was to supply to a Barrister certain documents bearing on a *habeas corpus* petition, was completed. (Voices : Why was he arrested in the High Court, why was he arrested at all ?).

The Home Member said, the Provincial Government had good reason to believe he was connected in a way which he could not state openly before the House with underground Congress organisation, and that he came to the Punjab in pursuance of underground activities. He was released a few days later when he informed the Government that he did not wish to remain in the province.

In Pandit Baij Nath's case also the arrest had nothing to do with his professional activities.

The U. P. Government arrested him because he was suspected of financing a dangerous gang connected with several acts of sabotage involving the use of explosives at Agra about a year ago and he was also suspected of acting as a link between security prisoners in jails and subversive workers outside.

The remarks of the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court quoted by previous speakers, said the Home Member, were made at an earlier stage of the case against Mr. Baij Nath when the grounds of the case were not before the High Court. The case was now subjudice.

As regards the remark that the High Court had been paralysed by the Defence of India Rules, the Home Member said, actually the provision to which they should be alluding to was not the Defence of India Rules but part and parcel of the Defence of India Act as passed by this House. (A voice : Are you challenging that observation ?).

The Home Member : Yes. This is only a statement quoted in the adjournment motion that they were paralysed by the Defence of India Rules. I am pointing out to the House there is nothing in the Rules by which they are paralysed or gagged in any way whatsoever.

The Home Member deplored Mr. Anthony's aspersions on the Magistracy calling it a servile Magistracy.

Voices : Perfectly right.

The Home Member protested against these aspersions on an honourable body of Government servants. They were Indians.

(Voices : Appointed by Government).

They were drawn from a respectable class of the population (More interruptions).

On behalf of the Muslim League Party, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan gave a suitable reply to his pretended apprehension "What would be the Muslim League attitude if the Central Government attempted to interfere with the League Ministries in Sind or Bengal in discharging their functions ?" The Nawabzada said :

The responsibility for the administration of law and order in a Province remained the Governor's who was a creature of the Government of India (hear, hear).

It was true that this Assembly had passed the Defence of India Act under which the Government of India framed rules. If the Government of India felt that the provinces were incapable of applying that Act fairly and judiciously then it was their duty to withdraw the Act. To say that the Central Government could not interfere with the Provincial Government even if the grossest injustice was committed under these Rules was like handing over a live cracker to a child and then expecting that child to be safe from disaster.

The Central Government's policy towards the Muslim League is only too well-known by this time. It is patronising only when it suits the Government.

Mr. K. C. Neogy pointed out that the Home Member had succeeded in securing futile information about the two lawyers mentioned in the motion and had also used that information to prejudice the cases of the two gentlemen who had no opportunity of defending themselves. He wanted a guarantee that Pandit Baijnath would be placed on trial on the charges which the Home Member had read out in the House. It would otherwise be a most cowardly action on the Home Member's part to make these charges.

The Home Member's allegations against Pandit Baijnath, to say the least, are most unconvincing. If the Government had sufficient evidence to suspect him of financing any underground movement in 1942, there might have been some justification in arresting him then, and not a year after the movement had died out. His second argument, *i.e.*, he was suspected of acting as a link between security prisoners in jails and subversive workers outside, may also be dismissed as equally unconvincing. This allegation may be made against any and every defence lawyer in a political case. Such loose and vague allegations may be considered sufficient by the Government for putting anybody behind the prison-bars, only if they abandon all pretensions to justice.

While passing the Defence of India Act, the present Home Member had given an assurance on behalf of the Central Government that great caution could be taken in its application. In this debate he had not a word to say about it. The D. I. Rules have been applied with extreme severity on every sphere of human activity in this country and in several cases, even a mention of the restrictions imposed under these Rules have been made punishable. The constitution has been practically cast aside and the D. I. R. installed in its place, and what is going on in the Provinces may reasonably and rightly be characterised as a "reign of terror." When the news of the arrest of the two lawyers had reached England by the middle of December last, the *Manchester Guardian* took serious notice of it and suggested the appointment of a House of Commons Committee to watch over the activities of some Ministries including the India Office. The *Guardian* added: "We have always said, whatever grievances Indians may have against our rule, we have provided them a pure and impartial system of justice. It is necessary also that such system should not only in fact be just but it should be seen and generally acknowledged to be so." Whatever power the High Courts enjoyed to administer pure justice, has been practically taken away by the D. I. Rules to which Ordinances have been added. The Executive did not rest content even at this; Sir Trevor Harries, Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court had to censure the Punjab Government for refusing to allow petitions from detained persons to reach the Court.

### *Ban on Mrs. Naidu*

The Government of India have imposed a gagging order on Mrs. Naidu. This order came up for discussion in the Central Legislative Assembly and Sir Reginald Maxwell gave his excuses for imposing the ban. His first excuse for the ban was that she issued an Independence Day appeal and that the Independence Pledge was seditious. Since 1930 for a continuous period of fourteen years, this pledge is read all over the country on every year on January 26. It has not been banned. By calling upon the people "to renew the pledge to achieve their own freedom." Mrs. Naidu did not incite them to commit any unlawful act.

Sir Reginald's second excuse was that Mrs. Naidu's address to a press conference at Delhi was considered objectionable by the Government. The main ideas in that address were that Gandhiji was never pro-Japanese and that neither Gandhiji nor Congress ever encouraged any violent agitation. This declaration of Mrs. Naidu is of very great importance in view of the fact that it seeks to dispel the false impression created by the Tottenham Pamphlet published and broadcast by the Government. This pamphlet branded Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru as pro-Japanese and cleverly gave out an impression that the entire Congress was so. When hard pressed in the Central Legislature with reference to Mrs. Naidu's exposure of the falsity of the charge that Gandhiji was pro-Japanese, Sir Reginald tried to side-track the main question although he had to make the significant admission: "Government had never at any time charged the Congress with being pro-Japanese. Where there was an allusion to it in the pamphlet 'Congress Responsibility, for the Disturbances' it was quoted from Mr. Nehru himself." Gandhiji was directly traduced in that pamphlet which contained the following foul insinuation against him:

> "Since Mr. Gandhi had no illusions as to the likelihood of effective non-violent resistance to the Japanese, we can only infer that in the admittedly possible event of Japanese aggression on India after the departure of the British, he was prepared to concede to their demands. Such an inference accords with what we have shown to be his frame of mind at the time."

When Mr. Ramratan Gupta had asked about Gandhiji's letter to Miss Slade on or about May 31, 1942, categorically stating that the people should in no case show to or expect any quarter from the Japanese and that they should resist Japanese invasion and aggression with all their might, the Home Member admitted having seen that letter, although here also he wanted to screen the truth behind a carefully coined sentence which contained no meaning. He said: "The letter contains no such words as quoted by the Hon. Member, nor anything in the same sense." He did not give out the contents of the letter to which he attached a great sanctity and declined to publish it saying that it was a private letter to Miss Slade. This reverence to the sanctity of a private correspondence did not prevent this very Home Member to publish a private letter purported to have been written by Jayprakash Narain and alleged to have been seized in the detention camp. On receipt of Gandhiji's views about the Japanese contained in his letter to Miss Slade, it was the Government's clear duty either to publish it or to withdraw the damning insinuations made against Gandhiji in the Tottenham Pamphlet. Government lacked the honesty to adopt any of these courses. And now, when Mrs. Naidu has cleared the allegations,

the Government has taken steps to stop publicity to that.

In giving his third excuse, Sir Reginald, according to *A.P.*; "cited the passage from Mrs. Naidu's statement at the press conference reaffirming determination to adhere to the fundamentals of the Congress position and said that showed in unmistakable terms that the Congress was not prepared to accept any compromise." This is a gross travesty of truth. The "fundamentals of the Congress position" has always meant the demand for the transfer of real political power. Mass movements were resorted to at times only to strengthen this fundamental position. Mrs. Naidu made it absolutely clear in her statement when she said that Gandhiji did not intend starting any movement, the idea being that failing negotiations some action might or would be taken at some future time and that the Working Committee had discussed nothing in the way of instructions or programme. Mrs. Naidu further added: "I think it is possible to find some way to make a breach in the wall if they (Government) would let the people meet and talk to Gandhiji and let him meet the Working Committee and find out for himself what they thought and what was happening in the country." Mrs. Naidu had thus provided ample ground for the Government to take their stand on truth and to seek rapprochement with the Congress and rectify past errors. Viscount Wavell's Government have miserably failed to seize this opportunity and have chosen to pursue the barren policy initiated by Lord Linlithgow. Mr. Joshi described the real position in a nutshell when he said: "Mrs. Naidu was acting as an angel of peace instead of creating disturbances in the country." The reason for the Government's desire to maintain the deadlock is that it suits them to do so.

### *Gross Breach of International Convention*

Mrs. Renuka Ray's adjournment motion in the Central Legislative Assembly to censure the action of the Government in permitting women to work underground in mines in Jharia and its neighbourhood has been lost by 41 votes to 23. The European Group voted with the Government and brought about the defeat of the motion.

Mrs. Ray moving the adjournment reminded the House that the Government of India was one of the signatories to the Geneva Labour Convention prohibiting the employment of women underground in coal mines. The Convention did not contain any clause enabling any participant nation to suspend the Convention. The Government of India was thus guilty of a gross breach of international convention solemnly entered into. Apart from this, even in England today, it had not been found necessary to permit women to work underground. She said that the shortage of labour in coalfields was due to low wages and bad living conditions and that the average wage in Jharia, even with the present dearness allowance, amounted to not more than Rs. 14 or 15. It ought to have been possible for the Government to find other means to remedy this shortage of labour.

On behalf of the European Group and the coal mining interests, Sir Henry Richardson said that

> He sympathized with the motion but in the interests of the war effort and in order to increase the coal raisings, there was no alternative left to them except to permit women to go underground. He said that paying extra wages would not attract more labour, as their experience was that whenever the wage was increased the coal raisings decreased, as coal miners were generally satisfied with enough to live. He also mentioned that it did not pay the coalmine owners to raise more coal as there was a depletion of their assets while the extra profit earned would go to the Government in the form of EPT. But in spite of it, they had increased the raisings to the utmost. He had therefore no option but to oppose the motion.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, said that the Government did not take the decision to allow women labour underground in a headlong or wanton manner. He emphasised the temporary nature of the decision and made it clear that the moment it was found that the provision was not necessary, he would have no hesitation in withdrawing.

The defence of the Government action, both by Dr. Ambedkar and Sir Henry Richardson, is, to say the least, far from satisfactory. Mr. N. M. Joshi had pointed out that not far from Jharia, in Jamshedpur, the average monthly wage of a worker was about rupees thirty and this disparity of wages was the main reason for shortage of labour in the coal industry. Sir Henry's statement that increment in mining wages led to decrease in raisings is absurd, unbelievable and ridiculous. He gave no facts in support of this sweeping statement. The sole reason for employment of women underground was that woman labour is cheap and easy to control. It is clear that by the employment of women underground, the European Coal Kings of Bengal want to snatch out a bigger slice from the E. P. T. by the careful handling of the wage bill to illiterate and helpless women.

The action of the Government merits severe

condemnation. Dr. Ambedkar's statement indicates that consent of H. M. G. has been obtained before announcing the breach of the International Convention. When this Convention was signed at Geneva, all delegates, specially those from Britain, were annoyed that Japan had not ratified it. It is not unreasonable to think that it is better rather not to ratify a Convention and go one's own way than to ratify it just for breaking it at convenience.

### *Women in Coal Mines*

The question of the employment of women underground in the coal mines was raised in the House of Commons by the Labour Member, Mr. Sorensen.

> Mr. Sorensen said it had been stated that employment of women in mines was necessary for the prosecution of the war. There would have been an outcry against a similar suggestion in this country. *It would have been regarded as a great retrogression to which Britain would not return even under the duress of war.* But in India the Geneva Labour Convention dealing with the employment of women had been suspended. It had to be proved whether this particular method of meeting an admitted deficiency in the supply of coal was the right one to adopt.
>
> Before any women were recruited for mines everything should have been done to see that men who were working there were retained by making it worth their while, and by tapping the great reservoir of male labour in India. Until wages were substantially higher and conditions generally made more attractive, recruiting of women should not have been resorted to. This very retrograde step had been condemned by the Indian TUC in no uncertain terms. He complained that neither the British nor the Indian TUC had been consulted and he was not surprised that a lady in the Legislative Assembly had moved an adjournment of the House as a protest.

Mrs. Ray very appropriately pointed out in the debate on her motion that the only authoritative body which has the power to allow a convention to be suspended is the International Court of Justice at the Hague. No other country has infringed this convention except the Government of India. The admission made by Sir Henry Richardson, the Leader of the European Group, during that debate, deserves special mention. He admitted that it was not a paying proposition for coal-mine owners to produce coal beyond a certain amount. No doubt beyond a certain level of profit the coal-mine owners do not receive any advantage as the Excess Profits Tax comes into operation. Sir Yamin Khan of the Muslim League Party pointed out that this was tantamount to an admission that the rich coal-mine owners refused to make any sacrifice for the war. Is it to be understood then that the sacrifice must come from women being sent underground in the most injurious of occupations? That the Government is unable or unwilling to touch the vested interests of the coal-mine owners? This will be a revelation to the compatriots of the mine-owners at home and an indication of the Government of India's method of stimulating the war effort.

### *Bengal Budget*

A deficit of Rs. 11 crores and 20 lakhs this year and Rs. 8 crores and 46 lakhs next year has been revealed in the Bengal Budget for 1944-45. Total revenue for the two years is put at Rs. 21 crores 34 lakhs and Rs. 21 crores 97 lakhs respectively, and expenditure at Rs. 32 crores 54 lakhs and Rs. 30 crores 43 lakhs respectively. The total provision on account of the famine relief in the two years is Rs. 8 crores 25 lakhs. No separate provision is included in the estimates for the rehabilitation of people ruined as a result of the famine. The Finance Minister has assured that "This matter is engaging the attention of Government and it is certain that large sums will be required for this purpose," but little reliance can be placed on this assurance specially in view of the fact that when great efforts should have been made for combating epidemics following the famine, the expenditure for Public Health has been put at Rs. 75 lakhs against the normal of Rs. 36 lakhs.

The Finance Minister's speech has made one startling revelation. He said: "The cost of the Civil Supplies Department which in 1942-43 was under Rs. 4 lakhs would be Rs. 1 crore, and Rs. 1 crore 48 lakhs in 1943-44 and 1944-45 respectively. These figures did not include the *losses on the Department's trading operations which had been placed at Rs. 3½ and Rs. 5 crores respectively.*" Through a controversy with the Punjab it was established that the Bengal Government made a substantial profit in their trading operations in wheat. The rice merchants during these periods have made fabulous wealth, they simply coined money. Why has the Civil Supply Department lost the huge sum of Rs. 8½ crores? The Bengal Government must explain to the people of the Province the reasons for this loss. We refuse to believe that such large sums of money were lost merely through the stupidity of the persons entrusted to this work by Sir John Herbert. This action of the Civil Supply Department calls for the establishment of an Enquiry Committee to go into the whole question of this loss. Will Mr. Casey have courage enough to do so? The immense increase in the cost of Civil Supply establishment is absolutely uncalled for and unwarranted. This possibly accounts for the

cost of the rationing establishment. Great reduction in it might have been effected by reducing the number of Government shops and increasing that of the Approved Retailers. Will some legislator in Bengal get hold of a copy of Bombay Budget, ascertain the cost of her Civil Supply Department, calculate its per capita incidence and compare it with Bengal in the course of a cut motion ?

### *Growth of Penicillin in India*

*The Hindustan Standard* reports :

> Two young scientists in the Department of Biochemistry in the Institute of Science, Bangalore, have brought Penicillin, which is the wonder drug of modern medicine, to India. Mr. S. Srinivasa Rao and Mr. S. P. De who have been sucessful in growing Penicillin in large quantities and have evolved a method which is the quickest for growing maximum quantity in a quarter of the time taken elsewhere. In America and England 12 days are needed for the penicillin mould to grow fully and the Bangalore method has reduced this incubation period to three days. The medium employed is wheat bran and experiments on bran showed an activity of 30 Oxford units per gramme whereas penicillin grown in solution of either sugar or glucose yields only 3 to 4 units per c.c.
>
> First penicillin culture for this work was obtained from abroad in 1943 and the Indian product when tried in a big military hospital has yielded very good results in healing infected wounds and war injuries.

This is only one instance of the adaptability of Indian scientists to modern conditions. Given proper facilities and encouragement, Indian scientists would have given a much better account of themselves.

### *The Jute Industry and Price Fixation*

A Bengal Government Press Note states that the question of acreage to be sown with jute this year and its probable effect on prices was discussed with the Government of India representatives at New Delhi. The Jute Mill industry was strongly represented at this conference. So far as we can gather from the Press Note, the jute growers and the Jute Mill labour went unrepresented. The following decisions were reached :

> (*a*) The Government of Bengal will issue orders for licensing of an acreage of eight annas of the basic acreage of 1940 and will advise and encourage agriculturists to plant fully up to this acreage.
>
> (b) The Government of India will guarantee a minimum price of raw jute on the basis of Rs. 15 per md. of Indian Jat Middles at Calcutta (other qualities or grades of raw jute to be in parity with this price).
>
> (*c*) The Government of India will undertake to buy all crop offering, old and new, upcountry or in Calcutta in order to maintain prices at the above level in Calcutta and at parity levels upcountry.
>
> (*d*) A maximum price of raw jute will be fixed on the basis of Rs. 17 for Indian Jat Middles in Calcutta (other qualities or grades of raw jute to be in parity with this price) with the right of the Government of India to requisition on the basis of the maximum price. The Government of Bengal will assist in such requisitioning from middlemen if necessary.
>
> (*e*) Both the minimum and the maximum prices will be fixed under statutory orders to be issued by the Government of India. The Government of India will also under statutory orders simultaneously fix the maximum prices for manufactured goods.
>
> The prices so fixed will come into operation from a date to be notified shortly and will remain in force up to and including June 30, 1945.

The decisions may be viewed from the standpoint of the jute grower and the people of Bengal in the following manner : (1) That the minimum price of jute has been fixed at Rs. 15 *in Calcutta*, thus leaving the growers as usual at the mercy of the powerful middlemen who are not nationals of the Province; (2) That the interest of the jute mill industry has been amply protected by fixing the maximum price of jute *in Calcutta* at Rs. 17 which would have the most depressing effect on prices in the mofussil; (3) That the crop will be purchased by the Government which will enable the mills to carry a huge stock in addition to their own at public expense, the sole effect of which will be to depress the market further and will give the mills a very strong bargaining power so far as the grower in the mofussil is concerned who will have little means of enforcing the minimum price for his benefit; (4) That statutory orders, possibly under the D. I. R. will be invoked to place the poor, ignorant and illiterate grower at the mercy of the mill and the middlemen. Provision for sowing half the 1940 acreage, called the basic acreage, has been made to deal the final blow to the grower thus tempting him to grow more jute than is warranted by actual market conditions both in the present as well as in the future.

This decision formed the subject-matter of an adjournment motion in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. The motion was defeated with the help of the European Group. The Opposition contended that by this decision, particularly at a time when the Province was experiencing food shortage, the Government had betrayed the cause of the agriculturist. Introducing the adjournment motion, Mr. S. N. Biswas said :

> That the basic acreage of jute lands was 54 lakhs of which four lakhs was land on which nothing but jute could be grown. In the remaining 50 lakhs paddy could also be grown. He estimated that not more than 27 lakhs of bales would be required for war purposes in 1944-45. Of this, other provinces could produce about 15 lakhs of bales, thus leaving only 12 lakhs for Bengal. To produce 12 lakhs of bales or 60 lakhs mds. Bengal would require to cultivate jute in only four lakhs of acres. Therefore, if Bengal were asked to cultivate jute on land on which nothing but jute could be grown, she

could supply all requirements for war purposes. At a time when there was a great shortage of food Bengal should produce food crops on as much land as possible. The Ministry had "stabbed Bengal in the back" by giving an undertaking to advise and encourage the planting of jute in full 8 As. of the total acreage."

The Ministry had also done mischief by agreeing to the fixation of prices at Rs. 17 maximum and Rs. 15 minimum a md. at Calcutta. Jute growers who did not sell their jute in Calcutta would not get more than Rs. 9 per md.—in many cases even less.

The Commerce Minister of Bengal, Khwaja Sahabuddin, failed to refute any of the arguments put forward by the Opposition Members. His chief argument seemed to be that, "Mr. Biswas had quoted the 1940 basic acreage. Since then the jute acreage had been reduced and last year it was only 25½ lakhs. On the other hand, the acreage under paddy was 266 lakhs or more than ten times under jute." The Commerce Minister did not say why 4 lakh acres would not be sufficient to grow the jute *actually needed by the market,* and why they proposed to sow 25½ lakh acres again this year. His comparison with jute and rice acreage is nonsensical, it is common knowledge that acreage under rice must be increased substantially if intensive cultivation is not resorted to. He failed to give the most vital assurance to the Assembly which he owed. He did not say what machinery would be there to ensure that every bit of jute the cultivator would grow would be bought at the minimum price. He also did not mention what would be the minimum price for the grower in the mofussil.

In this connection one would do well to remember the observations of Mr. W. A. M. Walker, who declared that in fixing these prices "Government have been dangerously liberal." He did not hesitate to declare that "present prices are reasonable enough." While presiding over the annual meeting of the Indian Jute Mills Association, held on February 18, he said:

"I do not pretend to like statutory fixation of prices by Government but in the existing circumstances I think there was no other course open and I am hopeful that the arrangements (arrived at as the result of a Conference held in Delhi early in January) will be for our mutual benefit."

Judging from the manner in which the Government is throwing the cultivator and the small trader to the wolves in a well-planned way, and is handing over Indian trade and industry to the British vested interests trampling under foot Indian national rights, "Our mutual benefit" needs explanation. Government, both at the Centre and in Bengal, have been more than benevolent to the Jute Mill Industry. When attempts were made in Bengal to get a statement of the cost of production of jute goods from the mills in order to calculate a just and fair price for the raw material, the I. J. M. A. refused to submit any such return. The Bengal Government pocketed this insult and never tried to compel them to do so. In 1934, the Government of India correctly estimated that the demand for jute goods could possibly be supplied by a quarter of the machinery then available and the highest demand ever reached so far could be satisfied by a third of the equipment. There is therefore three-fourths to two-thirds excess capacity in jute industry. Any student of economics would realise what this excess capacity with a monopoly organisation means. Just as excess stock depresses the price of the raw material, excess capacity is utilised to manipulate the price of the finished product in favour of the monopolist. Government are aware of these facts and with full knowledge of the consequences, they permit the Mills and British Managing Agents to continue in their own way. The interest of the present Government in doing so may better be imagined than described.

### *Condition of Hindus in Hyderabad*

*The Hindu Outlook*, in the course of an article published on February 15, gives an account of the condition of Hindus in Hyderabad. A book, entitled "Places of Worship in Hyderabad," has been published by the State Publicity Department giving figures of temples, mosques, and the expenditure on them in order to prove that the Nizam Government is tolerant and liberal towards the Hindus. The following table will illutrate the real nature of tolerance and liberalism in the Nizam's Dominions:

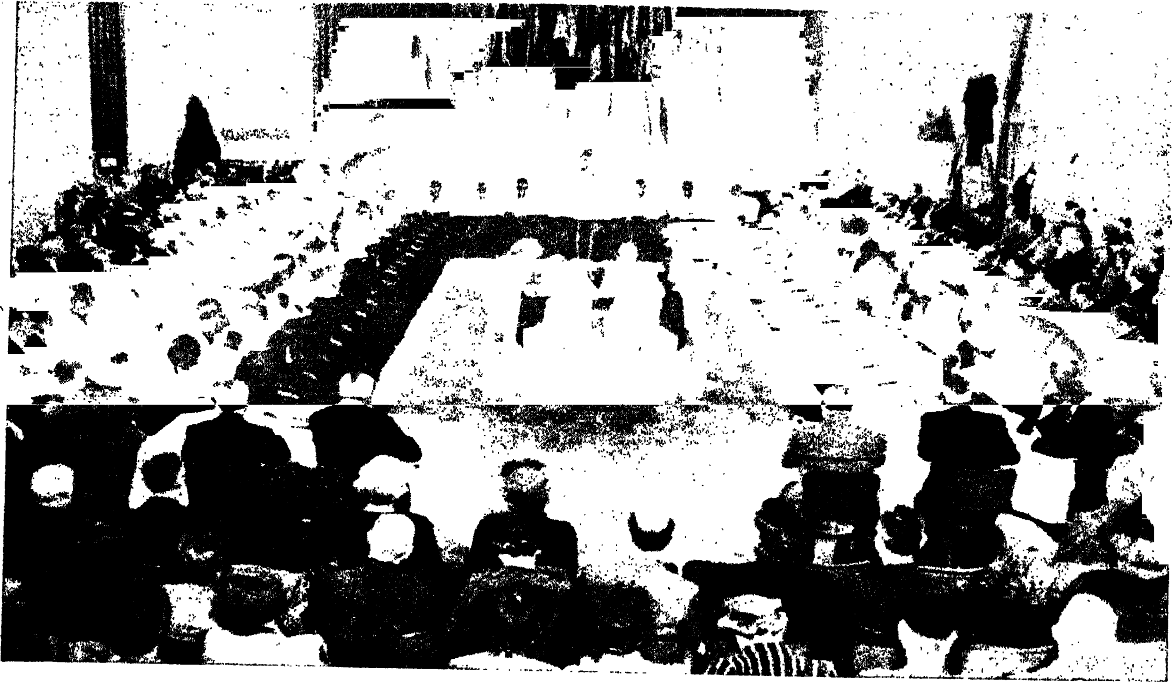
| | Figures by the Publicity Department of Hyderabad | | | Whither tolerance ? | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Religion | Population | Places of worship | Expenditure in rupees | Number of persons per place of worship | Expenditure per head pies |
| Hindus | 12,750,100 | 34,509 | 423,816 | 369 | 6 |
| Muslims | 1,534,666 | 14,777 | 1,039,205 | 103 | 130 |

Religious rights of the Minority Hindus is illustrated by the Law dated 19th Sheriwa 1308 Fasli which lays down that in places where the Muslim population is predominant, erection of temples and construction of maths and repairs thereof should not be allowed.

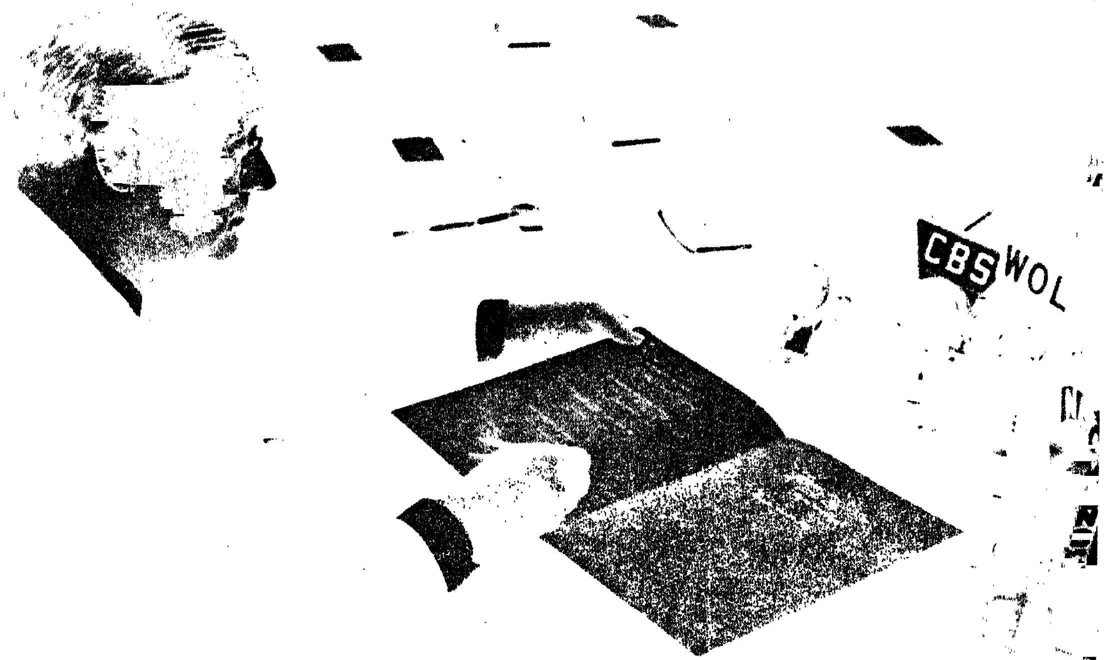
This would give a foretaste of how Pakistan would be like and the lot of the Hindu Minorities therein.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE





The Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration represented by the delegates of 44 Nations holds its final plenary meeting in Atlantic City on the U. S. East Coast




President Roosevelt signs for the United States an agreement by which 33 United Nations and 11 Associated Governments pledged themselves at Washington to co-operate in the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of German and Japanese aggression

*Courtesy :* USOWI

# MAHADJI SINDHIA'S END

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E., D.Litt.

INTRODUCTION

JUST a century and a half have passed away since Mahadji Sindhia died near Poona, on 12th February 1794, and the far-reaching plans of empire that he had been pursuing through life died with him. Since then his descendants, especially those reigning after the Sepoy Mutiny, have risen to eminence among our indigenous rulers by their capacity, strength of will, and power of choosing able instruments; and the industrial and military advancement of their dominions under the late Maharajah Sir Madhav Rao Sindhia, has been most striking and rich in promise. But their dream of a North Indian empire has vanished. The real founder of the Sindhia Raj was Mahadji Sindhia, popularly known as the Patil Bābā, and any fresh information about him will interest the Indian reader. We possess in two Persian manuscripts, not yet printed or translated, very minute details about a supposed witch-craft practised against him after he had crushed the Rohila miscreant Ghulam Qadir (1789) and his last illness and death (in 1794). These contemporary accounts also throw a curious light upon the popular superstitions and crude medical practice of those days and thus help us to form a picture of the then society. The first extract is from the *Ibratnamah* of Faqir Khair-ud-din Allahabadi, the *munshi* of Resident Anderson, and the second from news-letters despatched from Poona to Delhi and probably collected by Claud Martin (of Lucknow fame), which have now found a place in the British Museum (Add. 24,036).

I. BLACK MAGIC AGAINST SINDHIA

(FROM KHAIR-UD-DIN, III, *f* 313 ETC.)

In the month of March 1789, a fever attacked Mahadji Sindhia. For the first twenty days he neglected to take any medicine; although Hakim Baqā Khan, his physician, pressed him, he disregarded his advice. At last the disease was prolonged and swelling of the head, both cheeks, neck and breast, appeared. Then treatment was tried, but no medicine had any effect, so that the swelling was aggravated into putrefaction and worms. Every medicine that was tried, merely increased the swelling and pus,—till at last he became unable to sit down or rise up, and gave up attending the Audience Hall. A report spread throughout his dominions that he was dead, and revolts broke out.

On 8th June, he called Rana Khan to his side, and asked him to sit in the *darbar* and conduct the administration on his behalf, so that his kingdom might not break up. Rana Khan urged him not to give way to despair, for then his government would be upset at once. That day Mahadji called his doctors together and censured them, saying that if they could not cure him, he would employ a European doctor.* They replied that they had tried every medicine known to them but had failed...

On 20th June, the swelling and pain increased to such an extent that the skin of his face on the left side, from the nose to the ear fell off, and worms came out of it...emitting an awful stench. Nearly two seers of putrid flesh fell down, of itself, from his neck !

On 30th June, the Maharajah proposed to call a European doctor; his courtiers disapproved of it...

Then Hakim Baqā Khan, Rana Khan and other courtiers discussed the case, and the suggestion that it was due to witchcraft was mooted. Mahadji himself disbelieved the theory, but at last ordered an investigation to be made. Busy search was made in all directions. At last [on 14th July], spies brought in reports about a woman in the city of Vrindavan, who was famed for the practice of witchcraft. They said that by living with her for some days and giving her money, they had heard her boasting that Mahadji Sindhia's illness was her own work, done at the solicitation of Gosain Himmat Bahadur.

On 15th July, she was by some trick brought to the Maharajah's presence; all the sardars were summoned by Mahadji and he told them about his own kind treatment of Himmat Bahadur and the latter's ill return. Rana Khan solemnly admonished the woman to speak the

* In fact, the British Resident with him, Wm. Palmer, had offered him the services of the Residency Physician, Mr. Cochrane, but had met with a refusal. [P.R.C.i. 251]. The disease was "painful eruptions,"—the summer boils of Mathura ?

truth, promising her high rewards. She replied :—" I shall speak the truth, whether it pleases you or not. Gulzar Singh the eunuch and Sarup Giri Gosain (*chela?*) repeatedly went to me, promised me several thousand rupees, and pressed me till I agreed to this. I had at first objected; but they told me that Mahadji was bent upon rooting out all the Rajahs of Hind and on killing their own master. I had no help but to agree. They used to come to me daily and give me materials for sorcery as well as wine &c."

Mahadji then sent Jivaji Bakhshi, the friend of Himmat Bahadur, and Gul Muhammad the mace-bearer to Himmat's camp and summoned Sarup Giri and Gulzar Singh before him. The witch identified them as the persons who used to visit her. They denied the charge in the presence of Himmat Bahadur.

Sindhia ordered Syāmaji Risaladar of his guard cavalry to surround the tent of Himmat Bahadur and prevent him from slipping away. Jivaji Dada appealed to Rana Khan, who came and told Sindhia that it was unwise to believe in such a woman's tale, lest the sardars of Hindustan should rise in revolt and the Deccanis would be powerless to subdue them. Mahadji replied by producing the report of his news-writers (spies) in Himmat Bahadur's camp, confirming the latter's treasonable instigation of the Hindustani chiefs against Sindhia and his summoning of troops from Firuzabad and Sadabad. Rana Khan rejoined that the words of spies were not worth believing as they spoke what they thought would agree with the circumstances and temper of their employer! He strongly dissuaded Mahadji from striking at H. Bahadur and advised him to press the witch to counteract her magic, saying "If her allegation be true, it will be proved by any alleviation of your illness. You can then punish H. Bahadur."

The witch agreed on condition of her life being granted. She called for some wine and bacon; placing the bacon on the lid of an earthen pot and sprinkling the wine on it, she kindled a fire below it and began to mutter spells. In proportion as juice came out of the meat, Sindhia's pain began to decrease. Then Rana Khan and Jivaji and other friends of H. Bahadur could urge nothing in his favour!

Mahadji issued this proclamation to Himmat Bahadur's followers : "Those of you who value your life and property, should this day leave his camp and go over to some other camp, or else you would share his ruin." His officers stopped the supply of grain and fodder to Himmat's camp and wrote orders to the officers on the route to plunder and drive back Himmat's soldiers coming to him from Firuzabad and Sadabad.

On 21st July, Sindhia ordered Jiva Bakhshi to go out with his troops and bring Himmat Bahadur to his presence. [But H. B. slipped away on the way, fled to Ali Bahadur's camp, and took sanctuary under the Peshwa's flag, the *zari pataka*. Mahadji demanded the surrender of the fugitive, but Ali Bahadur and the Maratha sardars in his army strongly refused, and a civil war between the two agents of the Peshwa seemed imminent. After three days of tension and standing to arms on both sides, Sindhia's anger was mollified by Rana Khan, who induced him to submit the whole case to the Peshwa's judgment].

## II

### Last Illness of Mahadji Sindhia

### (From Persian *akhbarats*)

[Introduction.—From the middle of 1792 to his own death in February 1794, Mahadji Sindhia was in residence near Poona, close to Wanowri. He used frequently to hunt deer in the jungles in the environs of the Peshwa's capital, and the exposure and mosquito bite very likely gave him the malignant fever of which he died].

February 1794. At this time Mahadji Sindhia suddenly fell so ill that he at once retired to the female apartments. He said that in the preceding night he had eaten *bājra* bread mashed in milk, with banana vegetable curry (*tarkāri*), and for this reason a little heaviness and pain in the stomach and fever had appeared. Therefore, Hakim Baqā Khan prescribed a laxative. Sindhia ordered Aba Chitnis to hold an urgent consultation with him and then go to the Court (*kachari*) to discuss affairs with every one. This was done. Up to noon, he had three or four motions in all. Thereafter he took a regulated meal. In the evening all the courtiers were sent away. He told Aba and others that he had now been restored to health, and so they should all go back to their tents and take rest. They carried out this order.

Next morning, on awaking he called for Hakim Baqā Khan and told him that the fever had not left him. The physician replied, "You should put yourself to a strict regimen for two or three days, and then all the illness will disappear." Abā asked Hakim Baqā Khan if he would repeat the medicine which he had given the previous day. The Hakim replied, "This is

a question of medical treatment. If you wish to remain under my direction and advice, I shall administer a laxative today also." On hearing this, they all objected. After a long discussion, Mahadji himself by the advice of the Hakimji took a laxative; but up to one and a half quarter of the day (11 A.M.) there was not even a single motion. After he had eaten food there were three motions...

Mahadji asked Hakim Baqā Khan if he would permit him to eat Kabuli grapes. The physician objected, "Grapes have the heating property, and you have today taken a laxative; besides, the fever has not yet left you." Sindhia replied, "Nothing else is to my taste. What else shall I eat?" The Hakim feeling himself helpless, allowed five grapes to be eaten.

When four *gharis* of the night were over, he had two more motions, and he felt better in comparison with before. He ate a little regulated diet and took rest.

Next morning (10th February), he awoke. Hakim Baqā Khan came in and felt his pulse. Just then Abā and Bābu Mirza came and talked between themselves that the medicine of the Hakimji had given no relief to Mahadji's body; and that the disease was something different [from what Baqā Khan had diagnosed it], so they should place him under the treatment of their own physicians. Sidhāji, a son [or nephew] of Mahadji's father-in-law, had great skill in [Hindu] medicine, and medicines prescribed by him were given to Mahadji...

At night barley broth was prepared and Mahadji drank a little of it. Then at night there came such a severe attack of fever that he himself and the other people present there were all alarmed. So, Aba Chitnis and others came and by their common consent administered a medicine of Sidhāji...

From six *gharis* after nightfall, Mahadji remained utterly unconscious. On hearing of it, Abā, Krishnāji, Ramji Patil, Babu Mirza and others arrived there. After mutual consultation, at dawn [11th February] they gave away in charity to the Brahmans, Mahadji's robes and armour, with one elephant a pair of gold bracelets (worth Rs. 500), and Rs. 5,000 in cash. After that one horse with Rs. 200 in cash, one buffalo with scarf and turban and Rs. 25 in cash, —were given away to the Brahmans in charity. There was a slight relief in the restlessness and unconsciousness of Mahadji compared with the night past.

After this Sidhaji and other Hindu physicians met together, held consultations and took the sanction of the chief officers of Mahadji to administer to him a pill of mercury, pounded in a gold foil,—which is called *mātrā* in the Hindi language. It was dissolved in the juice of ginger, *bahman,** and garlic and Mahadji was made to drink it. They applied to his head a poultice of *bahman.*

Immediately after the application of this remedy, up to three quarters of the day, a condition of extreme insensibility and weakness supervened, so that all hearts lost the hope of his surviving.

For this reason, all that day no food was cooked in Sindhia's camp kitchen. When this news reached Nānā Fadnis, he came with Apa Balwant [Mehendele] and other sardars, and issued orders for food being cooked; then he went to Shrimant Peshwa, who at once rode out with all his sardars, came to this place, saw the sad condition of the patient, and returned to Poona at two *gharis* of the night.

When the time for giving up the ghost arrived, Mahadji asked twice or thrice "Has Daulat Rao come?" and passed away at six *gharis* from nightfall, on the 11th Rajab [=12 February 1794].

Very brief and somewhat different accounts of these two episodes are found in the Marathi language: (*i*) the black magic, in *Hist. Papers* (Gwalior ed.) No. 558, *Aiti Tippane,* iv. 9 and 13. (*ii*) last illness, in Jagannath Vishwanath's letter of 15th February 1794, printed in Sardesai, *Mara. Riyasat.* Uttar ii. p. 407.

* *Bahman,* the root of a plant resembling a large radish; it is crooked, red and white, and is used medicinally. [Richardson's Diction].

## ERRATUM

Correction in *The Battle of Lakheri* (*The Modern Review* for February, 1944).—Bapu Holkar was the nephew and not the son of Tukoji.

# RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

## An Impression of the Patriot-Publicist

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

The sun shone from an azure sky. As it sped towards the meridian the tufts of morning mist floating aimlessly about overhead dissolved. Soon the atmosphere warmed up. To the almost irresistible appeal of the brilliantly lit out-of-doors was added joyous voices and the crash of cannon and pistol shots.

"You cannot stay indoors," they said in unison. "Come out and be glad."

It was the Fourth of July, 1907 of the Christian era. On that day, in 1776, the United States of America had emerged into being.

Every one round about me in Chicago, my home at that time, was full of patriotic zeal. Adults, adolescents and little children gave vent to their national enthusiasm in every conceivable form of noise. Much of it was extremely shrill. Only members of a youthful nation, brimful of energy, could thus express their patriotic fervour.

I had work to do and must needs stay indoors. Home then was a small room on the first (or, in American parlance,, second) floor of a modest house situate in Hamilton Avenue, on the west side of the second largest city in North America. In it I worked and received visitors during the day and slept at night. Sometimes I also had (cold) lunches there.

News had been brought to me of a review that had recently been started in Allahabad. It is, at this day so far removed from July, 1907, not possible for me to say precisely by whom this information had come to me. So far as I can recollect, however, it was Roti, as we called Rathindranath, Poet Tagore's son and heir. He, a little younger than myself, was studying agriculture at the Illinois University and used to come occasionally from Urbana to Chicago. His father—as yet hardly known outside Bengal—was the editor's friend and a frequent contributor to another publication of his. If it was not he, I cannot now figure out who else could have been the informant.

I liked the name—*The Modern Review.*—Then in my twenties, I burned with enthusiasm to sweep out the old to make room for the new. "Good Old Times—Not For Me," I had written, a week or two before, for one of the American magazines.

With only the name to image to me the publication, I hardened my heart against the excitement outside and set to work on an article. It was to be a dissertation on education—the system as I had found it in the stimulating New World compared with that existing in India, not yet stirred out of the Dark Ages.

With the fire of early manhood activating the pen, writing got done with magic facility. That facility, alas, cannot be recaptured today. Experience has, for nearly four decades, been pouring cold water upon the flame of youthful self-confidence. The article, finished by bed-time, was posted the next day to Allahabad.

Just this month, 36 years ago, the postman —a mulatto (of mixed white and negro parentage) handed me a packet that contained the October, 1907, issue of *The Modern Review.* It was the IV number of Vol. 2. My contribution—"Education in India and America, a Contrast and Comparison"—occupied the position of honour. As if that success were not exhilarating enough in itself, there was a letter from the editor—Ramananda Chatterjee, M.A. Written in a fine, even hand, it cordially invited me to make further contributions to the Review.

My name, I was informed, had been placed upon the complimentary list. I was to have all the nine numbers preceding the one containing my article. They were, in fact, delivered to me by the same post.

The publication was too young, the Editor wrote me, almost apologetically, adequately to remunerate a writer sojourning in a rich country like the United States. Rs......per page would, however, be sent to me as an honorarium.

At the sight of that figure my heart sank. I had already made considerable headway in journalism in the United States and Canada and my articles were being sought after in Europe. Only a few days earlier an American editor had promised to pay me for my articles at the rate of five cents (say two and a half annas) a word.

The contents of *The Modern Review,* however, greatly attracted me, as its name had already done. Aside from the articles there

were notes from the editor's pen—virile notes—that endeared him to me. In the nature of comments on current events, they showed that love for the Motherland propelled his pen. His interests were catholic. His sympathies were broad. The spontaneity of thought was refreshing.

Irresistible appeal lay in the style, as disclosed by these ten issues of the Review. The sentences were short. The words were simple—almost austere. The meaning was crystal clear. The comment was fearless. Sometimes it was blunt and even caustic: but never unrestrained, much less abusive.

I was happy indeed that this *Review* was to be added to the periodicals and newspapers I was already receiving from India. It would help me to keep my finger upon the Motherland's pulse.

In this manner originated my association with Ramananda Chatterjee—an association that was to last so long as he himself functioned upon this terrestrial sphere. As the years sped by the relationship grew warmer. Long before his end came on this September 30th, we were on fraternal rather than merely friendly terms.

II

Only when I visited the land of my birth in 1910 did I form an adequate idea of the conditions in which Ramananda Babu's journalistic enterprises had been launched; and of the difficulties in which they were conducted. Nurtured upon literature at the strong breast of the Calcutta University that had but recently crossed over from maidenhood into the woman's world, he took to writing with ever-mounting passion.

Social causes moved his pen. With the slender salary of a professor he contrived to start an organ for the amelioration of the sad state in which nearly every one round about him had his being. Fellow-feeling—pity he, in common with me, abhorred giving any one—for the sightless persons who must perforce sit, walk and sleep in ceaseless darkness, tugged at his heart. He adapted for the use of the Bengalis the system of finger reading invented in 1829, by Monsieur Louis Braille, a Frenchman.

Shortly after shifting to Allahabad as the Principal of the Kayastha Pathsala, he began editing a magazine with a scope wide enough to stretch across and around life. The *Prabasi*, he called it. Many articles of mine Bengalicized, were to appear in it in years when this bairn of Ramananda's brain, lusty from birth, had not yet quite attained adolescence. Less than a decade later he brought into existence *The Modern Review* that was to prove the means of bringing him so close to me.

In June, 1910, my wife and I were honoured guests under the hospitable roof of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru—who, for the sake of our people, migrated more than once, in his latter years, from his regally appointed mansion to a prison pen. From one acquaintance or another I learnt, during that visit, of Ramananda's long sojourn within sound of the sacred *sangam* (confluence) of the Ganges and the Jumna; and built up, in my mind, a picture of his life and work, his trials and tribulations and his achievements.

It became clear to me, for instance, that his sense of personal dignity would not permit him to be a mere cog in the Kayastha Pathsala machinery. So long as he was its Principal, the internal management must not be subject to manipulation by members of the managing committee. Upon that point he was adamant.

Nor would he supinely submit to the rules framed by officials for regulating the working of institutions partly fed from the public financial trough. His temperament would not allow him to be prodded by agents of the Education Department supercharged with a sense of self-importance. He could not and would not keep down criticism of a system that he found soulless and soul-destroying.

Pins must have pricked him from one side or another almost from the moment he, in his thirtieth year, first occupied the Principal's chair at that institution. Within him were, fortunately, resources of the spirit that enabled him to ignore them.

This indifference, in itself, must have angered some of the elements not too well disposed towards him. The hour of clash was bound to strike, sooner or later. It struck. He struck, too. No longer would he stay there. He sent in his resignation and departed, to the glee of the would-be despots and the sorrow of the students who had found in him the *guru* of their hearts.

Maintenance of self-respect cost him dear. He had sealed up the only avenue of income he had. I doubt if there were a hundred rupees in cash in the house at the time, or much of a credit balance in the bank. Five children and a wife looked to him for sustenance. Bills turned in by the printers of the *Prabasi* had to be met.

Mark, however, the leonine heart of the man! In what, to others, would have been an unendurable predicament, he determined to go ahead with the scheme he had already formed for launching *The Modern Review*.

To him being out of a job meant not the blank realm of despair but that of intense activity of the mind. Here was, he felt, God-given, unfettered opportunity to carry out that plan.

The manner in which he conducted the monthly in English made him the despair of some of his well-wishers. The Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in whom the spirit had not yet been touched by the autumnal frost that reddens the *chenar* leaf in the Kashmir valley and touches the human blood (provided it is blood and not water) everywhere with fire. Knowing me since the beginning of the century, he confided in me that Ramananda Babu flew in the face of Fate. Not recognizing the heat that the times were generating, particularly in the temper of the officials, he went on criticising—*criticising*—day in, day out—that Ramananda would not listen to the dictates of prudence and tone down his criticism of men who, in the editor's view, were comporting themselves prejudicially to our interests—hurting our national dignity.

No one, therefore, wondered that he, already a *persona non grata* with the educational authorities, was told to speed away from the *sangam*. Bengalis were not needed to agitate the political stream in the province—a stream as yet placid.

From one who was something of a firebrand I heard, years later, an account of an interview that Ramananda Babu had with one of the leaders at this juncture. The great man was asked as to what he would do if he himself had received the order to go. My narrator had the gift of mimicry and I enjoyed the humming and hawing that he reproduced.

Well may the leader have hesitated, however. Lajpat Rai, whom I knew from my college days, had been railroaded from the Punjab to the banks of the Hughli and thence shipped off to Burma without charge or trial. The judicial processes were being set aside whenever and wherever the executive so willed. A regulation fabricated early in the century, when the Indian Empire was on the anvil, was dragged out of the government's junk shop and vigorously used.

## III

In Calcutta Ramananda could rub his mind against the greatest minds of his day. Not far from the house he tenanted, lived and worked Professor (now Sir) Profulla Chandra Ray and Professor (later Sir) Jagadis Chandra Bose. Off and on Rabindranath Tagore visited the metropolis and lived in his ancestral town house.

It must have been not long after settling down to journalistic work in Calcutta that the Poet said to him: "You are a school-master. You might look through these and do what you like with them."

"These" Ramananda told me some years later were poems of Rabindranath's composition that he had himself Englished. Nothing much, he said, needed to be done. He encouraged the Poet to go on putting his Bengali works into English. These appeared in 1910 or 1911 in *The Gitanjali.*

Ever attracted by the Poet's personality and eager to spend, in quiet, country surroundings, as much time as he could spare from his responsibilities in Calcutta, Ramananda acquired a piece of land in Santiniketan. It was only a short distance from the mud house in which Rabindranath dwelt, surrounded by tillers of the soil and artificers—surrounded as a shining light is by a penumbra of Cimmerian gloom.

In those days, Ramananda told me, there were no buildings between his little hut and the Poet's mud house. Across the fields he could see when the oil lamp was blown out and the Poet retired for the night.

Early in the morning the two friends used to meet. As the spirit moved them they would hold converse for minutes or hours on end.

"Those were precious moments," Ramananda remarked to me. "What stores of knowledge—what breadth of vision the Poet possessed!"

It needs to be added, however, that Ramananda played no small part in his life. Long before William Butler Yeats met Rabindranath at William Rothenstein's house in London and the foundations were laid for the introduction of the "Song Offerings" to the British public, the gifted editor had been printing in his Review translations of Tagore's writings. Many a person unfamiliar with Bengal's tongue got his first glimpse of Rabindranath's beautiful soul through these renderings.

Later on Ramananda got together tributes to Rabindranath Tagore from celebrated persons all over the world. With a feelingly written introduction, he published them in "The Golden Book of Tagore." This service, noteworthy as it was, was, in reality, only the last pier of the bridge the great editor had for years been building for the Poet to march over from Bengal to the world.

## IV

During the occasional visits that Rabindranath began to pay to Britain after I settled

there, practically from 1910 to 1925, we often talked of Ramananda. Just before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, or possibly a little later, Kedarnath Chatterjee, my colleague's eldest son, arrived in London to pursue his scientific studies at the University there. While still a student, or possibly shortly after obtaining his M.Sc. degree in chemistry, he became a unit of the scores of chemists who were set to work in Manchester to evolve the means of manufacturing chemical dyes, for which, still the beginning of that titanic struggle, the British had almost wholly depended upon Germany. Throughout his stay he had the freedom of our house. And we always talked pleasantly and intimately about his family.

I recall full well the note of surprise—pleasant surprise—in Kedar's voice when entering my study in our Herne Hill home for the first time, he remarked concerning a picture that hung against the wall almost on a level with my head as I sat at the desk dictating to one of my secretaries—a Welsh woman.

"That picture, Mr. Singh, seems to have been taken from *The Modern Review*," he said.

"Appropriately. Do you not think that Sri Valmiki should look down benignly upon my labours ?" I queried in reply.

"But I do not recollect having seen any other writer do this," he continued, with biting sarcasm.

"So much the worse for the writers," I observed. "It was good of your father to give us this charming study of our great sage-litterateur. I like the design, the colouring and, most of all, the feeling that the artist has imparted to the lineaments; and the posture, particularly of the shoulders.

"Had Ramananda Babu done no more than to encourage the men and women who, under the distinguished leadership of Abanindranath Tagore, had liberated themselves from degenerate imitation of Occidental technique, he would have earned our eternal gratitude. By making the finest specimens of their paintings available through his magazines and also through albums, he is providing the means of education in Indian aesthetics.

"Knowing, as I do, something of the technique of printing and blockmaking, I greatly admire the plates that have been produced in India and by Indians. I admire them so much, indeed, that many of the pictures on the walls of this house have been taken from *The Modern Review* and framed. Come. I will show them to you."

I remember two of these prints that my wife and I particularly admired. They were entitled "Siddhas of the Upper Air" and "An Indian Angelus." (So I, at least, called it—I do not recollect what title the editor had given it).

The two were diametrically opposite in technique and colouring, the first-named delicately tinted, the second a study in warm, sunset-red. Both had great appeal for us.

This talk with Kedarnath carried my mind back to a conversation I had had with E. B. Havell and his wife when, a few years before, they had been calling at our house in Belsize Park, Hampstead, near which they themselves lived. He, himself an artist of no mean ability, had, while at the head of the Government School of Art in Madras and later in Calcutta, realized the great harm the mimicry of Western modes was doing to Indian artists. They were not assimilating anything that would join on with their racial heritage. The daubs they were turning out were, in consequence, soulless. With each stroke of the brush they were moving farther and farther away from the Indian tradition. Abanindranath Tagore, who, for a time, sat at Havell's feet, was keen upon ushering in a new movement that to us is known as the Bengal School of Art.

My English friend and his Danish wife, herself a sculpturess—a pupil of the famous Rodin—said that they eagerly looked for the delivery through the post of *The Modern Review* month by month. Upon opening the packet, the first thing they examined was the frontispiece in colours that almost always gave them the greatest possibie joy. Mr. Chatterjee, they emphasized, was doing a grand work in making it possible for the general public to see the beautiful drawings by Indian artists.

I frequently heard from Ramananda in those days and contributed to his magazine as often as I could. The letters that came from Calcutta were largely devoted to matters directly or indirectly related to the nationalist activities in the Motherland. They contained personal references—"family news," was his phrase.

I have not the space to make extracts from them here even if I could get at them—which I cannot—our house is in the throes of rebirth and my papers are scattered over both hemispheres. They showed me even more clearly than did his notes month by month in *The Modern Review* that in his heart burned the blue flame of love for the land of our birth. In

the light shed by that flame he plied his pen and ordered his life.

V

In 1922, during a sojourn in India, I realized with something like its full force the tragedy that had happened to my friend of which he, ever chary of harrowing his friends' feelings, had given meagre details The little lady who, since the tying of the nuptial knot, had been at his side through weal and woe, ever helping him so far as lay in her power, had become a physical wreck. Her youngest son, Prasad, had died in 1919, upon the threshold of manhood. A fine, strapping boy was he, as distinguished at football and other sports as he was at his studies.

The pang that throbbed through my heart was relieved by the sight of the kindly ministration by the daughters. I must say that when, some years later, in the course of another visit to India, I beheld Shanta Devi, now Mrs. Kalidas Nag, I was shocked at the toll that nursing had levied upon her.

Proud was Ramananda of his daughters. Well might he be. Their literary and artistic productions, of which he, from time to time, sent me copies, displayed great merit.

I remember on one occasion he told me, or wrote to me, "My daughter......says that Father is fond of girls. So, in the second generation too he has only girls." (I quote from memory).

From what little I saw of the grand-daughters in the course of my present sojourn in India, he had every reason to be delighted with the promise they gave. I expect much from at least one of his youngest son's (Asoke's) daughters.

VI

I had, from time to time, been urging Ramananda to set sail from Calcutta across the seven seas to behold, with his own eyes, something of the world and to hear, with his own ears, the various peoples talking on any and every subject in their respective native surroundings. He had a mind to do so : but...

A man who edited two publications in two languages and published them regularly, month by month, in the trying political conditions of India, had, of course, many impediments in the way of his proceeding abroad for however short a period. Even though Kedar had grown to manhood and was taking as much as he could of the burden of management and also helping on the editorial side, it was difficult to forecast what might happen during the chief's absence.

Finally, when he resolved to get away from Calcutta, he unwittingly chose a time when I was not in Europe to receive him. The letter he wrote me shortly in advance of proceeding made almost a complete circuit of the globe, chasing me from London to Brussels, thence to Washington, D.C., Montreal, Canada, Manila in the Philippines and Hongkong. It did not catch up with me in any of these places and was at long last received by me in Colombo.

He had gone to Europe at the invitation of the League of Nations. He was to examine the work of that organization and to write about it.

He did make this examination and he did write. The hosannas that must have been expected from him did not, however, gush from his pen's throat. So searching was his criticism and so just his comment that I, on one occasion, asked him to put his articles together, edit them and give them to us in the form of a handy volume that we could keep on one of our library shelves for ready reference.

If my memory is not at fault, he did not keep the money sent him to cover his expenses : or possibly he asked the organization not to send the cheque. This action, if my recollection is correct, was fully in accord with his principles and practices.

His sense of right and wrong was most delicate. This I had observed on many an occasion.

VII

It was during my lengthy stay in Ceylon (1927-1930) that I learnt from him of a new journalistic enterprise upon which he had launched. It was a venture indeed. A publication called *The Vishal Bharat* was about to be, or some time before had actually been, started.

If this new monthly paid its way, he, I thought, would indeed be lucky. It would do so because the publishing house from which it was to appear month by month was well-known all over India—and was respected. Then, too, the Editor—Benarsi Das Chaturvedi, was as capable as he was well informed and had associated with him Brij Mohan Varma, whom I considered to be a very promising journalist.

Both for personal and public reasons I was glad that this essay was made in Hindi journalism. From the initial years of the century I have been supporting and, if possible, aiding, the movement, hoping that in this way we may have a *lingua Indica*. The Indian National Congress, through the initiative of the Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi had in later years adopted Hindi and Hindustani as a partner

of English that, up till then, had been the sole medium of communication.

I feel the force, even at this moment, of the surprise this venture caused me. Ramananda had been known to be a great protagonist of Bengali. He would not, it was reported to me, countenance the movement for the writing of that language in the *Nagari* script. A little further thought soon made me realize that his love for the Motherland was greater than his love for the mother-tongue. Here, indeed, was another instance showing the catholicity of his interests.

## VIII

Ramananda's entrance into the realm of active politics also occasioned for me some surprise. He, like me, had confined his efforts to reviewing the activities of politicians, patting them on the back or lashing out at them, as he felt they deserved.

Neither the Indian States Subjects Conference nor the Hindu Mahasabha had managed, however, to pull him out of his study for more than a day or two at a time. He might preside at a session, give a reception committee the support of his name and influence and, what was even more valuable, suggestions. The service that he thereby rendered to these organizations was inestimable.

I am glad that he did not graduate from journalism into politics. Many a colleague of mine in the U. S. A., Canada, Britain, Ireland, the continent of Europe and several African and Asiatic countries, had accomplished that transition with varying degrees of success. They had been more or less lost to the literary world. India would have been infinitely poorer if the all-consuming fire of politics, like the scorching ray from Siva's third eye, had dried up the stream of ink that poured from the point of Ramananda's pen.

## IX

Our talks together in Calcutta will ever remain fresh in my memory. "Do not join any party," my friend counselled me. "You have always been a non-party man. Remain such."

A year ago we had an opportunity of continuing this conversation, in Dehra Dun. He had come here to officiate as a minister at the wedding of a friend's—my as well as his—friend's—daughter. No sooner had he entered the gate and looked at the house to which I had been making additions and alterations, than he said: "You are only two. Why such a large house?"

My wife, in her practical American way, replied: "Come. I will show you why."

"Ah! yes," he remarked, after he had walked to the annex we had built, "this is very cosy and comfortable and will be easy to take care of. But what about the other house? It is much larger than this?"

"Come and see that, too. It will explain itself," she said.

In her tow he went from room to room. "Cuttings—books—photographs, apparatus for making photographs everywhere—everywhere," he exclaimed. "No place to live—only to work."

"Yes, that is the case, exactly the case," she agreed.

Then he climbed the stairs to the first floor. "Large rooms, bright and airy," he noted, "more fitted for lecture halls and classes than...."

"Yes," my wife, without letting him complete the sentence, interjected. "Yes." "I am trying to persuade my husband to start a class in journalism and conduct it whenever we are in India."

It gave me great joy to see what joy this piece of information afforded him. His words were much too flattering for me to reproduce them in an article designed to give an idea of his personality and patriotism unsullied by any personal consideration to persons who did not share with me the good fortune of intimacy with him. I would have eschewed even this reference to it had I not wished to draw attention to his keen interest in the concluding year of his life upon this earth in the welfare of our journalists.

This interest had not been just then born. This any one who had the good fortune to sit at his feet would attest. How many young men went into his office raw and came out of it finished writers! I have to point out only a single instance—that of Amal Home. How valiantly he upheld in the Punjab the best traditions of our profession during the dangerous period of martial law in 1919. As the editor of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, he is making a real and abiding contribution to our progress.

## X

Ramananda's intellectual preoccupations and even more so his temperament, could never permit him to become a "society man," flitting from one function to another, sipping tea here and dining there. He had, however, a genius for friendship. Never demonstrative, his staunchness was appreciated by those who came in contact with him with any degree of intimacy.

The readiness with which the right word leapt from his lips or flowed from his pen, sweetened intercourse with him.

In the early period of our acquaintance, as yet purely of an epistolatory character, I came upon a religio-social worker who paid a warm tribute to these qualities of Ramananda's. J. T. Sunderland by name, he was a Unitarian preacher. Keenly interested in Indian affairs he, I seem to remember, accompanied by his daughter, had gone to India and formed a strong attachment for the great Bengali editor-publicist.

The friend that he made then remained his for life. Sunderland contributed, from time to time, to the pages of *The Modern Review*.

One series of his articles in that monthly were put together and brought out in book form, by Ramananda Babu. To this volume ("India in Bondage," it was, I think, called) the authorities took exception. There were proceedings. All copies of the book that lay with the publisher were seized.

Ramananda was thereby put to a great financial loss. He had paid Dr. Sunderland the royalty in advance. He could not recoup it, nor the expense he had incurred upon paper, printing, and binding. The suit, though conducted by a friendly counsel (B. C. Chatterjee), who appreciated his patriotic work to the point of forgoing his fee, cost of pretty penny. Not one word of recrimination or repentance did he utter.

## XI

In connexion with myself there was one encounter that tickled my sense of humour. It must have occurred in 1923. I was shortly to return to Britain. I needed some colour and monochrome blocks for a book that was then in the press in Hyderabad (Deccan). To supervise the processing, I went to Calcutta.

As soon as I arrived at Messrs. U. Ray's engraving establishment, the young son of the proprietor, who used to attend to me there, asked me to excuse him while he wrote a note. Presently Ramananda Babu came a little breathlessly, into the office.

"The Great Eastern Hotel where you live" he said "is too far for me to go : but I wished to return your visit and therefore I made this arrangement to be notified when you came here, which is near my home."

He was at least judged from my own experience, an exceedingly good correspondent. While, in conformity with the habit formed in my early manhood in America, I would sit down at the typewriter and compose my letter to him directly upon the machine, or, if it was not to contain any matter of a strictly personal or confidential nature, dictate it to one of my secretaries, I do not recollect a single occasion when he did not write with his own hand.

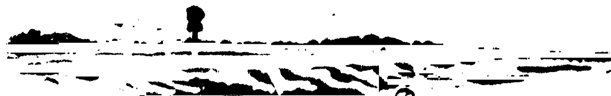
His writing bore upon its face the tell-tale marks of the schoolmaster. I marvelled at his ability to retain legibility, for writing for the press, having to be often done under great pressure, causes deterioration of caligraphy.

Even when his eyes began to give him trouble, he kept up this practice. Many specialists did he consult. They all told him, as he confided in me, that he was suffering from cataract. It was curable : but it would not be ripe for operation for some time. Without a whimper he somehow managed to carry on his work despite this disability.

The eczema, to which he became subject during later years, must have been agonizing. I recall my own experience. Towards the end of the first world-war I ate something that poisoned my blood. A rash broke out all over my body. Ointments, lotions and baths alike were of little avail. For seven years the almost intolerable itching made me miserable, day and night. How my dear friend must have suffered in the end days of his life !

The lamp has now been snuffed out. The light it shed, however, refuses to be dimmed. In my view its brilliance, as reflected from the pages of his monthly, will increase with time and slanting across our path, carry us onward to his goal—*Freedom*.





# POLAND AS A POLITICAL UNIT

By CHANDIKAPRASAD BANERJI,
*Lecturer, Visva-Bharati*

A country to be a well-knit political unit must possess all or several of these factors—a recognisable nationality based on language or race or on both, common cultural and historical tradition among the inhabitants, common memory of the past, common religion, and most important, natural barriers of rivers, mountains or sea as dividing lines between that country and its neighbours and common religion. All of these factors are not essential and countries might grow into a full-fledged modern state without possessing some of them. A nationality or nation, once it has achieved statehood, generally retains it throughout its future career. Poland offers one of the few exceptions to this rule. In fact, no country has had a more fitful and chequered history than Poland. It has passed through several Protean metamorphoses in its extent, size and political framework.

Early in January, 1944, the victorious Red Army crossed the pre-1939 Polish eastern frontier. That event once more drew public attention to that ill-fated country. The question arose whether the Russian would behave as champions of Polish independence and integrity or as liberators of their own soils. The Polish Government expected that the Soviets would enter Polish Ukraine and Polish White Russia on the express understanding of the Polish Government. But so far the Soviet Government have done nothing of the kind, have not even cared to resume diplomatic relations which were severed a few months ago. The Poles, with their flamboyant nationalism, will not cease creating trouble and this remains a potential source of friction between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon Powers.

The Poles are a branch of the Slavonic stock and are the kinsmen of Russians, Czechs and Yugoslavs, both racially and linguistically. Unlike their Russian neighbours, however, they adopted Catholic Christianity and were thus culturally the inheritors of Latin civilization, whereas the Russians as belonging to the Greek Church had affinities with Greco-Byzantine culture. The nucleus of the kingdom of Poland was that section of the great northern plain of Europe which lies between the Oder and Vistula. In the 16th century there was a union of the crowns of Poland and Lithuania. The Polish constitution throughout the Middle Ages and down to the Partitions was a curious blending of republican and monarchical forms. The kingship was elective and altogether dependent on the reactionary aristocracy. The union with Lithuania induced Poland to take up a policy of an eastward expansion at the expense of Russia. For a time even Moscow came under Polish control. But this country, without any definite natural barriers underwent a rapid process of shrinkage since the latter part of the seventeenth century. The Swedes took her Baltic possessions, the Russians took Kiev and on the south the Turkish menace reappeared.

Poland's elective kingship and the perversity of her constitution, combined with her decadence made her a favourite sporting ground for the dynastic ambitions of Powers like France, Austria and the most sinister of them, imperial Russia. Candidates favoured by the Great Powers began to contest for the Polish throne, with the results that the elected kings were at best creatures of foreigners and indifferent to the true interests of the country. In course of these unscientific expansion in the latter part of the Middle Ages, Poland came to possess within her frontiers foreign elements like White Russians and Ukrainians, as well as a number of Germans. Another unfortunate trait about Poland was the cleavage between the nobility and peasantry. The Polish aristocracy was intensely patriotic and had its own ideas about freedom but their callousness to the welfare of the bulk of the population made the latter absolutely indifferent to the problem of Polish independence. As a result when the Partitions came in 1772, 1793 and finally in 1795, it was the Polish nobility which fought with backs to the wall against the might of Austria, Prussia and Russia.

The first partition of Poland proved a fortunate occurrence in many respects. Deprived of her unassimilable tracts she emerged as a more compact state. There was a hasty but no mean development of education, literature and art. The paralyzing constitution was swept out. But before the excellent process of

revival was completed the fury of the neighbours once more stunned Poland and then followed the second and third partitions.

From 1795 to 1815 there was no Poland in the framework of the European state system. The Enlightened Despots of the time had knocked her out of existence by their most unenlightened piece of political injustice. Polish patriotism continued to trouble the three partitioning powers and the Polish elements in their territories remained a permanent incubus to them. The Polish revolt under the leadersip of Kosiusko greatly helped the success of the Revolutionary armies of France and henceforth the ties between the two countries became very close. It was in pursuance of the national sympathy for Poland that Napoleon created the autonomous Duchy of Warsaw, a skeleton of the glory that was Poland. But the nationalist aspirations of Poland were not satisfied by this and Napoleon's alliance with the Tsar acted as an obstacle. After the final overthrow of Napoleon, Poland was again partitioned, this time Russia obtaining the bulk of the Polish territories including the capital Warsaw. Tsar Alexander I, however, was at that time passing through a Liberal phase. The Napoleonic Duchy of Warsaw was made into a kingdom of Poland over which the Russian autocrat was to reign as a constitutional monarch. The new arrangement was disliked both by the Russians and Poles, though for different reasons. The Russians to whom all liberty of expression and civic rights were denied, resented the conferment of these privileges on the hated Poles—a subject people. The Poles on the other hand wanted back the frontiers of 1772 and would have none of the Russian influence. The results were the futile revolts of 1830 and 1863 after which the little independence that the Poles enjoyed was taken away and upto 1918 a thorough process of Russification of Poland went on apace. The Russian language was imposed on the schools and universities, the Roman Catholic church as well as the Polish nobility were brutally persecuted, thousands of patriotic Poles were transferred to the furthest limits of Russia and an attempt was made to denationalise the Polish lower classes. This policy on the whole was a lamentable failure. For, in spite of an inspiring address to the Poles by the Tsar at the beginning of the war, most of them took sides with the Central Powers. Many, however, also joined the Russian army.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 gave the Poles the necessary opportunity to assert their independence. The Germans purchased their assistance by promising them independence from Russia, but very soon they proved as tyrannical as Tsarist Russia. In the meanwhile bands of patriotic Poles had reached France and persuaded France and the U.S.A. to plead for their cause. The resuscitation of Poland formed one of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson, and France also threw her influence on the scale in favour of a revival of Poland. Poland was thus recreated in 1918, thanks mainly to Marshal Pilsudski, a typical war-lord. The Austrian and Prussian portions of Poland were mostly recovered, with Danzig as a free city to which the Poles had a ready access. But the eastern frontier was yet to be defined. The Curzon Line did not satisfy the exaggerated notions of Polish national prestige. A war with Bolshevik Russia began in 1920 and with the technical aid of France the Poles transformed the Russian offensive into a rout and finally annexed large tracts of White Russia and Ukraine at the expense of Russia. Next she suddenly seized Vilna from Lithuania.

The history of Poland from 1920 to 1939 is the history of a semi-Fascist anti-Communist republic, gradually transferring its loyalty from France to Germany as the big brother. The national animosity against Russia, accumulated through centuries of oppression, was intensified in the post-war period by ideological differences. After 1934 the Franco-Polish relations definitely cooled down and Poland entered into a ten-year pact with Hitler's Germany. The bogey of Bolshevism made her Fascist rulers absolutely subservient to the Nazis with whose co-operation she committed the petty robbery of Teschen from hard-pressed Czechoslovakia. When the Soviet Union offered alliance to Poland as a safeguard against Nazi aggression it was stupidly rejected. It was mainly due to the obduracy of Poland that the Anglo-Franco-Russian military plans were wrecked with disastrous effects on Poland. Hitler began a quarrel over Danzig in his characteristic fashion, entered into a pact with the Soviets and began the attack on Poland in September 1, 1939. The Poles fought on with their rather back-dated methods of warfare, such as employment of cavalry. The expected Anglo-French aid never came and her resistance finally broke down when the Red Army invaded Poland from the east. The whole gang of Smigly-Rydz and Beck fled away to Rumania. Poland was again partitioned this time between Russia and Germany. Warsaw fell to the German share, and White Russia and most of Galicia to the Russian. A fugitive government was formed in London. For the second time in history, Poland was obliterated from the map of Europe.

The German aggression on the Soviet Union in June, 1941, brought the unexpected prospects of liberation to the Poles. Diplomatic connection with the Soviet Union was re-established and a Polish army was created from among the Poles in Soviet territory in order to fight against the Germans. Poland as one of the United Nations became an ally of the U. S. S. R. Unfortunately mutual recriminations among the two governments soon started. The Soviet Government never ceased to express its determination to re-annex Polish White Russia and Polish Ukraine which really belong to Russia on ethnological grounds. Towards the latter part of 1943, when the Red Army had definitely begun the supreme task of expelling the Nazi invaders from its native soil, the Russo-Polish diplomatic relations were suddenly severed.

Poland as an independent national state with an access to the sea is an essential element of the European State system. In any future readjustment of Eastern Europe she must have a place. But as a true freedom-loving people the Poles should give up the medieval ambition of ruling over foreigners. The White-Russians and the Ukrainians are much more akin to the Russians and it is just reasonable that they should be united with the latter. Again, the differences between the upper and lower classes in the Polish society have to be submerged in order that a true democratic state might be brought into existence. The friendly hand of the Soviet Union must be grasped and the result will be a better future for the people of Central and Eastern Europe. In this connection it should be mentioned that the Polish patriots in Russia have denounced the exiled Polish Government in London as reactionary and have set forth a five-fold programme for the new Poland that is to be created. It is to be a really democratic state, in which the lands will be divided among the peasants and the class distinctions wiped out. New Poland will extend further westwards and will give up its claim to parts of White Russia and Ukraine which justly belong to the Soviet Union. An alliance with the Soviet Union, after the manner of the Czech-Soviet alliance, is to be concluded. A plan of making Poland a member of the Central and Eastern European Federation—a scheme elaborated by Dr. Benes—has also been envisaged.

## BENGAL'S FOOD FRONT

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THE bumper 'aman' crop of 1944 has not brought any appreciable relief to the starving people of Bengal. We were told that there would be enough for all and for that reason one should not lose heart. It was a cheering message and the people would be most unwilling to give up this hope unless stern facts force them to do so.

What is the actual position with regard to the demand on and supply of rice within the province of Bengal? The 'aman' crop is said to have yielded 8,333,000 tons. With regard to the 'aus' crop nothing is certain. Moreover, in estimating the yield there is serious bungling. On August 13, 1943, Mr. Wood, the Secretary, Food Department of the Government of India, said in the Council of State that

> "the *aus* crop, if shared at one lb. per head per day, will provide fully for the rice requirement of the whole people of Bengal for upwards of 90 days."

This estimate gives us a total crop of 2·4 million tons. On October 8, Sir Thomas Rutherford, the then acting Governor of Bengal, in a broadcast speech said it was 1·8 million tons. The Department of Agriculture, Bengal, on January 6, 1944, places it at 3 million tons. Accepting it as 3 million tons, which, on the face of it is absurd, the total crop is estimated to be a little over 11 million tons. But Mr. Sen, the Director-General of Food with the Government of India has been pleased to place it at 10 million tons in his speech in the Council of State on November 19, 1943. He further said that

> "the average annual requirements of rice in Bengal including imports, were 8.86 million tons,"

and with the total crop of the year "there should not be any scarcity in Bengal in 1944."

We have to take other factors into account in support of Mr. B. R. Sen's theory of sufficiency. The Central Government has taken the charge of feeding 3,000,000 or 4·8% of the population of Bengal. "If we assume that one-fifth of this population is under two years of age, (for whom no provision for food has been made), then for the remaining four-fifths, at the

rate of 4 seers per week," we would be benefited to the extent of 604,000 tons of foodgrains supplied by the Centre. The people that have died during 1943 is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 2,000,000. They formed 3·2% of the population requiring 307,000 tons of rice at the rate of Government estimates of 344 lbs. per capita per annum. Export of foodgrains from Bengal has been stopped and the present ruling prices of rice will keep consumption and wastage down to the lowest limit.

Taking all these facts into consideration the present high price of rice, *viz.*, Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 per maund, is not at all justified. The average people are passing through great distress and those who cannot buy rice at such a price and die of starvation, have died in the last year's famine. For this reason one does not find dead bodies on streets of mofussil towns at the present movement. We know from the speech of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in the Bengal Legislative Assembly that on an analysis of the weekly crop reports of the Government of Bengal, up to the end of January last, he discovered that in 87 districts and sub-divisions of Bengal, 26 or 29·9% showed a steady tone with regard to price, in 13 or 14·5% there was an increase, in 14 or 16·1% rice was selling at price much above the controlled rate, for 13 or 14·5% price was 'not reported' and in 21 or 24·1% of districts and subdivisions prices had been falling.

If the food problem of 1944 is to be tackled properly, it is imperative that the real cause of the present high price should be explored without further delay.

One of the reasons for the present high price of rice is that there must have been some defect in the estimates of yield of the total crop for 1944. With crop of over 10 million tons for a year, the market would have been flooded with rice and it would have been by this time necessary for the Government to fix a minimum price for paddy and rice to save the producers from serious loss. Then the estimate of the total requirements of the province should be revised in the light of past experience. For consumption alone, 9·5 million tons are required on the basis of 344 lbs. of rice per capita per annum of 62·4 million people of the province. By a second method of calculation we arrive at the same figure, *i.e.*, about 9·5 million tons. If the total population of 62·4 million consisting of children of all ages, widows taking one meal a day, persons taking rice once a day and supplementing their diet with other cereals, be converted to total adult population taking rice meals twice a day, we have a population of 46·76 million souls. At the rate of 5·5 mds., which is quite an underestimate, per capita per annum we require 257,500,000 maunds or 9·37 million tons of rice. There has been practically no 'carry over' from 1943. The seed requirements, normally, are 376,000 tons. It would certainly require a little more if the 'Grow More Food' campaign is to take a practical shape. Normal storage, even computed at 16 seers per capita, the minimum quantity that has been allowed by the Government of Bengal to the people of Calcutta and the suburbs to keep in stock, will require 873,000 tons. It can be safely said that the village people with the memory of last year's experience will try to keep away from the market as much quantity as possible with the result that there would be a smaller quantity available for purchase by the people who are not growers. Mr. P. J. Griffiths was right when, "referring to householders who load up stocks of food," he said in London on February 15, that "it is difficult to condemn the ordinary householder for what he might well regard as common prudence." When all these factors are taken together it is not difficult to guess the reasons of the high price of rice even when a bumper crop has just been harvested.

In normal times Bengal is a deficit province and it is somewhat difficult to convince the Government and the thinking people of the other provinces that ordinarily it is so. It may be questioned that if the position is so acute, then why famine is not witnessed in all its horrors every year. The simple answer to this is that famine or scarcity of food, in fact, takes its toll every year in Bengal but such deaths are recorded under the heads of malaria, cholera, 'other causes,' etc., in the official registers. Ninety per cent of suicide cases every year are due to pangs of starvation goading people to take away their lives with their own efforts. And further, the people usually live on starvation diet making the average people physically very weak. "The peasantry of Bengal" says an official report of the Director of Public Health, "are in large proportion taking to a dietary on which *even the rats could not live for more than a few weeks*," (Italics mine). And it is also to be taken into consideration that any acute shortage was never felt because of the fact that imports from Burma and other provinces of India prevented from any panic being spread that causes disapperance of rice from the market.

It is high time to think of the proper remedy when the country is passing through a severe scarcity of food and a famine is impending. The first thing, still necessary, is to create con-

fidence in the minds of the people that Government is sufficiently equipped to meet any emergency whether the producers bring their commodities in the market or not. It means that Government would go on importing wheat from foreign countries and keep the people informed about such imports. It is not by itself sufficient to create a stock in the hands of the Government only, but that there should be free movement of grains to the deficit province at the slightest manifestation of scarcity. In other words, transport facilities should be easy and swift. This should be done even at the sacrifice of the movement of war materials from place to place. Petrol should be freely given to lorries carrying essential foodstuffs as they are done in the case of 'essential war materials' and no distinction should be made between the two. It is wrong to think that weapons for killing the enemies are more necessary than food that would keep its own people living. There is bound to be chaos everywhere and the army personnel may be involved in the epidemic that would be caused by famine.

The quality of rice supplied to the people of the province, especially to the people of Calcutta and the suburbs, should be improved at once. There is going to be a nutrition deficiency not only in the civil population but also amongst the 'essential labour' population in the factories and workshops. The supply of bad rice has caused serious misgivings in the minds of the people about the Government's capacity to feed the people throughout the year. It has given rise to the idea that the stocks with the Government are not only poor in quality but also inadequate in quantity and has encouraged people to store for evil days.

The Government should themselves be conversant with the actual position within the country and should shake off all sense of complacency about the future. They should not, in any way, try to delude themselves and the people with statistics of 'bumperness' which have been found to be thoroughly undependable by test in the past. This sense of complacency and thorough inefficiency on the part of the Government of Bengal have caused enormous quantities of cereals, as has been disclosed during the debates in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on February 1, to run into waste in the Jessore district. There were further disclosures about such waste in other parts of Bengal and the exact quantity of such 'grains stored on the ground and in the open' in several parts of the province is not yet known. It shows a lamentable lack of knowledge about the seriousness of the situation and a complete lack of appreciation of what the Central Government through the help of other provinces have been doing to alleviate the distress of the people of Bengal. The Centre is being infected, to a certain degree, with this sense of complacency. The remark of the Food Member in the Central Assembly branding Pundit Kunzru's statement trying to give a true picture of the Bengal situation on February 4, as "alarmist," proves my contention. It is always safe to err on the side of pessimism when lives and welfare of millions of people are involved. Had there been no sense of complacency in the mind of the Government, the disaster of the last famine could have been partially averted.

The policy of the Government of Bengal regarding procurement of rice has given rise to serious misgivings. There was a good deal of difference between the Central Government and the Government of Bengal

> "in the execution of the scheme as to the minimum load which could be placed on the Chief Agents"

selected for the purchase of 'aman' crop from the districts.

> "On the urgent representation of the Bengal Government, the Government of India have decided not to over-ride the opinion of the Provincial Government on this point, *for which opinion the Bengal Government must and do accept full responsibility*" (Italics mine)

disclosed a statement of the Food Member of the Government of India. What is the responsibility of the Bengal Government? Has any body ever tried to assess the "responsibility" of the Bengal Government in the last famine? And what are the ultimate effects if such responsibility, on a proper enquiry, be fixed upon them?

The ordinary trade channels have been thoroughly disregarded in the procurement and supply of foodstuffs in the Province. If some of them, as Mr. Fergusson says in the Calcutta Corporation in the first week of February, are guilty of creating black market in the past, it is wrong to besmirch all of them with one black dye and refuse offers of all help from them. The Government of Bengal, in its Civil Supplies Department, is guilty of gross corruption and in the words of its Chief, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy on September 24 last in the Bengal Council, it is

> "that at the present moment the temptations were so great in the way of the officers that it was very difficult for them to surmount them. It was difficult to get officers to stand up to the temptations which could be offered by the trade"

and people naturally ask 'why the same department with the selfsame officers have been put in charge of civil supplies in 1944?' It is a great blunder to keep away the private traders from doing their bit with their past experience in the trade and of the various local conditions which may prove to be serious handicaps to those who have been newly recruited in the line. Everybody will agree with Mr. P. J. Griffiths, in what he has said in the speech referred to in an earlier portion of this article, *viz.*,

"There are plenty of capable officials in the province but work of this kind involving purchasing and marketing operations is one to which the official is unaccustomed and to which in many cases it is difficult for him to adapt."

I earnestly hope that the Government of Bengal will change their stubborn attitude against the private trade and save Bengal from being visited by another famine in 1944.

Finally, I may repeat that let there be a body who will rise above party politics, and go into the real causes of the present price position of rice in Bengal, and suggest ways and means for inducing people to throw more rice in to the market and thus bring down the price. It is useless to hoodwink the people by repeating untruths regarding falling prices, and the consequences of such untruths have been in the past the cause of shaken confidence in the Government. The leaders of people now in detention, are the only competent persons for the undertaking of this great task and bring it to a happy termination.

In the meantime, it is better to think of paying subsidies to the sale of rice so that people who can pay part of the price from their own resources, may be able to buy the necessary foodstuffs till the crisis is over.

There is no knowing when the War in the Eastern World is going to terminate. We have been recently told that the Japs are very tough fighters and that their resources do not encourage hopes of an easy victory. It will take a long time before Burma is reconquered. It is, therefore, necessary that some long-term planning should be undertaken to make Bengal self-sufficient with regard to her food requirements. The 'Grow More Food' campaign is being systematically carried on for the last three years. This is superfluous because when the price of foodstuffs are attractive, the growers are sufficiently intelligent to grow more food in preference to other crops. It is desirable that knowledge of intensive cultivation should be brought to their very door. If there has been a 'record crop' in 1943-44, it was possible partly by increasing the acreage and partly through the bounty of nature. The land cultivated was a little over 18·0 million acres with an yield of 8·3 million tons. The yield is then nothing more than 1030 lbs. per acre. Figures for other years are: 1936-37—1290 lbs.; 1937-38—1249 lbs.; 1938-39—1029 lbs.; 1939-40—1020 lbs., 1942-43—693 lbs., per acre, *i.e.*, a diminishing return year by year. More acreage means, more labour both human and cattle, more resources for ploughing and preparing the ground, more seed, more everything.

Other lands produce many times more than what Bengal does. In Italy (in 1939) the yield per acre was 4592 lbs. In Japan (1939) 3558 lbs.. Egypt (1940) 3450 lbs.; Formosa (1940) 2419 lbs.; U. S. A. (1940) 2291 lbs.; Bulgaria (1939) 2240 lbs.; Korea (1939) 1949 lbs.; Eire (1939) 1277, Indo-China (1938) 1140 and India (1943) 1030 lbs. only. It has been disclosed that a little over Rs. 65 lakhs have been contributed by the Central Government to Bengal for the 'Grow More Food' campaign in 1943-44. It would have been better if the Government in its Department of Agriculture had opened two model centres in each of the 87 districts and subdivisions of Bengal to give practical demonstration of the results of their researches in the laboratory. With an area of 3 to 5 acres in the corn-fields of the muffasil and entailing a cost of Rs. 2,500 for each centre (although a very big amount for the purpose), it would have required a sum not more than Rs. 4,35,000 or 6·7% of the cost of the propaganda for the year. It would have produced a many-sided effect. The local cultivators could derive their knowledge of improved agriculture direct from the experts, the knowledge of the experts who have been drawing fat salaries without having any touch with the real conditions of agriculture could have been tested, and the produce of these farms would not only fetch some return on the outlay but also enhance the total food reserve of the country. In my view, that is the only practical proposition by which the yield of the land can be increased and Bengal's food front sufficiently strengthened.

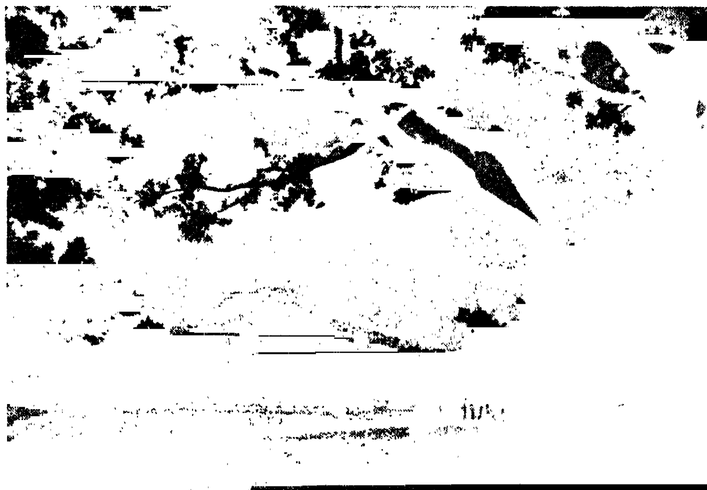


# UDAYAGIRI FORT AND THE VALIA KAPPITHAN

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

The historic fortress of Udayagiri around which time has woven many interesting legends and thrilling stories, stands amidst a landscape of arcadian jollity and exuberance, thirty-three miles to the south-east of Trivandrum on the main thoroughfare which links the capital with Cape Comorin, the Land's End of India. An excellent Rest House for tourists occeupies a corner of this imposing fort. The Udayagiri fort is an ancient monument which reminds the tourist of the days of yore, when Travancore was in the throes of battle.

Uplifting yet awful in its glories and glooms, the Fort stands on the summit of a pretty hillock rising abruptly from a plain which is at some distance encircled by a chain of hills. A magnificent panorama unfolds itself to the view of the sight-seer who ascends the top of the Udayagiri hill. To the east are seen the beautiful gleaming pale green lakes, extensive paddy fields, winding rivers and irrigation channels; the cliffs of the famous Veli Mala Range, the sacred playground of God Subramania, the Melamkote Temple and the stone *mandapam* at the top of the Veli Mala. The Padmanabhapuram Fort, garrisons and Catholic Church greet his vision in the north-west. On the south-western side he sees the Colachel Port, Muttom, Manavalakurichi and other sea-coast villages and, in the distance, the vast shimmering sea girdling the land.



A general view of Udayagiri

Right in the centre of the summit of the Udayagiri hill is seen the foundation of a flag staff. The basement built of laterite and mortar shows the depression caused by the planting of the flag staff. This indicates that the flag staff was of an enormous size. It is said that the port of Colachel, Vattakotta near Cape Comorin, and other places were clearly visible from this platform which was used as a watch-tower. Cannons were mounted on this basement.

The Udayagiri Fort encloses about 90 acres of land in the centre of which is a hill 260 feet high. The strong granite walls of the fort are fifteen feet thick and eighteen feet high and are lined within and without with huge granite slabs. The parapets in the fort are 4 feet high and 3 feet thick. A magnificent specimen of military architecture, the fort has ten bastions, five of which are intended for mounting heavy artillery, the others being pierced for musketry only. The fortification has been planned on an extensive scale. The principal entrance to the fort is a gateway near one of the bastions. Inside the fort area is a small tank.

The Udayagiri Fort, half a mile to the south-east of Padmanabhapuram, the old capital of the State, is of great historical importance and antiquity. The fort was also used as a prison for keeping dangerous criminals. Tradition avers that Chempakavalli, a Brahmin widow, mounted the funeral pyre here, consequent on the death of her beloved husband. In former days a detachment of the East India Company under St. Leger was stationed here. Colonel Munroe issued the famous ultimatum to the Nanchinad rebels from the Udayagiri Fort.

Many are the legends and stories of valour and terror which have gathered round this fort and which are on the lips of old men. One of

these colourful stories is that a large number of the sepoys who had mounted guard on the north gate of the fort were killed by a *Yakshi* (female goodess worshipped by low caste people

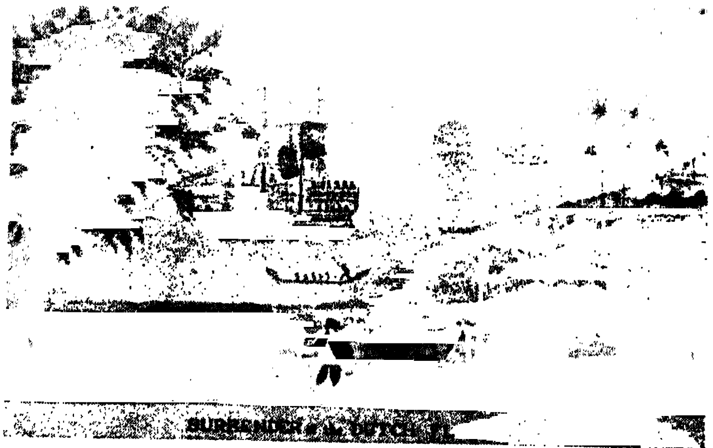


Udayagiri Fort

and credited with evil powers) and that one day a valiant Subedar was daring enough to challenge the *Yakshi* who came into conflict with him and that since then the guard was taken away under royal commands. Another story avers that the younger *Yakshi* who is believed to have her abode in the famous Melamkote shrine, frequently takes rest under the large banyan tree inside the Udayagiri Fort and that none dare chop off any branch of this tree. Old people say that a wood-cutter who had the audacity to cut a branch of this banyan tree, fell into a swoon and that he took to his heels discarding in terror the branch. Close to the principal entrance to the Fort is a temple consecrated to a *Yakshi*. On the eastern side of the Fort is noticed the ruins of a temple.

The construction of the Udayagiri Fort commenced so early as 716 M.E. (1601 A.D.) under the command of His Highness Sree Veera Ravi Varma who ruled over Travancore from 1592 to 1609 A.D. But the Fort proper was built by the Dutch Naval Commander Eustachio De Lannoy who was taken captive by His Highness Marthanda Varma during the famous battle of Colachel.

Eustachio Benedictine De Lannoy was born in far-off Holland in January 1715 A.D. and strange enough, fate had ordained him to guide the destinies of Travancore. It is an intriguing story. De Lannoy was charged with the task of serving an alien Royal Master many thousands of miles away across the seas. He came to India as a Captain of the Dutch regiments scheduled for duty in the East at a time when the Dutch held a sort of supremacy in the Malabar Coast and possessed a number of factories at Cochin. Travancore was then ruled by the warrior prince Marthanda Varma, the Maker of Modern Travancore (1729-1758 A.D.), whose prowess and organising capacity brought under one sovereignty the hinterlands of Kerala extending immediately north-west and south-east of his Central State. The State then occupied only a fourth of its present area. The rest of the country comprised a number of petty principalities ruled over by ambitious and unscrupulous



The Surrender of the Dutch Fleet,—the Battle of Colachel, 1741 A.D.
(From an old Painting)

chiefs who were always warring with one another. The Dutch entered into political alliances and intrigues with these kingdoms with the secret and diplomatic motives of maintaining the balance of power and of perpe-

tuating their own commercial supremacy. In 1734 A.D. when the Rajah of the principality of Quilon died, the Rajah of Kayamcolam, the neighbouring chieftain, tried to annex Quilon. The Maharaja of Travancore who was a born conqueror demanded Quilon. The Dutch found in Maharaja Marthanda Varma of Travancore a powerful rival and they were alarmed at the might of his arm. The Dutch Governor at Cochin despatched an envoy to the Maharajah's court to remonstrate with him about the unreasonable aggressions on Kayamcolam and Quilon. The Maharajah, with characteristic courage and precision, asked the Dutch to attend to their own business. Soon, under the lead of Rama Aiyan Dalava, the Travancore army prepared to attack Kayamcolam. The Dutch were alarmed at this and they deputed Van Imhoff, the Dutch Governor at Ceylon, to prevail upon the Maharaja to refrain from launching the proposed attack on Kayamcolam whose ruler was an ally of the Dutch. Marthanda Varma was not to be won over either by persuasion or intimidation. He made it clear to the Dutch Governor that he was prepared to meet the Dutch in open battle. Van Imhoff grew indignant at this challenge and he forthwith sent a well-equipped army from Ceylon which landed at Colachel, a port forty-five miles to the south-east of Trivandrum. The Dutch army fortified Colachel and took possession of the country from Kottar to Colachel and planned to attack Padmanabhapuram, the then capital of the State.

Maharajah Marthanda Varma, who was at the time engaged in defeating the army of the Elayadathu Swaroopam, an ally of the Dutch in Central Travancore, hurried to Colachel. He worshipped at the shrine of Thiruvattar and advanced upon the Dutch forces. For two months the war was waged. The Dutch ships were watched by Travancore's fleet of boats. In the first encounter not one soldier of the Dutch regiments survived and in the second and decisive battle the Dutch Army retreated to their ships, leaving behind many of their compatriots dead and wounded with twenty-four Europeans as prisoners. The famous battle of Colachel at which the Dutch suffered a crushing defeat was fought on the 31st July 1741 A.D. The Travancore Army captured from the Dutch 389 muskets, cannons and swords.

Among the twenty-four Dutch prisoners who were captured at the battle of Colachel were Eustachio De Lannoy, a young man of twenty-six, who was destined to become the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of his Royal Captor, and Donadi who was also raised to a position of responsibility in the Travancore Forces. The Maharajah, himself a mighty warrior, discovered in De Lannoy and Donadi military geniuses who later on distinguished themselves as the most competent and trusted Captains in the Travancore Army. The kindness and consideration with which the Dutch prisoners were treated by the Maharajah, induced them to place their services at his disposal. Marthanda Varma forthwith appointed De Lannoy as a Captain and second in command under the Soldier-Dewan Rama Aiyan. Donadi was also made a Captain.

Galletti in his authoritative work *The Dutch in Malabar* says:

"These men (De Lannoy and Duyvenschot) not only understood their military duties and were well conducted men, but had besides a fairly good knowledge of fortification and the art of war, having served in Europe and gained some experience."

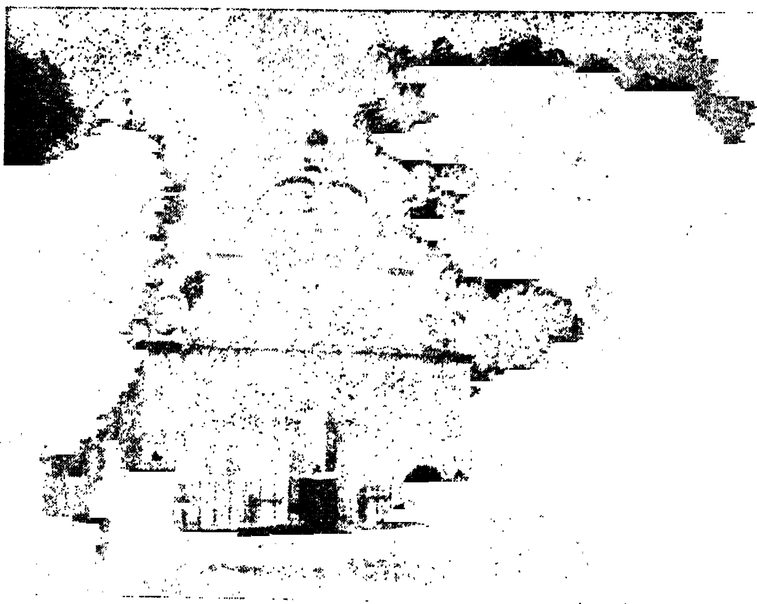


De Lannoy's Tomb, Udayagiri Fort

De Lannoy served his Royal Master faithfully and fought many a successful battle for the Maharajah which resulted in the wide territorial expansion of the State. He held a succession of important commands and in every major conquest between 1741 and 1777 A.D., De Lannoy played a prominent part. He reorganised the Travancore Army on Western lines and made it efficient and up-to-date. Between 1755 and 1760 A.D. the Travancore forces under

De Lannoy defeated the Zamorin of Calicut twice, and put to flight Maphuze Khan, the Generalissimo of the Nawab of Arcot. The Maharajah was pleased with De Lannoy's efficient services in the aggressive wars and raised him to the rank of General and appointed him to the supreme command of the Travancore Army. He made the Army 50,000 strong consisting of cavalry, infantry and artillery, sappers and miners and drilled and disciplined them after the latest European model. Johnson, writing, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, of the Travancore Forces, says :

"It is strange to see how ready the souldieur of this country is at his weapons. They are all gentile men and termed Nairs. At seven years of age they are put to school to learn the use of their weapons, where, to make them nimble, their sinews and joints are stretched by skilful fellows, and annointed with the oyle sysamus. Their continual delight is in their weapons persuading themselves that no nation goeth beyond them in skill and dexterity."



The Dutch Chapel in the Udayagiri Fort. Inside this Chapel is De Lannoy's Tomb

It was along with such born fighters that De Lannoy fought many a battle for his Royal Master. After the cessation of hostilities De Lannoy turned his attention entirely to the fortification and defence of the country. Not only was he intrepid on the battle field but he proved himself to be a mighty organising genius in times of peace which followed conquest and annexation. He was as firm as a rock in dermination and as strong as a dynamo in action. He constructed forts and ramparts at all the strategic points along the eastern frontier and erected batteries on the coast. He built a huge fort at the ancient military headquarters of Travancore and called it "Udayagiri," literally meaning the "Peak of Dawn." He established an arsenal at Udáyagiri where cannons, mortars, weapons, powder and shot were manufactured on a large scale under his expert supervision. Major Welsh in his *Military Reminiscences* describes a gun and a mortar found at Udayagiri in the following words :

"But the greatest curiosities were a gun and a mortar, both of exquisite workmanship mounted on the parade in Udayagiri and cast in the place by some European artist. They were made of brass; the gun sixteen feet long and bored as a twenty-two pounder, was so extremely massive that twelve hundred men assisted by sixteen elephants could not move it, even a few yards. The mortar was equally heavy and I think had an eighteen inch bore."

Indeed an eloquent tribute to the military genius, efficiency and thoroughness of De Lannoy, with whose help Maharaja Marthanda Varma entered confidently on an unbroken career of conquest and annexation which resulted in the present territorial extent of the State. A prodigy of mental adroitness and energy cast in military form, De Lannoy's nerves never flickered even during times of severe crisis.

In July 1758 A.D. Maharajah Marthanda Varma the Great died and he was succeeded by H. H. Rama Varma. De Lannoy loved his Royal Master almost to a fault and his absolute fidelity knew no bounds. In the furtherance of the interests of the Maharajah, De Lannoy was ever ready to do anything and risk everything. His entire existence was devoted to his master and benefactor, and he had no ambition save the ever-increasing greatness and glory of the sovereigns whom he served. Much is not known about the domestic life of this great soldier who was thoroughly absorbed in the military affairs of the State and therefore found little time for relaxation. A French traveller

Anqueti du Perron who visited the Malabar Coast in 1758, A.D., in his book *Zendavesta* refers to the Dutch gossip that De Lannoy was virtually a prisoner in the hands of the Maharajah of Travancore and though he had secrectly longed to escape he was powerless to do so. De Lannoy's whole-hearted and passionate devotion to the Maharajah proves that this gossip was unfounded. Du Perron also narrates a story that De Lannoy wanted to marry the daughter of an English official in the settlement at Anjengo, that the girl's father refused to give his consent and that, therefore, De Lannoy in his wrath prevailed upon the Maharajah of Travancore to declare war against the English and thus he obtained his bride. The author of the *Travancore State Manual* says that

"Lannoy's influence with the Rajah was so great that he made him wage war against the Anjengo chief to obtain his daughter in marriage for himself."

History associates the name of the Dutch Commander of the Travancore Forces with the conversion of Devasahayam Pillai, who was formerly a Hindu official. It is said that the Maharajah of Travancore visited Verapoly in the company of De Lannoy and confirmed the rent-free tenure of the ground which was presented to the Carmelite Mission by the Rajah of Cochin. De Lannoy was a pious Christian, and naturally had a flair for evangelical work.

Eustachius De Lannoy was one of the three outstanding personalities in the founding of modern Travancore, the other two being his royal master Marthanda Varma and his colleague Rama Iyen Dalava. Lannoy served H. H. Rama Varma for about 19 years with the same zeal and fidelity with which he had served Maharajah Marthanda Varma for seventeen years. In 1760, De Lannoy defeated the Zamorin of Calicut. For this battle, De Lannoy constructed the famous Travancore lines, a huge earthen rampart, 30 miles in length stretching from the shore of the Vembanad lake opposite to Cranganore to the foot of the Western Ghats. The remnants of this massive and strategical fortification still stand as solemn and melancholy witnesses to the valour and achievements of bygone years, and the military greatness of De Lannoy.

Apprehending an invasion from Hyder Ali, De Lannoy strengthened the fortifications and was ready to face the Muslim invader. In 1777 A.D., De Lannoy passed away after a short illness in his own fort at Udayagiri. Within the fort, in the church built by him, this brave soldier lies buried. The Fort and the little chapel with its mausoleum remind the visitor of the old days of war and strife, the heroic achievements of De Lannoy—*Valia Kappithan* (Great Commander)—as he was endearingly called by the grateful people of Travancore—who after thirty-seven years of devoted and strenuous service under the Rulers of Travancore took his eternal rest. The Udayagiri Fort and the Dutch chapel are in excellent preservation to this day, thanks to the keen interest taken by the Archaeological Department of the State. The chapel was erected by the Travancore Government as a place of worship for the alien Roman Catholics who were in service in the Travancore army. The tombstone of De Lannoy



A corner of the Udayagiri Fort showing the Rest House

bears the following arresting Latin epitaph, which when translated reads :

"Stop, Wayfarer !
Here lieth Eustace Benedict de Lannoy, who as the General-in-Chief of the troops of Travancore was in command and during about 37 years served the King with the utmost fidelity. By the might of his arms and the fear (of his name) he subjected to his (the King's) sway all the Kingdom from Kayamgulam to Cochin. He lived 62 years and 5 months and died on the first of June (of the year) 1777.
May he rest in peace !"

The tombstone of De Lannoy is a fine piece of sculptural workmanship. Among the heraldric symbols sculptured on the tombstone are a cannon and a cannon ball, a spear-head, a sword, a trumpet, a glass, a banner, two pairs of drums, two muskets, two angels. a crescent and a cross. The tombstone is rectangular in shape with a raised border worked out on the pattern of a stout and closely twisted rope. At the bottom of the epitaph is seen a skull and cross bones symbolical of death.

The tombs of De Lannoy's wife and son are

also in this cemetery. The desolate stillness encircling the ruins of the ancient fort strikes the visitor with a sense of awe. The demise of *Valia Kappithan* who had grown gray in the service of two of the rulers of the State was deeply mourned by the people who considered him more as a son of the soil than a foreigner. The touching epitaph of the grave of De Lannoy immortalises the memory of this valiant soldier who though an alien in nationality, fought for Travancore with honour, zeal, fidelity and daring.

De Lannoy's son, Johannes De Lannoy, a youth of 19 who was a Battalion Commander, died of a fatal wound in a battle at Kalakkad while fighting for Travancore. Margaret De Lannoy, wife of the *Valia Kappithan*, died in 1782 A.D. after surviving her husband for 5 years. Their graves and the tombs of four other European Commanders of the Travancore Army who had died in harness, are found in chronological sequence in the cemetery, close to the right wall of the ruined church which has no roof. The Udayagiri epitaphs are written both in Latin and Tamil. *The Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. VI, Part I contains these inscriptions, which are of considerable historical interest.

The history of medieval Travancore is written over Udayagiri's massive fortifications and big arsenals. Although bereft of its former glory, Udayagiri, a place replete with historical associations and legendary glamour, still has its lure. Tourists feel thrilled at seeing these relics which bear witness to the architectural and martial activities of Travancore. The Udayagiri Fort is an imposing landmark in the history of Travancore and like the famous fort of Golconda it evokes sacred and awesome memories.

---

## RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By NOEL H. MATTHEWS

CHATTERJEE, your sword is broken,
Tumbled from a dying hand—
Pen whose ringing words have spoken
Justice' cause in every land.

With Humanity's defender
Gone, another light is out,
Still the flames fan into splendour,
And the voice becomes a shout !

Ramananda, Dawn is breaking !
Fires lighted in the night
To unlettered man are taking
Banners that are clear and bright.

You have struck the white-hot casting—
We can forge the world anew !
Man may yet be everlasting
Through the works that he may do.

O brown brother, I am telling
What I know must surely be,
When oppressed mankind, rebelling,
Mind to mind shall bridge the sea.

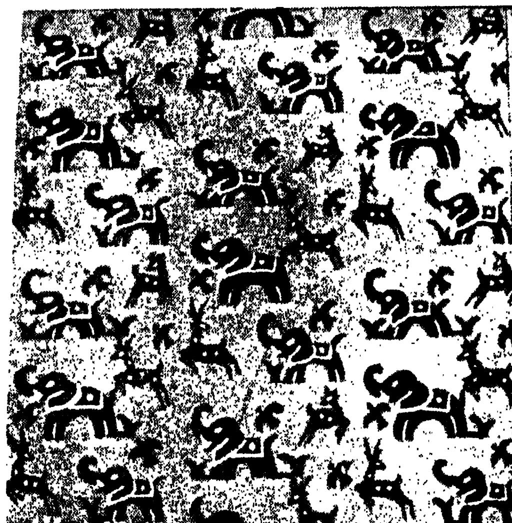
—*The Indian Readers' Digest*

# 1944 ART IN INDUSTRY EXHIBITION

BY AJIT MOOKERJEE, M.A. (Lond.), F.R.A.I. (Lond.)

AN important art show organised by Burmah Shell has been opened in the middle of January at the Government School of Art in Calcutta. The display of works does full justice to the two aims : " The first is to serve as a link between artists and industry, thus on the one hand acquainting artists and craftsmen with Industry's requirements and on the other, illustrating to industrialists the talent which is available in this country. The second aim is to strive by all practical means to raise the standard of commercial art and industrial design throughout India." Never before has it been possible to see clearly how an Indian art exhibition can create a source of inspiration for the present as well as for the future.

It is no exaggeration to state that art that is being " encouraged " in our country today is more aesthetically barren and tasteless than anything that was produced in the past. The new Indian vulgarity as well as its prompt acceptance by our official art-mentors has its roots deeply concealed amidst the social mal-



A design of Chintz
By Shiela Auden

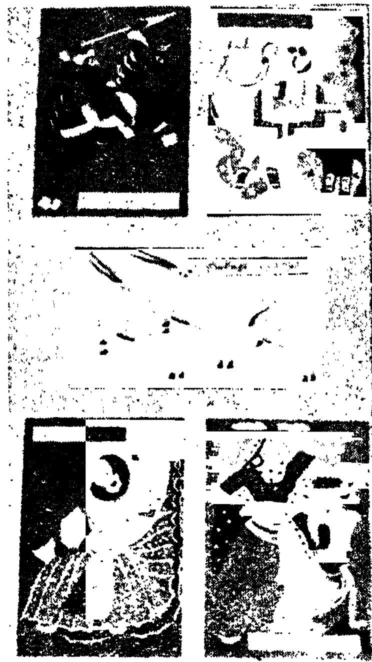



By Arun Ganguly




By Latif

adjustments that have been harassing our artists and art-patrons alike.



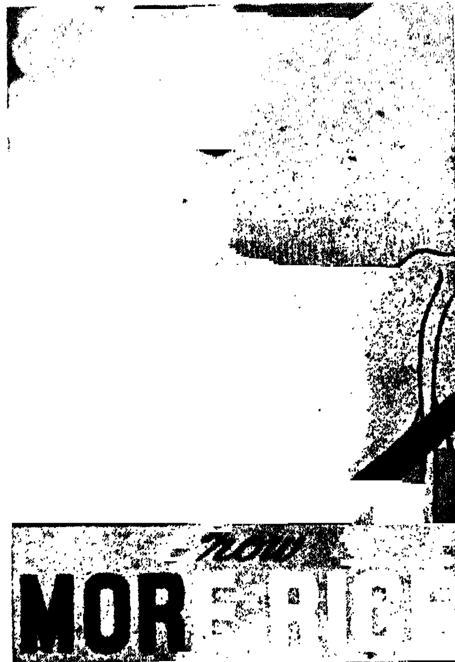
Greeting Card
By Shiela Auden




By P. Sen

But we can approach this exhibition with a considerable degree of hope, for Mr. Henry Born, its General Secretary, at last has dared to show works of young commercial artists and has given promise of opening a way for even newer traditions. This highly successful venture typifies one of the great goals for which we are fighting.

The paintings are arranged on a number of screens in a continuous narrative series. Captions on separate card-boards, and on the paintings themselves, make the sequence intelligible, and point out the significance of the individual exhibits. The visitor is first shown the recruitment posters, then anti-Jap and anti-waste posters, then grow more rice posters, then cleaner Calcutta, civic guard, defence savings posters and so on. We then proceed to the Room No. 2 for a closer study of commercial photography, labels, scent bottle designs, letter-heads, etc. A separate section is devoted to calendars, printed fabrics, sari borders, greeting cards, etc., and match box labels, which are mostly assemblages of small sketches depicting grow more food, and these are among the most charming from the point of view of colour and texture. Out of the spontaneous observation of an actual event, and inspired by its profound social feeling, our artists have shown a great talent in painting "grow more rice and food." All the confidence of joy and sorrow, the unshakable certainty of a better future is expressed in these posters and




By O. C. Ganguly

drawings. Accidentally, the recruitment posters are the weakest of all and some of the prize-winners deserve little credit.

It will be seen that the exhibition is not one which can be skimmed casually; to get real benefit from it, the visitor must read it patiently, but read it in a new manner. Art is a language, the artist lives in a society and he cannot ignore its vital needs and struggles. Art, thus, has its roots in, and derives its material from life and it cannot be properly understood unless we learn to read art symbols directly with our eyes. This aim has been before the organisers of the present exhibition, and it is very clearly stated in a leaflet which is given to visitors.

This exhibition is one of the few cultural activities that are being carried on in our war-time metropolis, and for this alone it deserves wide public support; but at any time, and at this time more than ever, it should serve to remind us of our artistic responsibilities, and of our shameful neglect in that respect in the past.

## HOW YELLOW FEVER, ONCE A DEADLY TROPICAL DISEASE, HAS BEEN CONTROLLED

From the Rockefeller Institute in the heart of New York City to the Yellow Fever Institute standing on an African hill at Entebbe, Uganda, overlooking Lake Victoria, stretches a life-saving line designed to protect soldiers and civilians from the inroads of yellow fever. In 1936 a vaccine was developed at the Rockefeller Institute which provides immunity against yellow fever after a single injection. This brought under control a disease that carries a 70 per cent mortality rate.

Wartime demands for the vaccine have been so great that in order to produce enough of it, the Rockefeller Institute has had to double both its laboratory space and the number of its technicians. More than 40 lakhs of doses were distributed in 1942, yet this was only a fraction of the amount that was furnished free during 1943 in a world-wide campaign to keep yellow fever within bounds.

Men of the U. S. armed forces are vaccinated before they leave America. In addition, quantities of the vaccine made in New York are shipped direct to Entebbe. There it is tested and distributd in various parts of Africa and the Middle East. Known as 17D, the vaccine is conveyed in vacuum flasks packed with ice, and reaches its destination in perfect condition. It had its first great test in 1938, when 10 lakhs of persons were vaccinated in Brazil and an epidemic that had reached spreading proportions was checked.

Airplane traffic has created new problems of health and sanitation, however, and in certain areas a yellow-fever card proving immunization is as important now as a passport. In Africa and the Middle East this certificate must be not less than 14 days, and not more than two years, old. Airplanes landing from any part of the world where there is yellow fever are examined and sprayed with insecticides. The daily



Preparation of yellow-fever vaccine at the Rockefeller Institute, New York City

plane service between the Sudan and South Africa is under constant surveillance, lest disease-bearing mosquitoes be conveyed from one area to another. Pilots must show their certificates of vaccination, and arriving passengers are held incommunicado until the planes are fumigated.

When a mosquito bite results in a case of yellow fever, the patient is isolated in mosquito-proof quarters to prevent other carriers from biting him and spreading the virus. Strict anti-




Physician takes blood for yellow-fever protection tests in Uganda, Central Africa

larval measures are immediately introduced in his surroundings. If a mosquito bites a victim during the first three or four days of his illness, the insect in turn becomes a virus carrier and after 12 days is ready to infect new subjects. Then an epidemic may break out.

### India Not In Infected Area

A world-wide immunity survey was undertaken in 1931 to define the regions in which yellow fever was present. Serum specimens collected in various countries were studied at the Rockefeller Institute. It was established that yellow fever was entirely absent from the Asiatic continent, and that although explosive outbreaks had occurred in Mediterranean ports, it was non-existent in Europe. In Africa the disease was traced over an area of approximately 40 lakhs square miles, extending from Senegal to Angola along the west coast, and to the east as far as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda. The affected area is bounded on the north by the Sahara Desert and overlaps the Belgian Congo in the south.

For some reason still unknown, yellow fever apparently has never touched the east coast of Africa. There is no evidence to indicate that it has ever been present in Asia, Australia, New Zealand, or any of the islands in the South Pacific. As a result of rigid anti-mosquito control measures, it was found at the time the survey was made to be much less widely distributed in the Western Hemisphere than in the past.

With the opening of the Yellow Fever Institute at Entebbe in 1936 field work was initiated which was extended later to include the southern Sudan and parts of the Belgian Congo. The Institute is supported jointly by the government of the Uganda Protectorate and the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Experts have been working there for the past four years, making steady progress in their knowledge of the bearers that transmit yellow fever. Field study of the disease is the main function of the institute. Cages filled with monkeys, mice, and rats may be seen by visitors. In the colony of 15,000 mice, some 7,500 are bred each month. Local monkeys are often found to be immune to yellow fever, so most of the tests are carried out on redfaced rhesus monkeys, imported from India, which are fed and cared for by African boys.

It was only in 1927 that members of the West African Yellow Fever Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation first succeeded in transmitting yellow fever to rhesus monkeys—a discovery that gave great impetus to yellow-fever research. Specimens of the Indian monkey *Macacus sinicus* were sent to the Gold Coast from Europe by Dr. Henry Beeuwkes, director of the commission. After receiving injections they sickened and died. Later it was found that the monkey *Macacus rhesus*, the species usually found in zoological gardens, is even more susceptible. This opened the way to experimentation without depending on human volunteers.

### Recent Epidemics in Africa

The most extensive epidemic of yellow fever ever recorded in Africa occurred in 1940 in the Nuga Mountains of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Soon afterward, yellow fever broke out in Uganda. Studies there revealed an important focus of the disease in parts of the Ituri forest (Bwamba County) having a population of some 25,000 Africans. The virus was still active in this region a year later. At least six local districts with a population of 5,000 were involved, and it was estimated that more than 1,100 cases of yellow fever occurred in the area studied. A programme of mass vaccination was started in August 1941, and the epidemic subsided.

Mortality in the Sudan had been much greater, and the epidemic there had reached more extensive proportions before being checked.

### Cause of Yellow Fever

The causative agent of yellow fever is one of the smallest viruses known. It passes through bacteria-tight procelain filters and is not visible even through the most powerful microscope. It is strictly a parasite and does not multiply in the absence of living tissue cells. The commonest carrier in cities is the mosquito *aedes aegypti,* but jungle yellow fever is conveyed by several other sorts. There is still considerable mystery about the varieties and breeding habits of the bearers, but field work goes on constantly in the African and Brazilian jungles.



Inoculation Station in Central Africa with equipment ready for mass vaccination against yellow-fever

Forest regions and banana plantations are particularly fertile breeding places for yellow fever. But it may occur under a variety of conditions, and the exact factors determining its occurrence are still not wholly determined.

*Aedes aegypti* is distinctly domestic in its habits. It breeds almost exclusively in and around houses and favours cisterns, tanks, buckets, roof gutters, flower vases, and other man-made receptacles in which water is left standing. It is practically never found near the swamps, rivers, and lakes that harbour the malaria mosquito. In Brazil, where yellow-fever epidemics have been severe, sanitary measures to ward off this disease have been brought to a high state of perfection. Specially trained sanitary inspectors make weekly visits to householders, inspect their homes and courtyards, see that discarded containers are disposed of and that water-storage tanks are covered with wire screening. Breeding places which cannot be eliminated are rendered harmless by periodical oiling. Large tanks are sometimes stocked with special varieties of small fish that feed on mosquito larvae.

### How Yellow Fever Spreads

Three elements are essential for the outbreak of yellow fever in an urban community : an infected person, mosquitoes, and a non-immune population. Towns which previously were days away from jungle territory are now within hours' reach by motor bus and airplane.

After a susceptible person has been bitten by an infected mosquito an incubation period follows during which the viruses multiply in the victim's body. In from three to five days he becomes violently ill, but until then he is unaware of the infection. If other mosquitoes bit him they in turn become infective, and remain virus carriers for the rest of their existence, though they themselves are unharmed by the virus. A mosquito infected with yellow fever has been kept alive in the laboratory for more than 200 days. Only females bite.

Before an effective vaccine was developed at the Rockefeller Institute, a number of scientists studying yellow fever in various laboratories between 1927 and 1931 became infected, and several died. Since vaccination was introduced

in May 1931, workers have pursued their research without the slightest reaction.

Special laboratory facilities are required for testing vaccine activity in animals. For this reason the availability of yellow-fever vaccine in the United States has been limited to centres where its application may be controlled scientifically. At present it is obtainable under certain conditions and without charge at the Rockefeller laboratories in New York where it was first developed; at Rockefeller laboratories in Rio de Janeiro and Bogota; and at the Wellcome Bureau of Scientific Research in London. Until the Germans invaded Paris it was also available at the Pasteur Institute.

Form No. 6—Pan American Sanitary Bureau, Washington

INTERNATIONAL CERTIFICATE OF VACCINATION

Place 67 ... St.

Date 1-4-43

This is to certify that George

Sex Male Age 33 Color White Nativity U.S.A.

was on the dates indicated vaccinated against:

(Cross out portions not applicable)

Cholera—Doses: 1st 1-11-43 2nd 1-18-43 3rd 1-25-43

Smallpox—Type of reaction: 1-18-43

Immune ~~Vaccinoid~~ ~~Vaccinia~~

Typhus 1-11-43 (2) 1-18-43 (3) 1-25-43

Yellow fever 1-4-43

Other diseases (specify): Typhoid (1) 1-4-43

George
(Signature of person vaccinated)

R. A. ...
Medical Officer

Asst. Surg.
(Title) (Seal)

International Certificate of vaccination, now as important as a passport to all travellers in a yellow-fever territory

### Preparation of Vaccine

The vaccine is prepared by developing chick embryos inoculated with fresh fluid from the culture virus, preserved in a dried state. Eggs with living embryos, preferably seven days old, are selected for inoculation. After cleaning the egg shell with 95 percent alcohol, a small hole is drilled with a sharp dissecting needle directly over the embryo. Using a tuberculin syringe with a one-inch, 27-gauge needle, the embryo is stabbed and 0·06 cc. of undiluted culture material is injected. The hole in the shell is then sealed with melted paraffin. The inoculated eggs are incubated for three or four days before the embryos are taken out.

To prepare the vaccine, the living embryos are removed from the eggs, pooled, weighed, and treated in a mortar with an abrasive. A 10 percent suspension of this finely ground tissue is prepared, generally in undiluted normal human serum, although serum diluted 50 per cent with distilled water gives satisfactory results. The mixture is centrifuged for 30 minutes, after which the fluid is removed and given a preliminary filtration for clarification through a Buchner funnel with a thin film of asbestos fiber. The final infiltration is through Seitz filter disks at 10-pound pressure.

The vaccine is put up for distribution in ampoules containing 3·0 cc.; also in 1·0 cc. tubes. It is then frozen in a mixture of alcohol, carbon dioxide, and snow, and desiccated. Each bath is tested for bacterial sterility, for virulence, and for quantity of virus. Tests are made on mice or monkeys. The quantity of virus in different lots of vaccine has varied considerably. Some have had so little that they were discarded. The vaccine is stored at a temperature of 4 degrees centigrade and is always sent to the field packed, with cracked ice, in wide-mouthed vacuum bottles.

### Reactions Vary

Any reaction to the vaccine is apt to be mild, generally consisting of headache, low-grade fever, and pains suggesting grippe on the sixth or seventh day after inoculation. Research done at the Rockefeller Institute in the past year has shown that the jaundice which sometimes accompanied vaccination was probably due to a virus contained in the human serum component employed in the vaccine. It is now being made without this element.

When the vaccine is administered in the laboratory or on small groups in the field, between 97 and 100 percent of the vaccinated show protective antibodies in their blood on subsequent tests. There is great variation in the response of man to the immunizing agent and the injection of a mild virus is likely to give protection for a long period. Mice are used for testing the antibody content of the human sera before and after vaccination. In this way the presence or absence of protective antibodies are established.

Symptoms are apparent usually between the fifth and the eighth day after vaccination. Laboratory tests have shown that there is no relation in the individual case between clinical reactions, such as headache and fever, and the appearance of virus in the blood-stream. There is no regularity in the white-blood-cell response

after vaccination, although a slight depression lasting from three to seven days is usual.

Tests made on a group of subjects at the Rockefeller Institute showed that during the first 28 days after vaccination, protective antibodies were demonstrated by the mouse protection test in the blood of all 29 persons vaccinated. None was immune at the end of seven days, and only nine out of 23 persons had responded at the end of 14 days. Great individual variation in antibody response was noted, but the reaction in general was slight compared with that in rhesus monkeys or in persons recovering from clinical yellow fever. The antibody reaction is strongest between the 21st and 28th day after vaccination, although with some individuals the rise continues for 70 days.

Physician prepares to inoculate a group of villagers in Central Africa with yellow-fever vaccine

### History of Yellow Fever

Little is known of yellow fever before the discovery of America by Columbus. One theory is that America was the original home of the disease. Ancient Mayan records of early pestilence mention symptoms suggesting yellow fever. A second theory is that the disease is of West African origin and was imported into America in the days of the early slave trade. Yellow fever was prevalent in the West Indies early in the 17th century and was distributed from there by sailing vessele to many European and American ports.

In 1821 some 20,000 persons died of yellow fever in Barcelona, Spain. The disease has long been present in West Africa, particularly around the Gulf of Guinea. It has been more common among sailors, traders, and government officials than among the Africans, who have a certain immunity. In 1927 it broke out sporadically in many areas from Senegal to the Belgian Congo.

North America has suffered repeatedly from yellow fever introduced by ships from the West Indies. The larger ports on the Gulf of Mexico and along the Atlantic seaboards were invaded often, and the disease extended up the Mississippi Valley as far as southern Illinois.

The theory of Dr. Carlos J. Finlay, of Havana, that yellow fever is propagated by the mosquito was announced in 1881 but received little attention at the time. In 1900 the Yellow Fever Commission of the U. S. Army, composed of Doctors Walter Reed, J. Carroll, A. Agramonte, and Jesse W. Lazear, performed experiments in Cuba which proved conclusively that the mosquito *Aedes aegypti* is a bearer of yellow fever.



Member of an Airline ground crew is immunized before operating in yellow-fever territory

No time was lost in applying the new knowledge to the control of the disease. William C. Gorgas, later surgeon-general of the U. S.

Army, was able to rid Havana of yellow fever within a few months' time in 1901. Within four years the Panama Canal Zone and neighbouring cities were freed of the disease. Dr. Oswaldo Cruz undertook to clear Rio de Janeiro in 1903 and completed the task within five years. Yellow fever was eradicated from Guayaquil in 1918 and 1919 by Dr. M. E. Connor, and control work in Peru was completed by Dr. Henry Hanson in 1921. As the disease was suppressed in the principal disseminating ports, it cleared up in many other places spontaneously, or with moderate efforts at control.

Before the immunizing vaccine was developed at the Rockefeller Institute, a number of scientists engaged in studying yellow fever in various laboratories during the four-year period of intensive research, 1927-1931, became infected, and several of them died. Since vaccination was introduced in 1931 there has not been a single accidental infection among the investigators. Science has brought this once deadly disease within the bounds of control. *Courtesy*: USOWI.

## THE TASHKENT INSTITUTE OF EASTERN MANUSCRIPTS

By ANNA KOCHERYANTS

SCIENTIFIC organisations of Uzbekistan together with the eastern institute of Academy of Sciences, USSR—at present evacuated in Tashkent—recently marked the seventieth birthday and the fiftieth anniversary of the scientific work of A. Semyenov, an eminent scholar of the east and author of over a hundred and sixty scientific papers. Semyenov is in charge of a large fund of eastern manuscripts in the Uzbekistan State Public Library. This extremely valuable collection is at present being transferred to the recently founded Academy of Sciences, Uzbekistan which is organising a special Institute of Eastern Manuscripts on this basis.

Professor Semyenov has devoted many years of his life towards the study and classification of this rare collection and is compiling three volumes of catalogues. He demonstrated to us the third volume which includes manuscripts on history, philosophy, biography, letters and correspondence; descriptions of travels and memoirs and treatises on grammar and style, natural science, medicine, agriculture, goegraphy and bibliography.

" Persian manuscripts take the first place in our collection with respect of number," says Alexander Semyenov. " We have very many manuscripts in Arabian and Turkish languages.

" Belles-lettres of east are well represented on our shelves. We have, for example, the only extant copy of Khamza (" five poems ") by the famous Persian poet, Emir Khosrov who died in 1325. And here is the manuscript by the greatest Persian lyricist, Hafiz, dating back to 1350. We also possess unique copies of poems by the great poet and moralist, Saadi who died in 1292."

Among the manuscripts are many lists written by the famous Calygraph and Norkeo in gold and silver colours; some of them belonged to various historical figures of the east.

" The department of philosophy and ideology of the Moslem east," continues Semyenov, " contains many heretofore unknown and unique manuscripts, as well as numerous copies which are of great value for their artistic execution. Our collection includes a considerable number of manuscripts on medicine, mathematics and alchemy in Persian and Arabian languages some of which have not yet been mastered by science. Many treatises have carefully drawn diagrams and are decorated with exquisite drawings."

The history of Central Asia—especially for the past three hundred years—is well represented. The fund has also extremely valuable collections of eastern lithographies and printed editions which came out in Central Asia, India, Iran and other countries of the east. Here is also to be found the only copy of the " Turkestan Symposium " consisting of 594 cardboard-bound volumes of similar sizes. The symposium is a two-thousand page collection of all the articles and papers written on the history of Central Asia from the sixties of the last century down to 1912 and is also furnished with detailed explanations. This collective work, which includes printed magazine and newspaper articles as well as pamphlets and books about Central Asia in Russian, English, German and French, was begun by the Russian scholar, Mezhev.

Semyenov says :

" Dramatists and artists get material on clothing and the interior decorations of palaces of visitors and khans. Historians look for the unique documents. I recently discovered an interesting document telling about how detachments of armed horsemen fought many centuries ago. It contained an especially interesting material on tactics of cavalry attacks and offensives. After studying it I made a translation which I forwarded to Marshal Voroshilov."

# THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

Mr. Churchill's speech before the Commons begins with the statement that

> "I have never taken the view that the end of the war in Europe is at hand or that Hitler is about to collapse and I have certainly given no guarantee or even held out any expectation that the year 1944 will see the end of the European war. Nor have I given any guarantee the other way."

About Hitler's army and the German General Staff, he said :

> "The strength of the German Army is about 300 divisions though many of these are substantially reduced in numbers. The fighting quality of the troops is high." "The German General Staff . . . . possesses great skill both in handling of troops in action and in their rapid movement from place to place. The recent fighting in Italy should leave no doubt on these points."

Regarding the contribution so far of the Western Allies towards the vanquishing of Germany Mr. Churchill's statement related in the main to the aerial offensive over Germany and occupied Europe—which in his opinion had forced Germany to employ four-fifths of her fighter forces on the British and American fronts—and to the pinning down of between forty and forty-five divisions in Italy and Yugoslavia, besides holding down large bodies of German forces in France and the Low-countries through the fear of invasion. As regards the disappointing nature of the Italian campaign, as gauged by results, he attributed that mainly to extremely bad weather and to some extent to the obstinate nature of the defence ordered by Hitler against the Allied forces advancing upon Rome.

With regard to the future of the European campaign, he held out great hopes of wearing out the German aerial defences to the vanishing point. As to the coming offensive he gave great praise to General Eisenhower's staff arrangements and justified the handing over of the supreme conduct of the combined invasion forces to him. As regards the recent conferences, he paid some compliments to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife.

He had much more to say about the conference at Teheran, specially about the political complications that may arise in the future. Finally he clearly stated that the Allies had agreed that the full force of all of the parties in conference at Teheran would be used to the utmost during the coming spring and summer.

Taken as a whole, the speech does not throw much light on the prospects of the Allies in the European war, viewed from a short-time angle. Mr. Churchill has made it clear that Hitler's war-machine has not yet begun to crack, and that even after the tremendous battering it has received during the three years of the Russian campaigns it may put up such a formidable defence—by cutting its losses and shortening its lines—as to render the question of ending the European war in 1944 a problematical one. The position becomes still more puzzling when his own statements regarding war-production and numerical strengths of the fighting forces of the opponents are considered relatively. Even if we admit that the defenders usually enjoy an advantage of a handicap of two to one in such matters, the production and numerical strengths of the Allies as a whole should be overwhelmingly preponderant, if the problem of transport be solved. In any case, whatever might be the real hitch, the Eastern theatre of war has been again relegated to a second place beyond all doubt. Which means that this war is going to be a long one, from the global point of view, unless the Allies get an extraordinary run of luck.

Leaving future considerations aside one finds the Allied position encouraging in so far as the Russian battle-fronts of the immediate present—and recent past—are concerned. The German defence lines are being steadily levered back, though the fighting is gradually becoming fiercer and extended. The thaw is not very far off now and large-scale operation may have to be halted for some little period in the near future, in order to change over from the methods of the winter campaign to that of the spring and summer. But in this winter's campaign the Russians have been able to manœuvre into positions of vantage almost all along the line. If the question of transport across vast stretches of totally devastated areas could be solved, then the synchronized assault on the Germanic defences from the East and the West could now be developed on a titanic scale. The German defenders on the Russian soil have had no respite this winter, but of course neither did the Soviet soldier have any.

With the approach of spring the Second Front comes nearer its zero hour. Somewhere between March 10 and April 8—two full-moon periods—things should possibly begin to move. It is impossible of course to guess at the secrets of time and place—and methods—in the schedule of Invasion plans. This much is certain that the bloodiest of all struggles are ahead of the Western Allies and much will depend on how closely the secrets of the opening moves have

been guarded. The Allies are not leaving much to chance, to judge from what the various spokesmen of the United Nations have said, but still against an adversary of the calibre of the German Supreme Command, the element of surprise would be of the greatest value to the attacker. In Italy the Wehrmacht had shown an uncanny capacity for guessing the Allied moves and with meticulous care and great tactical skill, as admitted by Mr. Churchill, they had countered the Allied drive to Rome, utilizing every advantage of terrain, of weather and of transport facilities. From a desperate situation in which the Allies seemed to hold every card they had staged a recovery to the extent that the attacker now had to face a defence in depth that was not only getting harder and more obstinate every day but was growing more and more on the aggressive side, attacking and counter-attacking with an increasing amount of ferocity, in a rising tempo, which has made General Alexander describe the fighting as "terrific."

1942 was the year of fate for German aggression, 1944 seems to be the year of trial for the defence strategy set up by Hitler's Supreme Command. Up till now the defence has been successful in the West and South inasmuch no serious breach has been made in the defence lines in Western and Southern Europe, despite the extremely careful and vastly extensive preparations made for the attack on the "soft underbelly of Europe." The high hopes entertained at the time of the collapse of Italy have now been whittled down to the expectations of the fruits of a limited offensive, as can be gathered from Mr. Churchill's statement. Great undoubtedly as would be the effect of the capture of Rome on the Italian situation, it would have been infinitely more so had the Allies been successful in November or even in December. On the Russian front the German defence has not been able to stand up against the battering of the mighty armies of the Soviets. Nearly three-fourths of the soil overrun by the Germanic hordes has been wrested back from the invader, and some of his strongest defence bastions have been blasted out. But there too, it must be admitted, there has been no rout, and the German retreat has been orderly up till now. The Germans have suffered very severe losses, but their General Staff has so far been able to extricate the great army groups from encircling movements and to keep the defence line intact, in spite of the extremely violent assaults *en masse* by the Russian forces, pressed on regardless of losses. In the seven months since the capture of Orel and Byelgorod, there has been no slackening of the Russian effort, no attempt at lessening the sacrifice of men or material, and the achievements have been magnificent beyond even the dreams of the United Nations. But despite many major reverses, and terrific losses, the German retreat does not as yet show the signs of degenerating into a rout, nor does the defence line indicate any definite signs of cracking up. As yet the defender seems to be able to call up reserves in time to patch breaches, to fight rear-guard actions and to hold up the arms of pincers movements from engulfing retreating army groups by putting up "hedgehog" defences against the logical path of the main assault columns of the Soviets' forces. Moreover, the resistance seems to stiffening slowly as the German line is shortening and drawing nearer to its main supply and reserve depots. All of which tend to substantiate the Soviets' contention that the German defence in the East will not tend to collapse until at least 40 or 50 of the 160 Axis divisions, now on the Eastern front according to Russian estimates, are drawn away to the Western theatre of war due to pressure exerted by the other Allies.

The situation, therefore, calls not only for an early opening of the Allied offensive in the West but also for the quick establishment of wide bridgeheads, through breaches in the German "West-Wall" defences, that would permit a vast invasion force to operate on a Second Front comparable in magnitude to the Eastern battle-zones. When the campaigns in the West match in intensity and extent those on the Russian front, it is only then that the crucial test of the Germanic defence strategy will come. Mr. Churchill's speech makes it clear that the Western Allies are now keyed up to the point of the supreme test and it also expresses every confidence on the ability of the chosen leaders to meet any exigency that may arise in the venture.

Coming nearer home, the situation in the Arakans is very obscure and that in the Hukwang valley somewhat less so. We are not as yet in a position to view the operations in these areas in their full perspective. Judging from what reports have been released to the press, no quick decisions are likely to be obtained on the Indo-Burmese fronts in the near future. As the monsoons are now only eight to ten weeks distant on the Arakan areas, the chances for a major thrust into Burma through that sector seem to be remote.

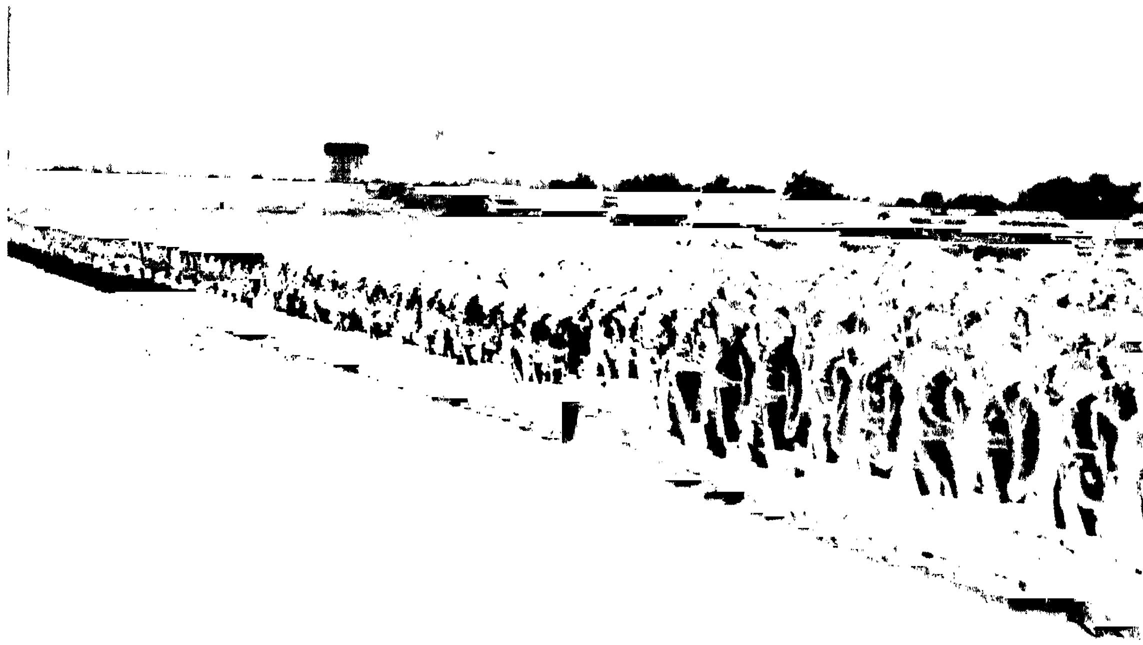


Fierce U. S. artillery barrage drives Germans from an Italian town



U. S. Marine gun crew fighting for Tarawa atoll in the South Pacific Gilbert Islands

*Courtesy :* USOWI



Thousands of Chinese soldiers trained and equipped by the U S Army centres in Eastern India stand at attention during an Address by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who on his way back to China from Cairo Conference inspected these U S training centres in India



Major-General Chennault Commander of the 14th U S Army Air Force recently named as Chief of Staff for the Chinese Air Force, conducts members of the Chinese Aeronautical Affairs Commission on a tour of inspection of his headquarters unit at an advanced air base in China *Courtesy :* USOWI

# THE RISE OF MAHADJI SINDHIA

BY RAO BAHADUR G. S. SARDESAI

MAHADJI SINDHIA, lovingly called by his contemporaries as *Patil Baba*, was probably the most remarkable personality in Indian history during the last 30 years of the 18th century. His rivals for that distinction were Haidar Ali and Nana Fadnis, but the activities of these two ranged over a smaller area than Mahadji's and they had to struggle against much lighter odds than he. Above all *his* work endures, while the other two have left only their names behind. Mahadji was the founder of the State of Gwalior and the creator of its greatness, though the house of Sindhia first rose above obscurity to landed possessions—but on a much humbler scale, under his father Ranoji.

Ranoji, the hereditary patil or village headman of Konher Khed, died in 1745, and four of his sons,—Jayappa, Dattaji, Jotyaji and Tukoji, had all died by January 1761, and so also had done Jankoji the son of Jayappa. Thus, after the fatal day of Panipat, the only surviving son of Ranoji was Mahadji, born out of wedlock to a Rajputni girl. Mahadji had to start life with the heavy handicap of a slur on his birth. And this blot on his escutcheon led to a long delay in his being recognised by the Peshwa as the head of the Sindhia family and estates in succession to Ranoji's deceased sons.

Another and probably more potent cause of the delay was the discord in the Peshwa's family. Balaji Rao, the 3rd Peshwa, had survived the disaster of Panipat by only five months, and left his throne to his eldest surviving son Madhav Rao, a lad of sixteen only, though probably the most highly gifted prince of that race. Against him stood his paternal uncle Raghunath Rao—the man whose unpatriotic ambition afterwards brought the English merchants to attack the national Government of Poona and whose worthy son Baji Rao II completed his work by signing away the independence of the Maratha State at the Treaty of Bassein in 1802. Raghunath's guilty plan was to raise a party of his own, usurp the *de facto* administration of the Poona Government and turn the lawful Peshwa into a political prisoner. This disloyal design Mahadji refused to support, and hence Raghunath, during the first few years, when the youthful Madhav Rao was not yet firmly seated on the saddle, thwarted Mahadji in every possible way, especially by raising up rivals to him from among the other members of the Sindhia family.

Mahadji Sindhia was probably born in 1727. The story of his adventures in retreating from the fatal field of Panipat (1761) closely pursued by a ferocious Afghan horseman who left him wounded and crippled for life, and his rescue by a water-carrier (*bhisti*), is well-known. We next hear of him as coming from Malwa to join the Peshwa at the siege of Miraj in December 1762. But he seems to have immediately returned to Ujjain without the question having been decided about his succession to the Sindhian State. A large *nazarana* of several lacs was demanded which Mahadji could not pay; and Raghoba who then handled all such important matters was not favourably disposed towards Mahadji as the latter evinced a distinct attachment to the young Madhav Rao. Mahadji's competitor for the family headship was Kedarji Sindhia, a son of Tukoji, the youngest of Ranoji's sons and not a little trouble to Mahadji was also created by the widowed ladies of the Sindhia family, the two wives of Ranoji, Nimbabai and Chimabai, both living, Jayappa's wife Sakhubai, Dattaji's wife Bhagirathibai, and Sagunabai the wife of Jotiba. All these ladies now suffered intolerable hardship for want of some supporter to look after their needs. In a letter dated 8th July 1767 Mahadji complains bitterly that his own mother Chimabai was for years living entirely on debts which had grown to twenty thousand rupees and that no one would lend her any more money.

Besides Madhav Rao and Raghunath and the ladies of Ranoji's family, there were others whose selfish interests conflicted with a speedy settlement of the problem of the Sindhia succession. Naro Shankar, erstwhile governor of Jhansi, Chinto Vithal, Raghoba's principal adviser, Gangoba Tatya Chandrachud, the mentor of Malharrao Holkar, these and others had all a hand in nominating the Diwan and other officials for managing Sindhian financial affairs. The nomination gave these worthies not only a share in the *nazarana* but also an opportunity to provide for their hungry dependents. Contemporary papers mention so many candidates for these posts that it would be tedious to enumerate them here. Nobody cared to examine the fitness of the nominees, nor the wishes of the would-be master. Mahadji did short work with two such officials, as will be seen later.

## II

Personally Mahadji studiously avoided taking sides in the severe internecine conflict that for long raged between the young Peshwa

and his uncle. During the summer of 1763 when Janoji Bhosle of Nagpur joined Nizam Ali and burnt Poona, the Peshwa called upon Mahadji then at Ujjain to descend upon Janoji's possessions of Berar. Mahadji obeyed the summons and so threatened Janoji that the latter at once threw himself upon the Peshwa's mercy. Madhav Rao was highly pleased with Mahadji's performance and wished at once to instal him formally as the successor of Dattaji and Jankoji. Mahadji had a cordial meeting with the Peshwa at Toka on the Godavari in October 1763 and together they marched towards Poona. But the project of Mahadji's installation received a sudden set-back owing to the appearance of a pretender who falsely personated the missing Jankoji Sindhia and claimed the succession. During November the pretender was examined and exposed and was suitably punished. In the meanwhile Raghunathrao appointed Kedarji to the Sindhian chiefship, fixing eight lacs as the amount of the *nazarana*. Within a few days, however, Madhav Rao issued sanads in the name of Mahadji, declaring him as the rightful heir, (15 Dec. 1763). This step only aggravated the confusion and threatened to spread the poison of domestic feud in Sindhia's house. Fortunately, Kedarji proved perfectly loyal to Mahadji.

But Jayappa's wife Sakhubai appealed to Raghoba against Mahadji's appointment, probably on account of his illegitimate birth: and the vacillating Raghoba issued orders setting aside both Mahadji and Kedarji and bringing forward his own nominee, Manaji Sindhia, a distant relative of the family, he being the grandson of that Sabaji Sindhia who had carried the Maratha arms to Attock during 1758. Manaji was a spirited soldier and staunch partisan of Raghoba. This supersession of Mahadji's claim incensed him terribly. He broke into open rebellion against Raghoba during the summer of 1764 when the Peshwa was absent in the Carnatak expedition against Haidar Ali. Mahadji at once proceeded to Ujjain.

As soon as Raghoba learnt that Mahadji had started for the north without obtaining his formal leave, the former issued instantaneous orders to his officials to arrest him immediately on the way. "Mahadji Sindhia has run away without taking leave, therefore he should be pursued night and day on the way and prevented from crossing the Tapti. Not a moment's delay would be tolerated." But Mahadji was not the man to be so easily cowed. He opposed the pursuers boldly and quickly reached Ujjain *via* Maheshvar on 13th July 1764. Nor did he care to report his action to the Peshwa or anybody-else. He at once took possession of the actual management of his patrimony, not minding who was formally invested with authority by the Peshwa's Government. Raghoba resented this conduct of Mahadji all the more and at once called to his presence Mahadji's nephew Kedarji with a view to setting him up against the rebel Mahadji. Kedarji saw through the game and thus replied to Raghoba, "The revered Mahadji Bawa is already performing loyal service here. To him you should address whatever commands you have to issue. I am entirely dependent upon his wishes. We shall both serve you loyally." Thus Mahadji continued his operations in Malwa and exacted tributes from the local chiefs. Raghoba could not coerce him beyond issuing verbal orders. But he managed on the advice of his confidential and wily secretary Chinto Vithal to appoint one Mahadaji Govind as Manaji's Diwan and send them both into Malwa. Mahadji was equal to the occasion. He disregarded the new Diwan altogether and so managed matters that within a few months of his arrival, this new Diwan Mahadaji Govind was openly attacked and killed in a scuffle by the villagers near Ujjain in June 1765. Incidents like this disclose the inherent defects of the Maratha administration.

## III

All the while Mahadji was not remiss in promoting the main interests of the Maratha government in the north. While he was near Kotah in Rajputana in May 1765, he learnt of the severe disaster which had overtaken Malharrao Holkar in an encounter with the British troops under Major Fletcher. Mahadji immediately ran to the defeated veteran's assistance, although in personal matters he was none too friendly towards Holkar's policy. Malharrao was then very old and so took to heart his severe rout by the English that he gradually lost his strength and died next year.

During the autumn of 1765 Clive appeared near Allahabad and gave a masterful turn to Indian politics by taking under British protection the Emperor and Shuja-ud-Daula and accepting the Diwani of Bengal. Shuja-ud-Daula who was chafing under the blows he had received at Baksar, was appeased and quieted. Clive's settlement caused a severe set-back to the traditional Maratha policy in the north, since hereafter the British came forth openly to dispute with the Marathas the future supremacy of the Indian continent. The young Peshwa well realizing the significance of these changes sent Raghoba expeditiously to the north, as he

was the only experienced man acquainted with the complicated affairs of that region. Raghoba appeared in Malwa in the early months of 1766, when Mahadji readily joined him and rendered whatever service he could, without showing the least chagrin for the treatment he had received in the past. While the Maratha armies were preparing to humble the Rana of Gohad, Malharrao Holkar died on 20th May, 1766 near Jhansi in the presence of Raghoba, Mahadji and Mudhoji Bhosle of Nagpur.

## IV

Although during all these years Mahadji was subjected to the most distressing circumstances, he was cautious on one point. He carefully husbanded his scanty resources and utilized them in organizing his military arm, collecting a band of devoted followers whom he regularly paid and honourably maintained as the best means of overcoming his external difficulties. Most of his latter day companions and comrades in arms were reared during these early days. He left his own mother in want, as we have seen before, but concentrated on increasing his military strength, which throughout his future career underwent frequent reforms and changes as experience demanded. One of his lieutenants Raghoram Page writes on 17th August 1765: "Here Mahadji has about him a band of devoted comrades ready to sacrifice their lives for him. All are of one mind, all imbued with a spirit of loyal service to Mahadji's master the Peshwa, in perfect imitation of the devotion and sacrifice exhibited by his brothers before him in the service of the Maratha State."*

Raghoba's expedition in north India during 1766 and 1767 proved a dismal failure. He could not subjugate even the Rana of Gohad, now joined by the Jats of Bharatpore; and as the emperor and Shuja-ud-Daula had been already detached from Maratha subjection, Raghoba had to return to the south utterly discomfited and therefore all the more enraged against his nephew for not having supplied him with enough funds from Poona and for planning to ruin his reputation. The ill-feeling soon assumed a serious form; the two came to open blows. The British agent Brome, who visited Raghoba at Nasik towards the end of 1767 and who incited him not a little to an open conflict, vividly describes Raghoba's attitude.

Raghoba openly demanded a half share of the Maratha State; the Peshwa refused it pointblank and called to his presence the various important sardars in order to make them swear allegiance to him. This was in November 1767, when both Mahadji and Tukoji Holkar repaired to Poona. It was at this time that Mahadji received from the Peshwa his final official investture without much ado about the *nazarana.* Tukoji and Mahadji remained loyal to the Peshwa throughout the ensuing campaign. Only two prominent sardars,—the Gaikwad and the Bhosle of Nagpur—sided with Raghoba.

The two parties came to close grips on 10th June 1768 in the vicinity of Dhodap near Nasik, when Raghoba was completely routed and compelled to submit to the Peshwa. Thereafter he was kept a close prisoner in the palace of Poona. Holkar's Diwan Gangadhar Tatya secretly helped Raghoba, a conduct which the Peshwa severely resented and for which the Diwan, besides being heavily fined, was caned in an open Darbar at Poona. Mahadji gained the Peshwa's high favour and regard and was at once despatched to the north to look after the Maratha interests there. Mahadji arrived on the scene of north India towards the end of 1768 and at once began to assert his personality on the situation which is well-known to history. Mahadji's Diwan Ragho Ram Page who has already been alluded to, and who was a partisan of Raghoba, now rebelled against Mahadji, who attacked and killed him in an open fight in January 1769, thereby teaching a lesson to all his subordinates that they had now to deal with a master who was not to be trifled with.

The year 1769 thus marks the rise of this last hero of the Maratha Empire, having served a period of tutelage for some eight years, of which the main incidents have been presented above. It is well-known how Mahadji's willing co-operation alone enabled Nana Fadnis to win the First Anglo-Maratha War which was provoked by the wicked Raghoba seeking British protection after the murder of his nephew, the Peshwa Narayan Rao.

This sketch of Mahadji Sindhia's early career clearly shows how cautiously he climbed the way to success in the midst of almost unsurmountable difficulties. All the great qualities of the head and the heart which he exhibited in his later career received their early development under the stress of the circumstances through which he had to pass in this early period. Destiny marked him out to be one of the greatest men that the Maratha nation has produced.

* Raj vol. 13, 22. The first 62 letters of this volume supply a fund of information on Mahadji's early career.

# INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

## A Critical Survey*

By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. UMESHA MISHRA, Kavyatirtha, M.A., D.Litt.,

*University of Allahabad*

I consider it to be my first duty to express my most sincere gratitude to the authorities of the All-India Oriential Conference for the honour they have conferred upon me by inviting me to preside over the Section of Indian Philosophy and Religion of this session of the Conference which is holding its sittings within the precincts of a University which I am proud to call my *Alma-mater*. Being fully aware of my limitations and of the onerous duty which a President has to perform I feel much diffident within myself to shoulder the responsibility, but as आज्ञ गुरूणां ह्यविचारणीया, I have no other choice.

As the President of a Section it is my next duty to deliver an address covering the progress achieved in the subjects connected with the Section since we met last at Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1941, and to place before you some of the more important problems which as a student of Indian Philosophy I have before me.

Before proceeding with the first part of my work, I must confess very frankly that the survey of the progress made in this Section, as given below, in no way claims to be quite exhaustive and comprehensive. It is partly due to the short notice of the session and partly to the consideration of not encroaching upon the time of others while delivering it before the audience here.

### I

The most important contribution to this Section is the *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, Parts I & II, by Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane. Pandit Kane's scholarship needs no introduction. The first volume of his *History of Dharmasāstra* has been before the public for over ten years and we know what great amount of labour and scholarship is necessary for such a monumental authoritative work. The present volume contains the treatment of *varna*, *āsrama*, *samskāras*, *āhnika*, *achara*, *dāna* and *utsarga* and *srauta* sacrifices. The author has based the exposition of all these topics on authoritative original scources including most of the modern *Nibandhas*. The subject is so vast and its nature is sometimes so complicated that it is difficult to say that all the schools of Dharmasāstra are fully represented, but as far as it seems, Pandit Kane has not omitted any important text from his treatment. We are much indebted to the author for his contributions and are anxiously looking forward to see his third volume dealing with all the rest of the topics of Dharmasāstra which I hope is almost complete by now.

The next but not the less important work is *Pūrva-Mīmāmsā in its Sources* by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha with an Appendix named *Critical Bibliography of Pūrva-Mīmāmsā*, also known as *Mimamsa-kusumāñjali* by myself. It is the first volume of the newly started *The Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion Series* under the general editorship of Sir S. Radhakrishnan and published by the Benares Hindu University. Dr. Jha was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest scholars of recent times. As regards his contributions to Pūrva-Mīmāmsā, we may say without any hesitation that he has done the same service which the great Kumarila Bhatta did in his time to the Sāstra. His present work which was, unfortunately, his last contribution in this life, is the most exhaustive and all-comprehensive treatment of the three well-known schools of Pūrva-Mīmāmsā, namely *Bhatta*, *Guru* and *Mishra*. By the publication of this work we have got a complete book on the History of Pūrva-Mīmāmsā based on original sources.

The *Agamasāstra of Gaudapāda* deserves our next attention. Though generally it is called *Māndūkyakārika* or *Gaudapadakarika*, yet the present author likes to name it *Agamasāstra*, because it is an "authoritative treatise which deals with or is based on a traditional doctrine or doctrines." It has been edited, translated and annotated by Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya of Calcutta after a thorough study of the book for about twenty years. Professor Bhattacharya is not at all satisfied with the interpretation given by Sankarāchārya, and identifies it with that of the *Vijñānavāda*. It is true, holds Prof. Bhattacharya, that Gaudapāda advocates the *Vijñānavāda* in his *Kārikās*, but certainly, takes the *Brihadāranyaka Upanisad* as the ultimate basis for his treatment. One may or may not share with his views, but there is no doubt that his treatment has opened quite a new line of thinking and is worth further investigation. In spite of

* Presidential Address (Philosophy and Religion Section) delivered at the Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference, Benares Hindu University, December 31, 1943 and January 1 and 2, 1944.

all the praise that the present edition deserves, it is a fact that the printing of the text in *Devanāgrī* script would have been much more desirable.

Dr. S. K. De of Dacca University deserves our congratulations for his *Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal.* In this interesting work the author gives us an account of the views of early Chaitanyaism based on almost all the original works written by the followers of Srī Chaitanya. Though not quite exhaustive, the author has given a summary of almost all the works written in Sanskrit by scholars and devotees inspired by the personality of Chaitanya. He also discusses therein the interpretation of *rasa-sāstra,* theology, philosophy, rituals etc., as found in the works of Vaisnavaism of that period. The book, on the whole, is indeed a valuable contribution to the literature and deserves our praise.

One of the most important books that has been published in the *Adyar Library Series* is *The Philosophy of Visistādvaita* by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari, M. A. The main purpose of this work, as he himself has told us, is to give a critical and comprehensive exposition of the central features of the Philosophy of *Visistādvaita* and its relation to other schools of Vedānta. The author very dispassionately and critically elucidates almost all the aspects of the school. He proceeds with a clear outlook and makes efforts to judge his statements from the correct angle of vision of all the schools of Vedānta. His statements are quite authentic and do not conflict with the true spirit of the school on any point. The author seems to me one of the best exponents of the thought. It is indeed a very good addition to the literature of the school.

Dr. S. C. Nandimath, Principal, Lingaraj College, Belgaum, has added *A Hand-Book of Vīrasaivaism* to the literature of the Lingāyata School. Saivaism is one of the important schools of Indian Philosophy which has two sub-schools —Saivaism of Kashmir and that of Southern India which is, ordinarily, called Vīrasaivaism, or more popularly, Lingāyata Darsana. The author has made a comparative study of the various schools of Vedānta and has compared and drawn contrasts between their views and those of the Lingāyata school. The teachings of this school are more particularly moral, but their philosophical back-ground cannot be overlooked. The author has discussed topics like the conception of *God, Sakti, Māyā,* Appearance, and Reality. The book is well written and the author deserves every encouragement.

*History and Philosophy of Lingāyata Religion* (being an Introduction to the *Lingadhāranacandrikā* of Nandikeshvara) by Mr. M. R. Sakhare is another work added to the literature of Vīrasaivaism. The main object of the author is a comprehensive treatment of the History and Philosophy of the school. Mr. Sakhare traces the origin of the school to the 12th century A.D. The school has got a philosophy of its own and deals with the social and religious aspects also as practised amongst its followers. It is influenced both by Saivaism and Sāktaism. Both in theory and practice its views are very reactionary and revolt against the orthodox views and do not appear to believe even in the influence of the *Law of Karman.* Perhaps this was the reason why it could not spread far beyond the locality of its origin.

The author in his enthusiasm has gone far beyond the limits of his main theme, and so has been not much successful in his attempts. It was not at all necessary for him to go back to the old questions and discuss the much controversial topics of the ancient civilisation of the country in this very volume. If the author were serious enough to discuss such questions, he could have done it in a separate volume. Besides, some of the statements made therein are far from satisfactory and ought to have been more critically examined before being put before the public. As it is, the book is much confused and contains many things which need not have been there at all.

Next, I pass on to the *Nimbārka School of Vedānta* by myself. As far as I know, no attempt was ever made to write in English, as a matter of fact, in any language except Sanskrit, a comprehensive history of the school prior to this. The only book published in English is the *Doctrine of Nimbārka* in two volumes by Dr. Roma Bose (Chaudhari) which is nothing but an English translation, with some annotations, of the two direct and indirect commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyana, known as the *Vedānta-Pārijata-Saurabha* and the *Vedanta-Kaustubha.* The third volume which was announced to contain a full philosophical exposition of Nimbārka's doctrines is still awaiting its publication. The book under review is an exhaustive treatment of the doctrines of the school based on almost all the available texts in print. It is fully documented and is thus most authoritative.

The work of Bhai Manilal C. Parekh, named *Vallabhacharya—Life, Teachings and Movement* is perhaps the latest addition to the literature of the Vallabha School. The book is divided into four sections—Life of Vallabha—Teachings

of Vallabha—Movement of Vallabha and the Bhāgawatadharma in Gujarat. The exposition is quite popular and has not much of philosophy in it. What I mean is that no effort has been made in this book to go to the original texts as to bring out the philosophical doctrines of the school. Perhaps that was not even the object of the author. Though quite interesting, the book cannot be taken to be a scholarly representation of all the aspects of the school based on original sources. Then, we know that there is much scope for writing on the social and religious aspects of the school which also are not found in this book. To me the school of Vallabha appears to be, more or less, a living system which exists not only in the belief but is strictly adhered to in practice, and so it is necessary that a much more comprehensive study of the doctrines of the school should be presented to the scholarly world. I have been myself working on it for about a year or so and have collected all possible and necessary material and hope to present a volume to the scholarly world before long.

The Jaina Sadhus have been writing in Sanskrit for a pretty long time on Jaina thoughts. It is gratifying to find that they have lately begun to write in English also to popularise their thoughts. This will enable us to have more authentic books based on original sources and traditions of the *Sampradāya.* It is our first duty to preserve the traditions which alone can guide us like a torch in our scholarly pursuits to bring into light the hidden treasures of thoughts. It is because we have lost tradition in several branches of our literature that we are quite in the dark as to the correct interpretation of various important problems connected with them.

I am glad to mention in this connection the efforts made by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya of Ahmedabad. Under the common title *Sramana Bhagavān Mahāvīra* he has brought out four volumes. The first part of volume I deals with the twenty-six previous *Bhavas* (existences) of Mahāvīra after the realisation of *Samyaktva* (right belief). The second volume contains an account of the twenty-seventh *Bhava* of Mahāvīra as Vardhamāna Kumāra. The third volume treats of *Ganadharavāda,* that is, the explanation of doubts by the eleven chief disciples of Mahāvīra namely, Indrabhūti and others. The fourth volume is named *Sthavirāvalī* which contains an exposition of the *sthaviras,* that is, the old and highly respected learned ascetics. All these works are well annotated, translated and explained. Every effort has been made to make these volumes useful and up-to-date. The expositions though very lucid, interesting and informative, are sometimes more frivolous. To write much more than what is necessary seems to be a habit with the modern Jaina writers. For a scholarly work brevity of expression should always be adhered to.

*Cosmology Old and New* by Mr. G. R. Jain and published in the *J. L. Jaini Memorial Series,* contains a free English translation of the fifth chapter of the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* of Umāsvātī with ample notes. The author has not only taken great pains to explain the sutras but has also gone beyond the scope of his school to compare and contrast its doctrines with those of the other systems of Indian Philosophy. This sort of comparative study is, undoubtedly, very useful and desirable, but one should remain very careful against misinterpretation of thoughts. There are certain statements in this book which are quite misleading and confusing, and I am afraid, instead of doing any good to the beginners they may create prejudices in their mind.

*A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas* by Prof. H. R. Kapadia gives us the history of the Svetambara Jaina canon. The author has collected very good material from the original sources based on MSS. He has tried to emphasise more on the traditional aspect of the thought, and so he may not appear to be very critical in his judgment to the modernists. It is good that we should try to preserve our traditions, but at the same time we should not forget to make out clear distinction between traditions and history. There is no serious and systematic arrangement of the various aspects of the thought. With such an ample and original collection of material the author would have written a far more interesting and critical book on the subject.

Likewise, we have got a few modern works on Buddhism also to note here. There is the *Early Monistic Buddhism,* Vol. I by Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt wherein questions like—what is not Buddhism, what is early (monistic) Buddhism, how a Buddhist should live, etc., have been discussed. The book is written more from the popular point of view than for the use of critical scholarship.

Then there is a collection of sporadic writings and lectures of the late Mrs. Rhys Davids which she has named *Way-farer's Words,* Vol. II. It contains an account of her own researches in early Buddhistic sources. She rightly critisises the various old and current views on Buddhism and holds that for the correct interpretation of Buddhist thoughts original Pali

records are still to be properly studied. Most of the interpretations of the Buddist thoughts, holds she, have been disproved simply because they could not be supported by original texts. She goes even so far as to apply her argument to systems like Vedānta also. There is enough truth in what she has said. Indeed, working without consulting original texts is responsible for many a mistake in several other fields also.

*The Ethical Philosophy of the Gītā* by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari of Madras is a very interesting book. The author in nine different chapters has expounded the ethical aspect of the *Bhagavadgītā* in the light of *Visistādvaita* by adopting, as he himself says, western methods of critical enquiry. The ethical stand-point of the various schools of Indian thought has been examined in the light of the western thought and a true valuation of the position of the Gītā has been made out. The author is a very good scholar of *Visistādvaita* school and has clear ideas about the different stand-points of almost all the schools. His treatment is quite lucid and unbiased.

*The Progress of Indic Studies* (1917-1942) published by the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* in connection with its Silver Jubilee contains a brief survey of the progress made in Indian Philosophy by one of my students Dr. P. T. Raju of the Andhra University. The author gives us a very sketchy account of the work done in this field. The treatment, besides being quite unsatisfactory, is entirely misleading. It is strange that the author is so ignorant of the essential characteristics of Indian Philosophy. He has throughout misrepresented the Indian outlook and is not at all clear as to the high standard that Indian Philosophy has ever kept before it. One fails to understand how a philosophy, which deals with the ultimate Truth, can change with the change of the cultural surroundings. There are so many misleading remarks and sometimes quite incorrect, that it is not at all possible for me to refute them here. I will, however, certainly refer to one or two points which will be quite sufficient to show his ignorance of the subject. Every Sanskrit Pandit is never regarded as a philosopher. There are thousands of *Vaiyākaranas*, *Jyotisis*, *Vaidikas*, and many others who never, even in their dreams, think of themselves as philosophers, although they are great Pandits. His assumption that for being a philosopher and for understanding the difficult Sanskrit texts training is needed in the European philosophy is entirely fantastic. **You can very easily gather his ideas about** Indian Philosophy from the following lines which I quote from his essay. He says :

"It is true that, Sanskrit being a dead language, a good deal more knowledge of the language is required for the understanding of Sanskrit philosophical texts than of English for the understanding of English philosophy. But this admission does not imply that every Sanskrit scholar without the necessary training in philosophical thinking can be a philosopher. And training is needed not only in Sanskrit philosophy but also in the European. It will not do if one knows a little about Berkeley's *Principles* or Spinoza's *Substance*. A more systematic training is necessary before India can produce many philosophers who can rank with the greatest intellects of the West. Apart from the question of producing new systems, even in interpreting our ancient thought a good knowledge of Western Philosophy is necessary."

Such being the standard of judgment of Dr. Raju, I think only half a dozen (or even less) scholars who have got thorough training in European philosophy, can deserve to be called Indian Philosophers, while Sankarāchārya, Ramanujachārya, Vāchaspati Mishra, Shriharsa, Udayanāchārya, Dharmakirti, Vasubandhu, Nāgārjuna and all those, who have done similar services to the cause of knowledge in India and are regarded by all as great philosophers of this country, do not deserve to be called philosophers, simply because they were never systematically trained in Western Philosophy. It is painful to hear and even pronounce any judgment on such remarks of Indian students. I am extremely sorry to have dealt with this at length, but I think it is very necesasry for me to speak of it in this manner, so that no sane student of philosophy of any country should ever cherish such a wrong notion about Indian Philosophy in future....

Besides, some other works also have appeared during this period, and without discussing their merits I only mention them here: *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions*, by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, *Studies in Religion and Philosophy* by Dr. Susil Kumar Maitra, *The Meaning of the Religious Forms* by Mr. Abinash Chandra Lahiri, *The Yoga of Kathopanisad* by Shri Krishna Prem, *Lectures on Yoga and Vedānta* by Swami Shivananda, *Bhagavadgita and Modern Philosophy* by S. C. Roy, etc.

Recently efforts have been made to write History of Indian Philosophy in Hindi. We have two such works before us worth mentioning—one by Dr. Nandakishora Devaraja and the other by Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya, a Professor of this very University. The book of Pandit Upadhyaya is much more comprehensive and scholarly than that of Dr. Devaraja. **It presents a very good reading to those who do**

not know the subject and cannot read the standard works from the original sources. As these remove a long-felt desideratum in Hindi literature I welcome them, and hope that many more efforts will be made to produce better books in other modern languages.

Similar efforts have also been made in Maithili in recent times. The late MM. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha wrote a book on Sankara-Vedānta called *Vedānta-Dīpaka*. It is very interesting and lucid in its exposition. Dr. Jha, as was his usual habit, has explained the whole system without confusing his readers with the intricacies of Vedānta. The book is written for popular use and not for any critical scholarship.

Likewise, Babu Ksemadhari Sinha, B.A., Vedantavinoda of Madhubani, has written a small book on Sankhya, named *Sānkhyakhadyotikā* in Maithili. The author has followed the treatment of the *Sānkhyasūtra* and has tried to give the substance of the entire school in this small book. His exposition is quite easy and lucid and is very interesting for general reading. Though not quite in agreement with the outlook of the author, I welcome such efforts simply because these are useful for those who would have remained quite ignorant of the subject without such books.

(*To be continued*)

# INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

## In Memory of Late Bhaba Sankar Datta

By GAURI SANKAR DATTA

EVERY year educated Indian ladies after doing a considerable amount of scientific research in several laboratories throughout the length and breadth of this country read their papers before the Indian Science Congress. It is needless to say that they have received approbation and encouragement from eminent scientists and their papers are also published in several respectable foreign journals and periodicals. The following papers were read and discussed before the Indian Science Congress held at Delhi in the first week of January, 1944 :

In the Section of Mathematics and Statistics :

1. On Stirling's approximation Based on Fourier Transform. By Miss A. George, Trivandrum.

In the Section of Chemistry :

1. Electric Polarization of Binary Liquid Mixtures. By S. K. K. Jatkar and Mrs. Nagamani Kulkarni, Bangalore.
2. On the Constitution of Castelamarin. By Miss K. D. Paranjape, N. L. Phalnikar, B. V. Bhide and K. S. Nargund, Poona.
3. Synthesis of Analogues of Santonin. By Miss K. D. Paranjape, N. L. Phalnikar, B. V. Bhide and K. S. Nargund, Poona.
4. Pharmacological Study of Some Synthetic Lactones and Compounds Related to Santonin. By Miss K. D. Paranjape, N. L. Phalnikar, B. V. Bhide and K. S. Nargund, Poona.

In the Section of Botany :

1. Embryology of Cupressus Funebris (Endlicher). By Miss Mona Sircar and P. N. Mehra, Lahore.
2. Studies in Jute I. A few interesting observations in the root tips of nine types of jute. By Miss P. R. Parukutty, Calcutta.

**In the Section of Zoology and Entomology :**

1. Histology and Development of the Corpus Luteum in Rhinobatus Granulatus Cuv. By Miss Mary Samuel, Madras.
2. Effect of Vitamin-A Deficiency on the Female Reproductive System with Special Reference to Albini Rats. By Miss Mary Samuel, Madras.

In the Section of Anthropology and Archaeology :

1. Baradeo of the Gond. By Miss Durga N. Bhagvat, Bombay.

In the Section of Medical and Verterinary Sciences :

1. Interesting Organic Substances in Routine Precipitin Tests. By C. O. Karunakaran and Miss Viety Vedakkan, Trivandrum.

In the Section of Physiology :

1. Daily measurements of Basal Metabolism, Body Temperature and Pulse Rate During a Journey to the Tropics. My Miss Eleanor D. Mason, Madras.

In the Section of Psychology and Educational Science :

1. Psycho-music in War and After. By Mrs. Bani Chatterjee, Calcutta.
2. The Emergence of Natural Muscular Rhythm. By Miss Priti Kanjilal, Lucknow.

If the philanthropists and the charitably disposed aristocracy of the country come forward and endow special research scholarships and fellowships for the girl scholars of our country, we are confident many more will be able to show their merit in the respective spheres. We also appeal to the Government to set apart a round sum of money, to be utilised as stipends and scholarships for the women researchers and we believe our appeal will not go in vain.



# Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

PROGRESS OF INDIC STUDIES, 1917-1942 : *Edited by R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1942. Price Rs. 8 exclusive of postage.*

The Bhandarkar Institute worthily celebrated its Silver Jubilee by publishing this useful survey of Indological research. Most of the papers published are useful as compilation of recent data, excepting the article of P. T. Raju who, in his survey of Indian philosophy refers, mechanically, to lots of writers and book-makers on the subject but forgets to mention, even by name, Dr. Sir Brojendranath Seal, the Socrates of the modern Indian school, who prepared the ground for some of its future Platos and Aristotles. Dr. Dandekar's paper on Vedic Studies is as thorough as it is illuminating; and Dr. Unvala has supplemented the Editor's article by his able paper on Iranian Studies. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, a pioneer on Indian Linguistics, contributes a most valuable and suggestive paper, ably seconded by Dr. A. M. Ghatage who gave a brief sketch of Prakrit Studies. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal gave an exhaustive survey of publications on Greater India. But the chapters on Archæology, and especially on South Indian Archæology, appeared disappointing. A serious omission, owing to unforeseen circumstances, of a single paper on Islamic Studies, weakens the otherwise well-designed structure of the volume. But it deserves a place in all of the research libraries on Indology.

PROGRESS OF GREATER INDIAN RESEARCH: *By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Greater India Society, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4 only.*

Dr. Ghoshal, the worthy Secretary of the Greater India Society and Editor of its *Journal*, has given, in this volume, a comprehensive and commented survey of publications on Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, Malaya and Ceylon. The learned author deserves the gratitude of all those scholars who want to study the history of Indian civilisation, with its organic context of Asiatic culture. In Sir John Marshall's words, it might be said now that "to know Indian Art (and culture) in India alone, is to know but half its story." The complete history of our cultural heritage could only be written, if and when we would be in a position to correlate our Indic Studies with those on countries influencing and influenced by India. Dr. Ghoshal has given us a reliable and illuminating guide-book which should be consulted by all serious students of Indian history and culture. From the valuable Bibliography prifited in Appendix, the students would get substantial help for further research. The critical discussion of materials by the author, is very helpful and we recommend the book of Dr. Ghoshal to all the University and research institutes interested in Indology and Asiatic Culture.

INDIAN BOUQUET : *By Zeb-un-nisa Hamidullah. Published by Gulistan Publishing House, 48, Jhowtola Road, Calcutta. 1943.*

In these days of din and bustle one would forget that life ever renews itself through youth and songs. Amidst the horrors of starvation, India expresses her poetic soul nevertheless through the songs of her poetic children. And here we greet with joy the silver voice of a Muslim girl-poet. In this first book of hers, we read poems which make us feel that she is accustomed to lisp in verses from early years. Coming as she does from a cultured and liberal Muslim family she strikes the note of true democracy in her "Song of the Mussalman." She gives us ballads of joy as well as lyrics of tears. Love naturally plays the dominant note in her youthful orchestration of sentiments; but she is fully alive to the sorrows and tragedies of life, testifying to the depth of her soul. Her "Voice of India"—poem would find sympathetic chord in many hearts.

> O, Give us freedom !
> Must we be
> Forever chained,
> In slavery ?
>
> World-wide rings
> The battle cry.
> "To keep freedom,
> We will die."

The book is printed with taste and illustrated with lively sketches.

KALIDAS NAG

SILVER JUBILEE VOLUME OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE : *Poona. 1917-42. Pp. vi+686. Price not mentioned.*

This substantial volume fittingly commemorates the Silver Jubilee of an institution associated with one of the foremost Indologists of his generation. It consists of seventy papers covering a wide variety of topics bearing on different aspects of Indian history and culture. It is impossible in the course of a short review to notice all the important papers comprised in this work. But we may mention a few points. Under the branch of pre-history, we may refer to the suggestive paper of Father H. Heras, *Three-headed Animals in Mohenjodaro*, holding on the basis of his identification of two unique sculptures recently discovered at Raichur

(Nizam's Dominions) that "these monsters or at least some of them, were representations of demons or evil spirits." Under the head Vedic, mention may be made of *Rita in the Rigveda* by V. M. Apte, justifying the primary sense of the word to mean Zodiac. Other interesting papers are *Indra, the Representative of the Highest Physical Aspect of Nature* by V. A. Gadgill (criticising all existing theories of the God's nature as inadequate and identifying Him with *tejas*), *The Vedic Doctrine of the Worlds Above* by H. G. Narahari (concluding that the Vedic seers believed in a three-fold heaven, the lowest belonging to Yama, the middle to Savitri and Surya, and the highest to Vishnu, and last but not the least, *Divodasa Atithigva and Other Atithigvas* by H. D. Velankar (indicating four distinct Rigvedic kings called Atithigva of whom Divodasa was probably the first to be called by that name). More speculative is *Certain Vedic, Avestan and Greek Traditions and the Age of the Rigveda* by H. C. Seth (identifying a number of Rigvedic kings with those of Media, Persia and Lydia) as also *Indra and Ahalya* by R. Shama Sastri (allegorical explanation of a famous myth). Of great value for Smriti studies are *Manu-smriti and Sagotra Marriages* by K. B. Gajendragadkar (discussing a well-known text of Manu and its interpretation by Kulluka), *The Meaning of Acharyah* by P. V. Kane (combating the view that this term is used by Kautilya to mean his teacher) and lastly, *The Harmonising of Law with the Requirements of Economic Conditions according to the Ancient Indian Dharma-sastras, Arthasastras and Grihyasutras* by Ludwik Sternbach. (illustrating his thesis by reference to the rules of interest, of fixation of prices, of laying out of irrigation work, etc.). Among valuable contributions to the study of classical literature, we may mention *Epic Questions (II)—Parva-samgraha Figures* by V. S. Sukthankar (discussing these figures for *Adhyayas* and *slokas*), and *Devi-Bhagavata or Bhagavati Purana* by S. N. Tadpatrikar (reconstruction of successive stages in the growth of the Devi-Bhagavata on the basis of two MSS. in the Bori collection). Under the head Archæology, we have to notice the valuable paper of V. S. Agrawala, *Mahabharata Notes* (identifying with monumental illustrations the Prakara-vapra-kundala of Mbh. II. 101), M. R. Majumdar, *Iconography of Chandra and Chandrasekhara Images* (referring among others to a Paharpur terracotta), A. P. Karmarkar, *Some Nude Gods in Hindu Pantheon* (tracing the nude figures of Siva and Lakulisa, Balakrishna, Kama and Rati to the proto-Indians of the Indus Valley and the proto-Dravidian (?) Abhiras). Mention may be made in this connection of the editions of some inscriptions of no particular importance by Gaurisankar H. Ojha, M. G. Dikshit, Dasaratha Sharma, and Dines Chandra Sircar. An interesting contribution to Ancient Indian chronology is made by D. R. Mankad, *Manvantara-Chaturyuga Method* indicating that yugas were of equal length first of 1,000 years up to the days of Sumitra and then of 1,200 years at least up to the rise of the Guptas and the Chaturyuga of 40 years was taken as a king-unit in the Puranas. Under the division Religion and Mythology, we may mention *Historical Notices of the Lokayatas* by B. A. Saletore giving epigraphic evidence to prove that the Lokayatas were not a secret society of profane thinkers but a body of philosophers respected both by Hindus and Jainas for more than five centuries. Reference may also be made to *The Palace of Hiranyakasipu* by M. V. Vaidya (discussing the relation of the versions of the Mahabharata, the Harivamsa and the Puranas) and *The Origin of Narayana* by L. B. Keny (deriving the name of this deity from a combination of Dravidian words and suggesting that this Aryan god was the Supreme Being of Mohenjodaro). Interesting contributions to Pali and Prakrit are made by P. V. Bapat, *Sankhalikhita Brahma-cariya* and A. N. Upadhye, *Harisena's Dharma-pariksha in Apabhramsa.* Under the caption Literary History and Biography, we may specially notice *Govindaraja* by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (giving an exhaustive study of the Ramayana commentator par excellence of South India), *The Dindima Poets of Mullandram* by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar (giving a biographical sketch of a South Indian family of Pandits hailing from Gauda according to tradition), *Nilakantha Chaturdhara* by P. K. Gode (giving the biography of a Mahabharata commentator whose grandson was patronised by Raja Shahu), *Malatimadhava-laghuvivarana* by N. A. Gore (giving some biographical notices of the commentator), *Bhupalavallabha* by S. L. Katre (critical notice of an astrological work finished in 1356 A. C. by a Maharashtra Brahman), *Sukha-prakasa* by E. P. Radhakrishnan (biography of a writer of the early 13th century A.C.), *Anubhutisvarupacarya* by V. Raghavan (identifying a number of works of a South Indian grammarian and philosopher), and lastly, *Commentators of the Ramayana in the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries* by P. P. S. Sastri. To the branch of general history great importance belongs to *Gangeyadeva of Tirabhukti* by V. V. Mirashi (correcting the reading and translation of a Ramayana colophon by Bendall and suggesting that this king was a Rastrakuta ruler of Mithila in the beginning of the 11th century). Of notable importance also for the study of Ancient Indian history are *The Home of the Satavahanas* by S. A. Joglekar (locating their original home around Karle and suggesting that they were called Andhras as belonging to the Andhra Valley in the Poona district), *The Vilivayakuras and Sivalakura of the Kolhapur Coins* by N. Govind Pai (identifying the capital of these princes and suggesting that they were sons of three specific Satavahana kings). On the other hand, a highly speculative character belongs to D. S. Triveda's paper *Sheet-anchor of Indian History* (suggesting that Alexander invaded India in the time of Chandragupta I, Seleucus was defeated by Samudragupta and Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynastry issued the so-called Piyadasi inscriptions). Coming down to later times, *The Imperial Mystics of Delhi* by S. R. Sarma, illustrates a little-known trait in the character of the Timurids from Babur to Aurangzeb, while *The Family-records of the Peshwa's Agents at Delhi* by G. M. Khare brings to light a valuable collection of documents recovered recently from the family archives of a Maharashtra Brahman family of Nasik. Other branches represented in this fine volume are Philology, Philosophy, Fine Arts and Avestan. Altogether we may take it as a very valuable contribution to the study of Indology and connected topics.

U. N. Ghoshal

A STUDY OF THE INDIAN MONEY MARKET: *By Bimal C. Ghose. Published by Oxford University Press, 1943 (July). Pp. xii+295. Price not mentioned.*

This little volume is right welcome as the first of its kind in India. We have been long waiting for books solely devoted to a study of our different money markets, both short and long. Mr. Ghose satisfies this need fairly ably and successfully, in spite of numerous difficulties well-known to workers in this field. He presents us here a comprehensive and critical study of the Indian money markets, with particular reference to conditions in the Calcutta money market. This study is divided into three parts. The first part is mostly a critical as well as descriptive account of the organised and the bazaar sections of the money market. The second part is devoted to the work of the Reserve Bank as the controller of credit and operations of the two sections

of the money market, specially in Calcutta. The third part deals with the long-term capital market. The book is thus likely to prove equally valuable both to the student and the general reader.

This book, the author explains in the Preface, was completed in August, 1941, except the last chapter: "it does not, therefore, incorporate changes, that have taken place since then." This omission is to be sadly regretted.

P. C. GHOSH

SCIENCE AND ETHICS: *By Dr. C. H. Waddington, Sc. D. and others. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

The book represents a fairly exhaustive discussion of the relation between Science and Ethics from diverse points of view. Dr. Waddington opens the controversy with a clear and succinct statement of his thesis to the effect that the supposed harmful consequences of Freudian Psychology, Anthropology, Marxism and Logical positivism upon the general intellectual validity of Ethics are unjustifiable. Dr. Waddington agrees with them in their empirical method of ethical investigation but opposes their reduction of ethical results to secondary by-products. This he does on the basis of two assumptions, *viz.*, the super-ego and objective goodness of the direction of Evolution.

The origin of the super-ego is a controversial problem. Dr. Waddington seems to advocate a radically emperical derivation of the Super-ego. Mrs. Melanie Klein, however, lays emphasis on the importance of the impulses of the individual himself in the origin of the Super-ego and makes it plain that the origin of the Super-ego is more complicated than Dr. Waddington supposes. She says that the different stages of the Super-ego formation depends on the way in which the child conceives of its parents. Mrs. Klein also traces the evolution of the child's conception of good and evil. Dr. Karin Stephen notes her dissent from Dr. Waddington's explanation of the "other worldliness" of ethical compulsions as "the result of invasion of infantile solipsism by external reality." (Prof. Huxley, however, entertains it as suggestive and novel). She points out the looseness of Dr. Waddington's usage of the term Super-ego and rightly shows the relationship between the Super-ego, the Ego and Id. Again Dr. Stephen takes exception to Dr. Waddington's identification of the Super-ego with the good, which is manifestly wrong in the face of the neurotic and a large part of psychotic diseases being due to a dead-locking of the vital impulses of human beings with the primitive or diseased types of Super-ego. Here she joins issue with Prof. Huxley in suggesting "that the way towards good is to be looked for along the lines of releasing these energies from their grapplings through reason and still more by appropriate education and by opportunities for fuller life" with a mild warning to him lest "he may underestimate the difficulties with which we are faced."

Regarding Dr. Waddington's second fundamental issue that the direction of evolution is towards good, Dr. Stephen starts with what she calls her "present working hypothesis with regard to ethical problems," which is very like Dr. Waddington's. "*Evil* coincides roughly with neurosis and psychosis, *i.e.*, with mental and moral disease and *good* with spiritual growth, health and sanity." The Super-ego is at first in conflict with the Ego, Id and Reality. But "as the Super-ego evolves and matures it changes radically. As it approaches the end of its development the now transformed Super-ego is then no longer at loggerheads with the Id, conflicting with it and stultifying it, but on the contrary falls more and more into harmonious alliance with it." This brings both the Super-ego and Id "more closely into touch with reality and so approximates them more and more to the ego, whose function is to mediate between impulse-life and the external world so that satisfaction may become an actuality and the organisation can function to its fullest capacity." Dr. Waddington comments upon this commentary of Dr. Stephen as unjustifiably optimistic. But may it be noted that this is as realistic or optimistic as Dr. Waddington's assertion that the Direction of Evolution is good on its own account.

Dr. Waddington admits the difficulty raised by Miss Rothschild's first point in which she draws attention to the contribution made to man's ethical development by people who are themselves unbalanced and treats these cases as exceptions rather than proving the rule. Her second point as to the importance of the hereditary determination of our ethical standards, he regards as unconvincing.

In conclusion we appreciate Dr. Waddington's wisdom in selecting Psycho-analysis as the representative school of contemporary Psychology in determining the contribution of Science to Ethics. But this should not mean that other schools of Psychology have nothing to say over the problem.

PARESNATH BHATTACHARYYA

INDIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA: *Edited by Jan Baros. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta. 1943. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 7.*

Eminent men and women in Asia and Europe have recorded their messages of goodwill and tribute in this delightfully illustrated volume commemorating the 25th anniversary of Czechoslovak National Day. Madame Chiang Kai-shek, President Benes and Mr. Duff Cooper have sent their greetings to Czechoslovaks in India, while Radhakrishnan, Lesny, Geoffrey Tyson, Benoy Sarkar, Arthur Moore and Karel Capek have dwelt on some aspect or other of Czechoslovakia's past struggles and achievements as well as her present sufferings. Others have drawn historical parallels between this brave, ambitious yet tormented nation and India where understanding of and sympathy for the land of Masaryk and Palacky, Smetana and Dvorak are deep and abiding. Cultural ties between these two peoples have found lively expression in the brush of Nicholas Roerich and Asit Haldar and in the reminiscences of Uday Shankar. The enterprising Editor of this volume deserves congratulation for having succeeded in forging another link of cultural fellowship between the marching ahead of two struggling peoples towards national emancipation within the framework of a just and enduring international order.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

NYAYA THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE: *By Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 418.*

The book bears the *imprimatur* of a learned and authoritative body of men, *viz.*, the University of Calcutta. As such, it is beyond cavil. Presumably it is a thesis for a doctorate and must have been carefully scrutinised and passed by experts in the line. When, however, it is submitted to the inexpert judgment of the lay critic of a Periodical, the intention perhaps is to find out how the general reader will take it. But it may be said at once that a Ph.D. Thesis is not an introduction to the subject and is not food for the mind of a tiro or a dilettante. It comes from the ripe pen of an erudite scholar and is material which only the advanced intellect can digest. Judged according to this standard, the book before us deserves praise.

There is one thing, however, which strikes the general reader of this University's publications. Its researches are mostly, if not exclusively, in antiquities. Research, of course, is searching for and bringing to light, things which were known to scholars at one time but have since been forgotten. As such, research is bound to look back into the past; and the more distant the past looked into, the more brilliant is the research. Of historical research, this is undoubtedly true. But must it be so in Philosophy also? Has not Philosophy any modern problems to face or any future ones to look into? Must the human mind only ruminate and never germinate? And is it too much to hope that this question will attract attention in quarters entitled to consider it?

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

A TRIP TO PAKISTAN: *By Yusuf Meherally. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 133. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The title of the book is both misleading and just. Pakistan in all its variants claims both the Punjab, Sind, Frontier Province and Kashmir; and Bengal. A trip to Pakistan should not therefore confine itself to one of its component parts alone. But as the Punjab is the home and the birth-place of the Pakistan idea it is just and appropriate that the author should describe his experiences of the trip to the Punjab, when he was gaoled early in 1942 as a trip to Pakistan. It is frankly a political satire and is a refutation of the complaint that we Indians take our politics too seriously. Written in an entirely new and attractive style it promises to be one of the most discussed books of the year.

Instead of placing ourselves between the reader and the author. the best service that we can do to him is to let the author speak direct. As we have no space for making lengthy extracts, we give below only two—the author's description of the Pakistan Muslim League and Pakistan Hindu Mahasabha. They illustrate the author's method and are typical of his shrewd observations:

(1) "The President of the Pakistan Muslim League is the Nawab Saheb of Mamdot—a man of great tact and wealth. His role has been to keep the road that leads from the residence of the Qaid-e-Azam to that of the Qaid-e-Pakistan in a state of good repair."

"A first class engineering job, without the least doubt. And who," I asked, "is the head of the Lahore Muslim League?"

"Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan," was the reply. A very rich and enthusiastic young person. Next there is Khan Bahadur Mohamed Ramzan, ex-General Secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League.

"So two Nawabs and a Khan Bahadur," I remarked, "lead the procession of Muslim League celebrities in Pakistan? This is splendid. In other countries of the West, the controversy between the advocates of Heredity and Environment has been raging fast and furious with the advantage going to the environmentalists. I am encouraged to find that in Pakistan at least, Heredity has won hands down, and that the ties of blood and state still abide. From a strictly scientific point of view, I am interested in particulars about aristocratic lineage and social position. Pray, throw some light, if you can, on these aspects also."

"The Nawab Saheb of Mamdot retired after distinguished service in the Nizam State; Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan is the son of the late Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan; Khan Bahadur Mohamed Ramzan retired as the Deputy Postmaster-General of Pakistan. One of his sons is in the Indian Police Service and is a Superintendent in the C. I. D., Lahore, while another is in the Provincial Civil Service."

"Many thanks indeed for these illuminating particulars. But who looks after the office, the propaganda department and the volunteers?"

"The office Secretary of the Lahore League," continued my friend, "is Khwaja Abdul Gani, a very sincere and respected worker; the Propaganda Secretary is Mr. Inayatulla Khan, an ex-Professor and one time a believing Christian, who subsequently embraced Islam. He has travelled to the Muslim League *via* the Ahrars and the Ittehad-e-Millat and is an effective speaker.

The Salar-i-Azam of the Volunteers is Mian Ferozdin Ahmed, a powerful mass speaker, full of aggressive push, which often sets many complications rolling. In the Khilafat days, he was sentenced to life transportation for distributing the Fatvas of the Jamait-ul-ulema among the troops, but the Montford Reforms brought amnesty; in the Shahidgunj agitation he called Governor Emerson "Amarsing"; later spent several months in the internment.

Men like Mian Ferozdin among the Muslims and Beli Shah among the Hindus are fiercely adored and equally fiercely condemned. They have been denounced times without number as goondas, mischief-makers, communalists; and hailed equally loudly as saviours, plucky organisers and protectors of religion! Two colourful men undoubtedly, among the most social in Pakistan and as it were essentially the product of and typifying the present disturbed times.

(2) At last the Hindu Mahasabha.

I learnt that Raja Narendranath, Bhai Parmanand and Sir Gocalchand Narang are the high spots of the Pakistan Hindu Mahasabha. Other prominent persons include Rai Bahadur Mukundlal Puri, Captain Keshub Chunder and Rai Bahadur Gopaldas. This pageant of titles, needless to say, impressed me greatly. To this list may be conveniently added the name of the veteran Professor Gulshan Rai, restlessly ready with intellectual arguments in support of the Mahasabha position.

The President of the Pakistan Hindu Mahasabha, I had imagined to be some sort of a fierce superman, clad in flowing saffron robes, standing on a tiger skin, Gita in one hand and sword in the other, perpetually dreaming of *Hindu pad padshahi*. What was my surprise then to discover that Raja Narendra Nath was an old type of noble aristocrat, gentle as a lamb, polite as a courtier, amiable like your own grandfather and a great devotee of Urdu and Persian poetry. No one responsible, associates his name with aggressive communalism. Sir Sikandar called him *Chacha* (Uncle). He has indeed remarkably few personal opponents.

It is even said that during his period of Government service—he retired many years ago as the Commissioner of a Division—the Hindus frequently branded him as pro-Muslim. He has lived to see the tables strongly turned against him, without getting ruffled. When Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah arrived at a draft of a communal settlement, some years ago, Raja Narendra Nath was the only prominent Mahasabhaite to accept the document. Owing to certain differences with his "nephew"—the Pakistan Premier, he has resigned from Parliament, though still his two favourite hobbies are politics and poetry.

Bhai Parmanand's life has been an essay in sacrifice, the latter part of the essay vitiated by a militant identification with communalism. Its beginning was thrilling—revolutionary activity, sentence of death, commutation to penal servitude for life, the horrors of jail life in the Andamans—release, Chancellorship of the National University, fame as a scholar of history. Then came a

swift drift to communalism, election to the Central Assembly, bitterness born of ineffectiveness and isolation from the masses, a sense of frustration on seeing the Hindus troop out of the Hindu Sabha and rally to the cosmopolitan banner of the Congress. This helplessness found expression in hysterical denunciation, which brought only the reputation of a crank. The one-time scholar of history forgot that it is not easy to march against the current of history. His motto is: Never agree with anybody. Even Mr. Savarkar is not excluded from its impartial operation. . . .

The price of the book, perhaps justified by the present-day high prices, seems to be high.

J. M. DATTA

GLIMPSES OF ANCIENT GLORY: *By Prof. K. N. Vaswani, M.A., LL.B. Published by Kitab Mahal, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 272. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a book of eighteen chapters containing essays on ancient history of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, China, India, Crete, Greece and Rome. The stories close with 476 A.D.—the fall of the Roman Empire. First chapter deals with the meaning and philosophy of history and the second gives an account of the world before the dawn of history. The last three chapters survey mankind through ages and take a stock of the lessons of history so far as the ancient world is concerned and finally the author discusses the significance of civilization as is revealed through human progress in the East, as well as, in the West. The author believes in fraternity of races and nations for which poets and philosophers sang and preached and warriors and conquerors fought and perished.

The author claims no originality. The book as an introductory study will be suitable to the undergraduates of the Indian Universities and the general readers will also find it interesting and useful.

A. B. DUTTA

## BENGALI

RABINDRA-GRANTHA-PARICHAYA: *By Brajendra Nath Banerji. Sahitya Niketan, Calcutta. 1944. 2nd and enlarged edition. Pp. 106. Price annas ten.*

It is no wonder that this book has gone into a second edition in only one year's time, for it is a handbook on the Bibliography of our great poet's works in prose and verse, which every student of Tagore's genius finds indispensable. The second edition, by embodying many new facts and correcting old errors or clearing doubtful points, has acquired an independent value of its own. The writer's relentless pursuit of the minutest truth about Tagore's writings and his accurate and methodical presentation of the fruits of his research, are truly admirable.

JADUNATH SARKAR

VAIDESHIKI: *By Sunitikumar Chattopadhaya. The Bengal Publishers, Calcutta. 1943. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

Our Bengali literature has already been enriched by translations and adaptations from English, French, German, Italian, etc., but so far, little attention has been paid to the myths and legends of other nations of Asia and Europe. Dr. Chatterji is a pioneer of comparative philology and so naturally felt the urgent need of expanding our cultural outlook as he has done by publishing the volume under review. His first story *Derdrin* is from old Irish and Brunhild is from Teutonic sources. There is a paper on Mexican Renaissance and another on the culture of the Yoruba and the Negroes of Africa. The rest of the articles are devoted to the Arabian Nights, Tibetan Kesar Saga, Chinese divinities and Burmese Kyanzittha. Dr. Chatterji with his habitual enthusiasm, makes those countries and peoples live again in our soul. He has thus rendered signal service to our literature and we recommend his *Vaideshiki* to all lovers of literature.

KALIDAS NAG

## TELUGU

ANDHRA JYOTI: *By Dr. Gullapalli Narayanamurty, Anakapalle, Vizagapatam Dt. Price annas ten.*

Here is a drama that is quite out of the ordinary. Its object is to secure a separate province for the Andhras through social reconstruction and elevation of the masses. Skilful blending of the materials, variety, tempo, topical interest, and clever characterisation mark it as a topping entertainment. The character of Karmavir is a superb creation which rapidly grows into life.

The style is quite apt and adds directness and sparkle to the dialogue. Yet, a little pruning, here and there, would have made the play compact.

VIRAHI: *By Mokkapati Krishnamurti. Navya Sahitya Parishad, Guntur. Price annas four.*

Sweet effusions from the pen of a pining Romeo deficient in Vitamin D. Mostly soulful and below the weather. As we are not in conspiracy with Cupid, we are apt to say: "After all, women are women." We can only advise, as Noel Coward did:

"I fully realise your romantic soul,
But you must utilise a little self-control."

A. K. ROW

## GUJARATI

KHANDERNO ZARUKHO: *By Bhagirath Mehta. Printed at the Swadeshi Printing Press, Ranpur. 1942. Pp. 19. Price annas three.*

The title means the Balcony of a Ruin and the idea underlying the collection of the verses composed by Mr. Mehta seems to describe the sights seen from the Balcony of that ruin by the composer. Verses on the Suez Canal arrest one's attention and so do the prose-like verses on the experiences of Suburban Railway travellers. There is promise behind these early attempts.

MHARI CUTCH YATRA: *By Muniraj Shri Vidya Vijayji. Printed at the Raichura G. J. Printing Works, Baroda. 1942. Cloth Bound. Pp. 307. Unpriced.*

Muni Shri Vidya Vijayji is in the habit of writing in details about the places where he passes his monsoon period. After Sind comes Cutch. Besides historical information, the book under notice narrates the various social activities to which the Muniji devoted himself during his stay there and the high regard in which he was held by the prince and the peasant. The language in which he has written his experiences is simple, such as it should be for this kind of work.

RIGVED KALNAN JIVAN ANE SANSKRATI: *By Prof. V. K. Vaidya, Surat. Printed at the Anand Press, Bhavnagar. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 244. Price Rs. 2.*

A perusal only of the contents of the fifteen chapters which form the bulk of the book would convince the reader as to how thorough and wide has been the study of his subject by Prof. Vaidya. Life and Civilization during Vedic times have been described by writers in other languages, but in Gujarati this is the first attempt of its kind and it gives us a vivid picture of the state of society in those remotest days. He has examined his subjects critically and quoted chapter and verse in support of his opinion. It is a valuable contribution to literature.

K. M. J.

# THE AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX

By PRAKASH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.
*Allahabad University*

### The Agricultural Prosperity

It is an irony of fate that when the economic devices and peculiar methods of War Finance of the British and the Indian Governments began to bring a topsy-turvydom of our whole economic structure with the consequent result of hunger and death for the millions, the authority would visualise the light of prosperity in our country, which reached its climax when Mr. Leopold S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, unhesitatingly declared that India was "prosperous." Our Finance Member also played his own part when he took an opportunity to speak of the peasant's prosperity in his Budget speech of 1943. On the basis of this alleged rural prosperity, our agriculturists have been made the targets to carry on their deflationary campaign by the authority. Contributions from the peasantry have been enforced and in some places exaction of rent in kind from the cultivators is also not unknown. But the Bengal Famine has given a rude shock to Sir Jeremy's impression of rural wealth and the mounting toll of human lives due to prolonged starvation has exploded the *Ameryan* conception of prosperity. The sample survey of destitutes in the Calcutta streets made by the Department of Anthropology of Calcutta University reveals that 72·7 per cent of the sufferers belong to the agricultural classes, both landed and landless. What is true of Bengal is *a fortiori* true of the rest of India. The whole fact is that it is befitting only for a classical economist of the bygone days to conclude boon and prosperity from an immediate sign of high prices. According to the modern doctrine, we should look more to the costs-prices equilibrium for an economic stability. Along with the high prices of the agricultural commodities, the cost of productive materials and also the cost of necessities of the peasants have increased to a far greater extent, and thus the costs have more than followed the soaring prices during this so-called War-boom. Under inflation, the poor become poorer and the rich richer, and as such, there is nothing to wonder if our peasants suffer most. Hence this unsettled dogma of a rise in the purchasing power of the agriculturists is a mere myth.*

On the basis of this alleged surplus purchasing power at the disposal of the agriculturists, there has recently been a move from the Central Government for the introduction of taxation on agricultural incomes in the provinces as an anti-inflationary measure. Among the States, Travancore has taken the lead in introducing such a tax. Assam and Bihar have already taken resort to it. It is now learnt that Madras and the Central Provinces have agreed to fall in line with the above two provinces. As Bombay is bearing the brunt of the Excess Profit and other income-taxes, it is reluctant to the introduction of the agricultural tax. The Punjab and Sind are opposing vehemently such a tax and persuasions are proceeding from Delhi either to levy this tax or to adopt such other deflationary measures in those provinces. A bill for such a tax which was introduced in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in September last was referred to a Select Committee which has recently submitted their report, and the Bill is now awaiting the sanction of the Bengal Legislature, which is expected to meet in early February, 1944. The subject-matter of this paper is the discussion of this tax as proposed for Bengal.

### The Agricultural Income-tax

The old and the clumsy controversy that whether land revenue is a tax or rent, or *tax in rem* or a *tax in per sonem* is beyond our scope here. For the sake of equity and justice our aim is towards progressive taxation and we are in consonance to increase the revenue of the Province through such levy whenever the time and the object become visible. Nor do we even think that a tax on agricultural incomes will be a downright violation of the terms of the Permanent Settlement and in fact, agricultural incomes were taxed from 1860 to 1865 and then again from 1869 to 1873. For the sake of expanding the sources of provincial revenue, Assam and Bihar have already taken resort to the agricultural income-tax in their respective provinces,—Assam in 1939 and Bihar in 1938. The exemption limit in Bihar is much higher than that in Assam. In the former case it is Rs. 5,000/-, whereas in the latter Province, it is Rs. 1,500/-. The proposed Bill in Bengal has followed Assam, so far as the exemption limit is concerned. The schedule of the rates of taxation for different incomes in these two provinces are given below :

---

* In this connection, a reference may be made to my article, "G. D. Birla and the Commodity Inflation," *The Modern Review*, November, 1943.

| | Bengal | Assam |
|---|---|---|
| | (In the Rupee) | |
| (1) On the first Rs. 1,500 of total income | Nil | Nil |
| (2) On the next Rs. 3,500 of total income | 0-0-9 | 0-0-9 |
| (3) On the next Rs. 5,000 of total income | 0-1-0 | 0-1-3 |
| (4) On the next Rs. 5,000 of total income | 0-1-6 | 0-2-0 |
| (5) On the next Rs. 5,000 of total income | 0-2-0 | 0-2-6 |
| (6) On the next balance of total income | 0-2-6 | 0-2-6 |

It will be seen that though the exemption limit is the same, the rate is generally higher in Assam than in Bengal, for the maximum of annas $2\frac{1}{2}$ is payable on the incomes above Rs. 15,000 in Assam, whereas in Bengal the same rate has been fixed up for incomes above Rs. 20,000. In Bihar, however, the burden of the tax is far lighter than both of these provinces. Not only that incomes below Rs. 5,000 have been exempted there, but the rates on the higher slabs are also comparatively lower. But when compared with the rates of taxation imposed by the latest budget of the progressive State of Travancore, it is found that burden in all these three provinces far exceeds the burden of taxation in that State. The limit of exemption in Travancore is the same as in Bihar, but the rates for other grades of incomes are far lower than those in the three provinces. In that State the maximum rate is 20 pies which makes a gulf of difference when compared with that of 30 pies in the provinces. It is inconceivable, why in Bengal the rates proposed should be so high and the exemption limit so low as even to surpass the burden as it is in her neighbouring Province of Bihar, and this again at the time when there has been an enormous increase in the cost of living of the agriculturist, as well as of the people at large, mainly due to the evil effects of inflation. The consequent result will be a regression of the tax system and a heavy pressure on that larger portion of the middle class who depends mainly on incomes from land and who is also an important element of the present-day society. This class is already in a state of severe hardships.

To take credit of their endeavour to combat inflation, some provinces have shown a little over-enthusiasm in adopting a few deflationary measures within their own jurisdictions. Under the spur of such anti-inflationary zeal, the Government of Bengal might have also thought that their Bill for agricultural income-tax when effective, would cut out one of the feet of this inflationary *Dragon* which has come into existence owing to the deliberate blunder on the part of the Central Government. It is better if the Bengal Government realise that their weapon is simply a toy-weapon to fight this fearful Dragon. The yield of this tax in the two provinces where it is already in existence has proved to be so negligible and disappointing that it is not even adequate to foster any sort of welfare or public work. The following table gives the yield of the tax in the provinces of Bihar and Assam for the last four years :

| Years | Bihar | Assam |
|---|---|---|
| 1939-40 | Rs. 5.80 lakhs | Rs. 83.00 thousand |
| 1940-41 | Rs. 14.90 „ | Rs. 39.20 lakhs |
| 1941-42 | Rs. 17.06 „ | Rs. 27.12 „ |
| 1942-43 (Revised) | Rs. 17.65 „ | Rs. 27.00 „ |
| 1943-44 (Budget) | Rs. 17.65 „ | Rs. 27.00 „ |

For Bengal, however, we have not yet got any estimate. But the Finance Minister's version reveals that the tax will not be productive before 1944-45 and our impression, in the light of the above figures, is that it will not even be very productive after that year. Are these not mere drops in the ocean to combat inflation, especially, when we realise that more than rupees 600 crores of unnecessary currency have already come into the market from the *printing press* ? The probable yield is not even sufficient to meet the huge deficits of Rs. $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores (which is likely to increase up to Rs. 14 crores) in the Bengal Budget for the current year. Moreover, why the Government should be worried of their deficits and think of balancing the budget at such a critical juncture and emergency ? It is their Famine Budget and they should be ready to spend loosely as much as is necessary, for now is the question of life and death before the whole Province. From this point of view, we do not mind if the deficits run up to Rs. 20, Rs. 25 or even up to Rs. 30 crores. For the present, however, the Government of Bengal may meet the expenditures by borrowing from the Central Government, by floating loans themselves and lastly by sales of Provincial Treasury Bills (to this the Government have already taken resort). To have a balanced budget in the midst of hunger and starvation is not only an obnoxious sign of *haute finance* but a self-deception too; and hence this sort of *Gladstonian* prudence should be set aside in the era of Keynesian unorthodoxy.

There is another side of the problem. It is desirable that the proceeds of this tax should be spent for the welfare of the agriculturists, but the Government have not yet disclosed the purpose for which the tax is to be used. We become more doubtful of it when we find that the yield from jute sales tax and general sales tax was not spent for national and social building services.

The conception of the agricultural prosperity, on which is based the truth of the

Agricultural Income-Tax, is simply a myth. If, in spite of this fact, the Government of Bengal want such a tax to be introduced, they should at least raise the limit of exemption to Rs. 10,000 or above, and really speaking, the value of this sum is not more than 2½ thousands according to the pre-war prices.* Leaving aside the rent-tax controversy, even the argument that the other classes having lower incomes have to pay the general income-tax, does not seem to be very sound in this case. Apart from the benefit of security and steadiness of their incomes, these classes enjoy at present the benefits of dearness allowances, rations at controlled rates, cheap grainshops and cheap cloth. Not a single of these, surely, reaches the agriculturist. Further, the landlords in the Permanently Settled areas have got certain social, religious and ceremonial obligations to be observed throughout the course of a year, thus making them liable to heavy expenditure, which none of the salaried class is ever to incur. Herein lies the most important distinction between a zemindar and a rich man of any other class. The zemindars are demanding legislative and other measures to facilitate them in their collection of rents from the tenants as pre-requisites of their ability to pay the tax, and ultimately they may shift the burden of the tax on the peasant, which will lead to the coercion of the famished agriculturists, particularly at a time when the whole agricultural operation has been thrown out of gear. The last depression dragged the agricultural countries all over the world headlong towards bankruptcy, and Bengal being predominantly agricultural suffered most. Along with the peasantry many of the zamindars were totaly ruined and some of these landed aristocrats have actually turned into *landed* proletariates during this unexempted and historic depression. The various debt legislations carried out during the depth of the depression to relieve the agriculturists from the grip of the dead hand of usury have entailed more evils than the expected good. The proposed agricultural income-tax will put an additional burden on those people who are alreay over-burdened.

A horrible man-made and artificial famine unprecedented in the living memory has stalked the whole province and though the crisis has abated a little, the danger is not yet over. The food crisis is being followed by a medical crisis. Even during famines of the bygone days, remission of land revenue was the custom; but in the midst of an incomparable crisis, we are, on the other hand, threatened today with the introduction of a Tax on the peasants!

* The Select Committee have recently submitted their recommendations to raise the lower limit of taxation to 3,500 and to exempt agriculturists with about 20 acres of land from payment of the taxation.

## BENGAL, 1943

By CYRIL MODAK

Land! where every maiden singing sent love-laden
Songs to greet the dawn and eve,
Swinging silver censers wives were sweet dispensers
Of those boons divine that leave
Clinging hope, desire singing, ringing, bringing
Heaven to earth so none may grieve!.......
Skeletons now call
In Bengal!

Village after village flying from the pillage
Of the ghoulish hordes of Death,
Flying torn asunder, flying from the plunder
Of the ghoulish hordes of Death,
Flying panic-stricken, flying, crying, lying
Hunger-stricken, choked for breath,...
**Skeletons now call**
**In Bengal!**

Child and milkless mother, clasping helpless brother,
Bloodless, fleshless, nerveless lie,
Clasping bride and lover, clasping to recover
Breath enough to say "Goodbye!"
Gasping hunger-stricken, clasping, grasping, gasping,
Choked with thirst and doomed to die,...
Skeletons now call
In Bengal!

Victims luckless, friendless, bearing torture endless,
Trapped by demons, gods and men,
Bearing famish'd anguish, daring thus to languish
In that blood-drunk jackals' den,
Tearing child from mother, daring, staring, tearing
Hunger-haunted, hapless men,....
**Skeletons now call**
**In Bengal!** —*The Twentieth Century*

# AMERICA'S WINDING FURROWS FOR VICTORY

By BLISS ISELY

THE American Farmers, after fighting a battle against soil erosion for three centuries, are commencing to turn the tide toward victory on about 1,000,000 of the 6,096,799 farmsteads.

Visitors to the rural districts can recognize the farms where victory is on the make, for there the fields are tilled in winding rows that follow the contour lines of the terrain. A hundred different practices are involved in soil conservation, but the most valuable and also the most noticeable is contour tillage. This practice is making headway in 846 districts, of which 106 have been formed within the last year. While the areas of conservation districts are established by the co-operating farmers themselves, the majority follow county boundary lines. Since there are 3,070 counties in the United States, it will be seen that the work of saving the nation's most valuable resource—the land—is gaining headway over almost one-fourth of the country.

It must be remembered, however, that the formation of a district is only the beginning. Even after a district is organized, not all of the farmers will join in the movement, and even after a farmer decides to adopt soil-conservation practices, he needs about five years' time to convert his land from the traditional straight-row cultivation to contour tillage.

Since 1935, when Congress created the United States Soil Conservation Service, of which Hugh H. Bennett is chief, 42 states have passed acts enabling farmers to organize conservation districts. Districts are organized by elections and an overwhelming majority—usually two-thirds and sometimes three-fourths—of the farmers within the proposed district must vote for it before it becomes effective. After it is formed, they elect a board of directors, which make rules subject to the approval of the majority in the district at annual meetings. The United States Soil Conservation Service then sends a district conservator to help the farmers with their problems. His work is educational and advisory. Usually he is a graduate of the agricultural college of the state where he serves. He not only must be satisfactory to the farmers but also to a state conservation commission.

The Federal Government must pass on his qualifications as to ability and it also pays his salary.

While soil conservation district work is new, results are astonishingly good. Now that the people of the United States are facing the most serious food and clothing limitation in their experience, the fact that food and fibre production is even slightly increasing on a million farms is of consequence.

By comparing crop yields on contour-tilled fields with fields listed in straight furrows the value of the new methods can be measured. As an example there is A. N. Tiffin in the New Mexico District. Not content with merely listing his fields on the contour, he terraced and listed his cattle range in the same manner. It took about two years for the grass to recarpet the furrows completely, but his cattle now have 50 per cent more pasture to eat on the same acreage, which means that he is able to produce 50 per cent more stock. Another farmer listed his wheat field and increased his yield by 30 per cent. Furthermore, it was better wheat. Dairy farmers of Wisconsin and Illinois report that the new practice has increased their grain and grass yields so that they can provide more milk, ice cream, butter and cheese.

The prize report is from the state of Texas, where the owners of 174 farms comprising 34 000 acres and including every rod in a single creek valley, banded together in 1935 to form a soil conservation district on their own account prior to the passage of an enabling act by the Texas Legislature. Today, a visitor can stand on a hill overlooking the valley and will see fields of cotton in winding strips alternating with strips of corn and grass and other vegetation, all laid out on contour lines by a surveyor's level.

This has increased corn yield by four and a half bushels to the acre, or about 14 per cent, and cotton yield by 70 pounds of lint to the acre, or about 25 per cent. Pastures are growing approximately 20 per cent more grass. Wells that had gone dry are providing water for man and livestock once more, and the springs that had been clogged shut with mud are bubbling up to feed the creek with clear water that runs constant the year around, instead of running muddy after rains and dwindling to a trickle in dry seasons.

And how does the mere winding of furrows work such a conjuring trick?

When furrows are listed straight, they must follow the directions wherever they lead, whether up or down hill. Each down-hill furrow forms a channel along which water may speed from a field. The straighter the channel, the faster the water dashes along it. It is a law of physics that if the speed of water is doubled, it can carry four times as much mud in solution. This means therefore that speeding water dashing down a straight furrow tends to carry off the top soil in the form of dissolved mud. It takes at least 400 years, so soil scientists tell us, to build one inch of topsoil by the natural process of growing leguminous crops. It takes only a few years to carry away an inch of top soil through erosion. The water slides it off in such thin sheets that even the farmer cannot see its disappearance. Since the average top soil on the uplands of America is only from five to seven inches deep, it can be seen that the loss of one inch in ten years, while not noticeable to the eye, can destroy the best upland farm in only 70 years.

Nature protected the fertility of its land with grass and forest growth, while the plow destroys this cover. In Europe, where farmers grow small grains that are seeded broadcast instead of planted in rows and where much of the land is in pasture, the loss has not been so severe as in America. In China and India where many of the crops are grown in terraced fields, the same land has been cultivated for 3,000 years without loss of fertility. The addition of fertilizer and rotation with leguminous crops can repair losses caused by the growing of grain crops, which impair fertility.

By contour tillage, the water is held in the furrow so that it cannot remove the rich top soil. Further, water held on the ground soaks downward so that it can nourish the roots of plants, while the surplus percolates to bedrock and feeds springs or replenishes wells. On the High Plains, furrows are listed on a dead level broadside to the slope of the hill and no water is allowed to escape. Even with eight inches of rain, good crops have been produced on the High Plains by this practice.

In the eastern states, where the soil is not thick enough to absorb all of the rain that falls and where the rain sometimes totals 60 inches a year, the furrows are listed slightly at a slant from the contour. The excess water empties from the ends of the furrows over a grassy meadow prepared in advance.

Hugh H. Bennett, chief of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service, points out that soil conservation has a by-product. If water can be kept on the farms or if it can be detained in its rush from the land to the streams, the severity of floods can be reduced. Since floods cost the U. S. vast sums every year, the small amount of money appropriated by Congress to pay the salaries of district soil conservationists will be amply repaid.

*Courtesy* : USOWI

## SMUGGLERS OF THE STORE HOUSE

By T. V. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A.

War is a great consumer of national energy. One of the most vital energy-supplying agencies is food. Therefore, if a nation's condition of food supply is maintained sound during wartime, that nation can to an appreciable extent do much not only in the alleviation of hunger pangs but also in the successful prosecution of war. The grow more food campaign of which we hear so much is one based upon the above fact. In India, in order to increase the present food supply attempts are being made in various directions. Various conferences have been held and committees organised to tackle with the food problem.

The measures adopted for the enhancement of food supply can be broadly grouped under the following two heads:

(a) Increasing the quantity and quality of crops by wider and more improved farming and harvesting.

(b) By saving the quantities that are lost through pest infestation.

The province of this article is to review briefly the seriousness of insect infestation on stored-up grains and the popular methods employed for controlling the pests.

The more important food grains and cereals that are stored are rice, wheat, bajri, joar, grams and dals of different kinds. Unless properly stored and necessary preventive measures taken none of these stores can escape from the attack of insects. Grains and cereals are not only partly eaten but also partly ground to useless dust by these pests. It has been roughly calculated by agricultural experts that the quantities of

stored-up grains thus lost annually amount to 2½% and more. With this 2½%, if saved from infestation, more than a million human beings can be fed for a year. Store-house pest therefore is a serious problem. Entomologists in consultation with Biochemists are straining every nerve in devising ways and means for the extermination of these insect-fifth-columnists. Even in normal peace times many scientists have directed their researches to this end. The commencement of the Grow More Food Campaign has given a fresh impetus to their activities.

There are more than 40 varieties of insects that attack stored-up grains and foodstuffs. They are generally termed 'Weevil.' Weevils are beetles with a prominent snout or beak which enables them to pierce the grains. Some grain pests are not weevils at all but belong to the moth group.

With few exceptions the weevils complete their life cycle in the grain. The life cycle consists of four stages: (1) the egg, (2) the larva (caterpillar), (3) pupa and (4) the adult. The moths also pass through similar stages in their life history. In the case of weevil pests both the larvae and the adults are injurious to the grains whereas in the case of moths the larvae alone are harmful. The small wormlike organisms and the powdery silky clots that one comes across in stored-up grains and flour are really not worms but the larvae and the pupae of the weevils and moths.

There are many who believe that the weevils are spontaneously generated in stocked grains. But scientists know there is no such thing as spontaneous generation. A fresh stock if carefully preserved and protected from the outside weevils (in any stage) entering it, the new stock will never develop a weevil population of its own within. It should be understood that the weevils are very prolific breeders and lay a large number of eggs at very short intervals propagating their species by millions. The eggs and larvae are very minute in size and from an infested stock a few eggs or larvae are unknowingly transferred to an uninfested fresh stock through some agencies (such as the hands of the person who handles both the stocks or the measure used for both the stocks) the young ones in the fresh stock develop in no time and in a few days multiply in such large numbers that the whole surface layer of the grains is covered by them. This sudden appearance of such large numbers must have been the reason for the belief that weevils occur spontaneously.

Owing to the facts that once these pests enter the stores they commence to attack the grain and multiply by leaps and bounds, that in a short time they render the stores useless and it is very difficult to retrieve the good grains from the infested and that complete rounding up and elimination of these enemies by ordinary remedial measures is next to impossibility, the most prudent and effective step with regard to these insects is to adopt the defensive measure of prevention.

The following are in short the more popular and useful preventive methods in vogue:

1. To see the grains that are to be stored are properly dried and free from moisture prior to their being put in the granary. Moisture is a favourable environment to the pests and should be avoided as far as possible.
2. Mixing the grains with ashes or chemicals like copper sulphate or a small quantity of Mercury (the latter two in consultation with experts). These methods avoid the pests. It should however be borne in mind that the grains are to be thoroughly washed before use.
3. A small quantity of castor oil smeared uniformly over the grains and cereals before storing serves as a good preventive.
4. Common salt, turmeric powder, the leathery husks of cashew nuts, dry leaves of Ocimum sanctum (Tulsi) or Margosa (Neem)—these if mixed with the stores are said to prevent pests.
5. With regard to unbroken grams rubbing them with a paste of fine red clay and drying before storing is also a good method.
6. Storing only in dry and clean containers.

The last mentioned measure is the most essential and effective so far as prevention of pests is concerned. But it is regrettable to notice that more due to ignorance than indifference necessary care is not being exercised mostly by the laymen store-keepers and ryots in the selection and employment of proper containers and in maintaining them clean and dry.

As a rule grains and cereals are preserved in small quantities in tin or earthenware bins as in the houses and shops of retail dealers.

Larger quantities are stored in huge bamboo baskets smeared with cow-dung or large wooden boxes.

Bulk preservation is done in underground cellars in loose heaps or in gunny bags in godowns.

All the above type of containers are of course quite satisfactory but the danger comes from the neglect in cleaning and making them perfect before storing. Especially with regard to the storage in large quantities, the containers should be examined well before being filled. The baskets should be well smeared with cow-dung and dried in the sun to avoid moisture. The wooden boxes should have no interspaces and should possess tight-fitting lids. Before filling, the inside may be washed with a solution of carbolic acid or phenyle in water and dried. If

these preliminary although simple measures are not taken there can be the likelihood of the minute larvae of pests hiding in the crevices and corners.

Regarding bulk preservation in underground cellars there is a wrong yet diehard view that darkness is a preventive against pests and the rooms should be kept completely closed and dark. Experiment however has proved that the reverse is true. Weevils and moths are nocturnal in their habits and they prefer darkness to light. Well-ventilated cellars are decidedly better than dingy ones. Before storing the grains in the cellars the first point to remember is to see that the floor, the corners and the walls are carefully cleaned and that they have no cracks and crevices to allow the pests to hide. Even the smallest hole and crevice should be filled in and closed with lime or cement mortar. Examination of the stores from time to time, fumigation of the cellar at intervals are all measures that go a long way in preventing the pests.

In this connection it will not be out of place to bring to the notice of the public that cement concrete has proved to be a very useful material for the manufacture of ideal store-houses and granaries. I understand that the Concrete Association of India have published various pamphlets with suitable illustrations and details regarding the construction of concrete granaries and store-houses. Containers made of cement concrete are permanent in life, decent in appearance, easily cleansable and dry. Apart from these they are also fire-proof and impervious to white ants and rats.

With regard to the grains already infested the best remedial measure will be to dry them in the sun as sunlight kills the pests and their larvae. Insecticide sprays are also found to be useful.

Knowing that the weevil once entering the store will have the whole possession in a short time, preventive measures in the initial stages although they cost nothing are worth much. In the interests of human welfare therefore it is urged that every store-keeper should see that their stores are not purloined by the pests. Such a care taken at the granary will certainly serve to relieve a large number of hungry masses. As grow more food schemes loom large in the modern horizon it is imperative that knowledge of the importance of proper storage of grains should be imparted to the remotest parts of the country in order to fructify the aims of these schemes and to conserve more food supply for the welfare of the nation and humanity at large.

# THE PORAJA

By L. N. SAHU, M.A., M.R.A.S.B.,
*Servants of India Society, Cuttack*

THE Porajas (91,000) live in the district of Koraput. Most of them are Oriya-speaking. There are different kinds of Porajas namely :

1. Barang Jodia. They eat beef. The left arms of their women are covered with a dozen or more of brass bracelets.
2. Pengu poraja. They talk their own language. A section of it eats buffalo-meat; the other section does not.
3. Kandha poraja. They speak the Kandha language and eat beef.
4. Parangi poraja. They are a section of the Gadabas and speak their language.
5. Bonda, Nanda or Langala poraja. They are a section of the Gadabas and speak the Gadaba language.
6. Tagara poraja. They are a division of the Koyas and talk Koya.
7. Dur poraja. They speak Oriya.

From a description of the different kinds of Poraja we find that the word Poraja is a generic term. Those who come to till the soil become porajas. Raja and poraja means the king and his subjects. So the word poraja actually means a subject who comes to till the soil and live under a king. In the Koraput district it seems the Kandhas who generally inhabit Bissumkatack, Rayaghada, and Gunpur Taluks, come to Jeypore, and Malkanagiri sides in search of fresh fields and cultivation. Thus the Kandha poraja is one who is originally a Kandha but has been assimilated into the generic name of Poraja. Similarly the Gadabas who are changing themselves through a process of social uplift, called themselves Bonda or Nanda or Langala porajas. We also see that the Parangi porajas who are a section of the Gadabas have been styled as porajas now. They however speak their own language. The Dur poraja means one who has come from a distance. This kind

of poraja speaks Oriya. Thus the name Poraja includes various classes and stands for a generic name.

The Porajas are divided into twelve tribes, and each tribe is called after the region in which that tribe lives. The Porajas have their Dhangra and Dhangidighar, that is, dormitories meant for sleeping of all unmarried boys at one place and of all unmarried girls at another place.

### Naming

These porajas take their names after the days of the week. Take for instance a child who is born on Monday will be called Soma and the female child will be called Somi. Similarly a child born on Sunday is either Aita or Aiti; one born on Tuesday will be called Mangala or Mangli; also called Angra or Angiri (refer Anga-rako Kuja Bhaumo). Born on Wednesday the child will be called Buda for both male or female child, one born on Thursday will be called Guru. If a female, it will be guri or also gurubari. There is another name for the child born on Thursday. It is Birsa for both male and female. The word Birsa has come from the word Brihaspati. One born on Saturday will be Sonia for male and Sonni for female. The Poraja uses the word Pheni or Hani for the word Pani. He aspirates the letter p. and makes it ph. Sometime again he drops the p sound and keeps the h sound, thus the word Pani becomes either Phani or Hani.

### Marriage

In Poraja marriage the bride goes to the bridegroom's house. Two poles are fixed and a pumpkin is suspended from a string from the two poles. When the bride's party comes, it cuts the pumpkin. Afterwards the bride wears a new cloth and then drinking and dancing goes on. On the second day, there is a caste feast.

### Burial Rites

On the death of a person, the Poraja after disposing of the dead body, puts a stone in the village and a piece of cloth is hung near the stone. The Disari draws three pictures of Yama, Sani, and Bhuta (Spirits). He puts three grains of rice on the pictures and then covers the whole thing with a pot. Then the Disari shows himself to be possessed by the spirit and he afterwards breaks the pot.

### Characteristics and Customs

The porajas are cheerful, friendly fellows. They are amenable to reason. The Gadabas are mostly sullen, shy and obstinate. The head man of the Poraja is called either Jani or Muduli. The Bonda porajas are the most primitive. Their women as well as their men are all almost naked. The Bonda is known to commit murders at the slightest provocation. Thus for instance if the father discovers that in the house his liquor which was in the gourd pot has been drunk off by his son, then immediately he may kill him. So also the son may kill the father.

### Womenfolk

The women do not wear any cloth except a little on the middle of their body. Even that is so insufficient that they cannot sit with it properly. When asked, why they do not wear any cloth, they say the curse of Sita Devi forbids them to wear any cloth. Once while Sita was bathing and had not much cloth on her body, some Bonda poraja women saw her in that condition. So Sita cursed them saying that they must never wear cloth more than what she was wearing then. Since that day the Bonda poraja women have been almost naked. They shave their heads and do not keep any tuft of hair. They however put on a bamboo circle round their head. As for covering their breasts, they do nothing but wear some beads. The Bonda porajas are highly inflammable. The Servants of India Society have for the last four years posted a worker among them at Pandragram near Matila in Malkanagiri Taluk. Some reforms have been brought about among them. Twenty-five pieces of cloth were accepted by the young women who have begun to wear cloth only recently. Some young men and women have given up taking beef but the old people have not been able to get over the old habit. The children in the school that has been started for them by the Servants of India Society have begun to wear shirts and shorts. They have been taught to recite Slokas from the Gita. Heaven knows when these people will be brought to the level of ordinary men in our society.

### Bonda Poraja

The Bonda porajas live in the *Jangoro Muttah* which is about 20 square miles in area, 8×2½ miles. One can go on foot from Duduma to Jangoro Muttah or can climb up the hill at Mundiguda or Pandraguda. The scenery is beautiful because of undulations but devoid of beauty on account of the trees having been removed by Podu cultivation. Upon the hills there are about 20 villages on the Jangoro Muttah where 2000 to 3000 Bonda Porajas live.

Their daily life during the rains is that they get up early in the morning and prepare their food and go up the hills for cultivation. They grow Mandia, a little paddy, etc. The whole of the summer they live on Solopo drink. There is no work to be done on the hills during the summer. The whole lot of men and women drink, drink and drink. They use only a small loin-cloth, the men wearing a head-dress. The females however shave their heads and cover their breasts with beads. They dance and sing all their life. They are a sort of timid people except when they are drunk. They hesitate to come near a stranger but once confidence is created in them they gather around. A gramophone when keyed up and revolves, attracts them very much. They are short in stature. Recently *the Dombs* have gone to these places and have begun trading with them. They are thus being brought under the influence of the Dombs. They have absolutely no education. Their 'Dhangidi Ghar' or sleeping dormitories are still existent and their marriage is interesting in so far as when a young man wants to marry a girl, he presents her with some ornaments. If she accepts the ornaments then regular marriage procedure is gone through. The test is very hard. The bridegroom has to bear the singeing of his body by the bride who with a live coal touches it.

The Porajas are more intelligent than the Kandha. But the Kandha houses are better than the poraja Kudia (hut). The Porajas build their houses indiscriminately, but the Kandhas do it in order.

### Morality

As regards sexual morality it seems that the poraja women are not so strict as the Kandhas. The porajas are also dirty. Those porajas who have come in contact with the people of the plains have become a little cleaner but unfortunately they have become a little less moral. They cannot be said to be in any way superior to the Kandhas. The Bonda Porajas were not raising many vegetables but now they have taken to raising brinjals and other vegetables.

# MAGIC

By P. C. SORCAR

Magic is the most ancient of all arts. Out of the dim records of ancient days have come stories of wonder workers who were held in high esteem as mighty magicians and performers of the miraculous. Magic flourished through the middle ages. The secrets of antiquity were preserved, and those who knew them used them to great advantage. Wizards, alchemists and necromancers were looked upon with awe, and they surrounded themselves with an atmosphere of mystery that commanded respect and greatly magnified their importance. The mysterious intrigues everyone. The lure of mystery is instinctive; we can no more erase it than we can remove the sense of self-preservation. Mystery makes the baby grope for the moon, the astronomer aim his telescope at the stars and the explorer go forth to remote lands. Not only are we captivated or awed by the mysterious, but we are possessed of an inherent flair to mystify. Children have 'secrets' often for no other reason than to stir curiosity among other children. Adults hint things about so and so and this and that, when as a matter of fact they could as well be explicit. Many a physician makes his diagnosis in weird technical terms when he could as well use language his patient would understand. But the learned practitioner is in one respect counterpart of persons less erudite—he likes to mystify. Probably he would not admit this; possibly he is not conscious of it, but it is so. The magician is perfectly frank about his desire to mystify. He loves to probe the unexplained and to do the 'unexplainable.' He is the perfectly honest disciple of a fundamental instinct.

There has been magic ever since there have been people with minds to be fooled. But the real early magic was mixed with the work of priestcraft and the medicine-men. It was shown to make the impressed spectators give power to the performer.

From the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* we find that

"Magic has its name from the Magi, the hereditary caste of priests among the ancient Persians,—thought to be of Median origin. Among the Magi the interpretation of dreams was practised, as appears from the story of the birth of Cyrus (Herodotus, I. 107); later writers describe them in both a sacerdotal and magical capacity, Lucian (Makrob, 4) calling them a prophetic class and

devoted to gods, while Cicero (De Devinatione, i, 23, 41) writes of them as wise men and diviners. . . . In the New Testament soothsaying and sorcery are so designated (Acts viii 9, xiii 6); while the astrologers who divine the birth of the king of the Jews by the appearance of a star in the East are called Magi (Matti ii)."

If we consult *Words and Their Ways in English Speech* (Greenough and Kittredge), and *Roget's Thesaurus* (Mawson) we find that Magic is derived from the Persian Magi or "wise men" and is plural, the singular being "magus." The term magus is very seldom used and the moderners generally use 'magic' as singular and 'magics' as its plural form. Magic is the art of the Persian Magi, a class of wizard-priests. Wizard is properly a ''wise man" (Milton calls the Three Magi "the star-led wizards"), it is "wise—" with the suffix—ard or —art. Witch (originally of common gender) seems also to mean "a wise man," and to be connected with the root seen in "wit" (knowledge). The word conjurer is often used for magician. Conjurer is a similar word from the Latin, con (intensive) and juro, "to swear"; to conjure is to properly pronounce the name of a god in such a way as to gain his assistance.

In tracing back the history of Egyptian Magic, the secrets of the 'miracles' then recorded are revealed by a study of the modern survivals of these very tricks of magic. And so we come to the oldest recorded story of magic—the seance of the Egyptian wizard Tchatcha-em-ankh, which was presented in the court of King Khufu, in the year 3766 B.C. It was the custom of these ancient sorcerers to keep their methods secret from the rulers, who believed in the "miracles" just as did the populace. The pharaohs with their wordly power, and the magicians with their "supernatural" wonders, united in the common purpose of keeping the people in submission. Yet the priests and the rulers secretly feared each other.

In the Westcar papyrus, which dates back to 1550 B.C., and is now preserved in the British Museum, a full description is given of this early performance, with a comparison of the exhibitions of later wizards. One of the most ancient feats is the one in which the magician looked towards a ferocious lion and captivated the powerful beast at once. The papyrus, in speaking of the wizard's accomplishment, states: "He knoweth how to make a lion follow him as if led by a rope." Deda, a later Egyptian magician, presented experiments of this nature with a duck, a goose, and an ox; but he did not duplicate the performance of Tchatcha-em-ankh.

The Westcar papyrus also stated that the magician "knoweth how to bind on a head which hath been cut off." This was introduced as evidence in a legal controversy over the modern illusion of "Sawing a Woman in Half," being offered as proof that the secret was known nearly 6000 years ago!

When Xerxes, King of Persia, started on his conquest of the world, one of his first objectives was the kingdom of Assyria, which lay between Persia and Greece. The armies of Xerxes soon defeated the Assyrians, and Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, fell into the hands of the Persians. In one of the palaces of Nineveh the Persians found a costly tomb, the resting place of Belus, an Assyrian King. Within the tomb the body of Belus was found, preserved in a coffin partly filled with oil. Upon the coffin was an inscription reading: "Woe unto him who violates this tomb and does not complete the filling of it." This ominous message preyed upon the mind of Xerxes, and he ordered that the coffin be filled with oil. The soldiers tried their best but could not fill the tank. No one will ever know the name of the Assyrian magician who constructed the tomb on siphon system. Another of the most remarkable of all the temple marvels was the Miraculous Altar, mentioned by several ancient writers and explained by Heron of Alexandria, more than 2000 years ago. It was used in Grecian and Roman temples and evidently had its origin in Egypt. In the middle ages Benvenuto Cellini, a famous Italian sculptor, exposed many secrets of the wizard priests. In the *Annual Register* of London, published in 1772, there appeared an account of a phenomenal feat that had been performed, and for which no plausible explanation could be offered. Before this Cagliostro created sensation throughout the whole of Europe with his magic. Historians call him (Count of Cagliostro) as "the last of the magicians." In the *History of Magic* he is stated to have built his reputation upon two declining sciences—astrology, the forerunner of astronomy; and alchemy, the predecessor of chemistry.

*An Account of the Beginnings of the Art of Magic* states that the magicians were dressed in costumes as unusual as they could devise in order to seem as unlike ordinary people as possible, for magicians then were thought to have some mysterious power. This power to work magic was supposed to be due to some business arrangement with the devil. Even today, strange as it may seem, it is possible to find people with the silly belief that no man can perform magic

by skill alone, and that all magicians are possessed of supernormal power. In the old days it was thought good business to dress in weird clothes and mumble incomprehensible words to encourage the spectators' belief in the magician's satanic connection. One magician recommended the following: "Droch myroch, and senaroth betu baroch attimaroth, rounsee, farounsee, hey passe passe."

From the above it is clear that magic was practised by the wizard priests mainly for political reasons. A most thoroughgoing and dramatic proof is that of Robert Houdin in 1856 A.D. Robert Houdin, the famous 'Magician of France' was asked by the French Government to use his talent to strengththen the country's position in Algeria, where the natives had never ceased making trouble from the day the French took possession of the country. The Algerians were encouraged in this by their priest-magicians, who claimed that their magic coupled with continuous fighting would shortly drive the French from the country. The French Government sent Houdin to Algeria to prove to the people that the French had not only more powerful armies but magicians who were infinitely better than native ones. For his work there Houdin devised several special feats, which to the natives seemed possible only if Houdin could perform true miracles. His trip as special Ambassador Magician was completely successful; when the native magicians were shown to have inferior miracles, the Algerians gave up their continual fighting.

If we look back to the history of magic in India, we find that from time immemorial foreigners look upon this country as the land of Magic and the supernatural, abounding with fakirs and miracle men who present mysteries which are beyond the power of any man to explain! There is a belief that magic was practised in the Court of Lord Indra and hence it is known as *Indra Jal*. Others contend that Rajah Bhoj was a great master of this art and hence it is known as *Bhoj-Baji* or *Bhoj Vidya*. This dates back to several centuries before Christ, contemporary to the Hindu Ruler *Vikramaditya*. Rani Bhanumati, an able and talented daughter of Rajah Bhoj, was also very efficient in this art and hence it is known as *Bhanumatika Khel* or play of Bhanumati. Hypnotism and mesmerism have long since been known to the Indians under the name *Sammohan Vidya*. It is the key to the occult science. There was a time when this was the monopoly of the Eastern *Yogis*, whose mysterious hypnotic feats made them famous all over the civilized world.

Those who are acquainted with the books on Indian Yogic culture or Tantras will find the reference in many occasions. In the Tantra Sastra there are branches—Maran, Uchatan, Bashikaran, etc. Hypnotism belongs to the *Bashikaran* group. Then among the eight *Siddhis* of *Yoga*, namely; *Anima, Laghima*, etc., hypnotism belongs to *Vasitwa Siddhi*. This Sanskrit term *Vasitwa* or *Bashikaran* means "keeping under influence." Magic itself belongs to *Indrajal Tantra* of the *Atharva Veda*.

With the dawn of the modern age of science and civilization the art of magic has experienced a thorough change. We are living in a truly magical age. Scientists have made the wonderful stories of the past the realities of our own time. In the *Arabian Nights* the brave prince flew to the rescue of his lady fair on the back of a magical flying horse. Today the prince would use an aeroplane and arrive much quicker. If the famous magicians of the past could rise from their graves, they probably would again fall dead of astonishment at our daily commonplaces. To them the telephone, the radio, and countless other appliances would seem miraculous indeed. Professor Hoffman has rightly observed:

> "And while Time has been flying, Magic has not lagged behind. The Art of Deception, like other arts, has made vast strides during the last quarter of the dead century. Indeed, probably at no time in the world's history has so much thought and ingenuity been brought to bear upon this subject. New and brilliant illusions have been devised, new sleights and improved methods have been invented, and old tricks have been so rejuvenated as to be practically new."

Men like ex-King Edward VIII, Lord Ampthill (former Viceroy of India)* are lending their prestige to dignify the ancient and honourable art of humbuggery. New crops of magicians spring up each season, most of them to be harvested into local clubs and national societies. In the colleges and universities, men of trained intelligence are bringing fine minds to their hobby, enriching it with cleverness, ingenuity, and imaginative touches. In fact, it seems today that we are coming upon a renaissance of this delightful entertainment.

---

* Noted men in the west are magically inclined. Among them the Duke of Windsor possesses magical works of rare value and an amateur magician, Lord Ampthill, formerly acting Viceroy of India and President, London Magic Circle, Ex-King Amanulla of Afghanisthan, Prof. Hoffman, M.A., a London Barrister, Frederick Montague, late Member of British Parliament, Dr. A. M. Wilson, M. D., President, Medical University, Cincinati, Dr. H. Tarbell, B.Sc., M.D., Chicago and others are worth mentioning.

# DYSPEPSIA

Dyspepsia is a common term used to indicate various types of indigestion common amongst the young adults or persons of advanced years, specially in those leading sedentary lives, often with over-eating or insufficient and deficient food. Badly cooked meals, hurried eating and running for schools, colleges and offices, to be at once engaged in quiet mental work, definitely prove a set-back in the normal physiological process of digestion and assimilation. The usual type is a dyspepsia with acidity, either with the meals or soon after or else acidity some 3, 4 or 5 hours after, associated with wind (borborygmi), heaviness, constipation and loss of appetite, bad dreamy sleep and a bad morning with insipid rotten taste in the mouth, and sometimes eructations of gas and bad-smelling acidic fluid in the mouth. This class of dyspeptics are hypotonic and 'hypo-acidic' with less acid-enzyme secretion in the stomach. Food remains longer inside the stomach resulting in indigestion, stasis and bacterial fermentation and putrefaction in the lower bowels.

The less common type is the hyper-acidic type of ulcer diathesis. Due to some abnormal anatomy of stomach of these subjects, there is excess secretion of hydrochloric acid and there is an acidic taste in the mouth off and on and with the advent of food there is often welling up of acidic fluid, making even the teeth sour, at times a burning sensation or else vomiting out during feeds or soon after. These subjects usually develop chronic gastritis, gastic or peptic ulcer or duodenal ulcer. Patients usually drink much or take alkalies as sodi-bicarb or chalk powder to bring down the acidity, there is dilution or inactivation of the digestive enzymes and nature again provides hypermotility of the stomach in them so that the food is hurried down before digestive process could be complete inside the stomach. At the next pouch of duodenum the principal digestive secretion comes from the pancreas which is alkaline in reaction. Acidic staff would neutralise the alkalinity and make the pancreatic enzymes inactive, and the result would be indigestion and in many of these subjects there is often bouts of diarrhoea of definite acid smelling fluids-complaints of wind, tightness and loss of appetite.

Hypotonic Hypo-acidic dyspepsia is often found in convalescence after other diseases, in prolonged chronic infection of Tuberculosis, in mothers after child-birth and during lactation and in fact in any debilitating condition where the general health is below normal. Chronic Malnutrition and chronic avitaminosis are evident in both the types of the dyspeptics. To correct hypotinic dyspepsia, besides dealing with the causative factors, the first thing is to correct the stomach digestion by substitution therapy—meaning supplying of the Acid Hydrochlor dil. and the enzyme, Pepsin (Bi-Glycerine Acid Pepsin). Addition of a few drops of Tinct. Nux Vom would be of distinct advantage. Bi-Diastage or Bi-Diastase Comp. taken 2 or 3 hours after the feeds would materially aid digestion both in the stomach as well as in the intestines. Once the digestion in the first chamber is corrected, digestion would automatically improve in the subsequent chambers.

In hyper-acidic subjects it is essential to keep down the acidity by frequent ingestion of alkalies and to try to prevent excessive acid secretion by such drugs as Tinct. Belladonna or a mixture of Belladonna and opium (Tr. Belladonna, m. v and Tinc. Opium m. i, 3 or 4 times daily). Alkalies should be such as would not produce gas ($CO_2$). Thus carbonates and bicarbonates should be avoided. Antacids of the least irritating type are the best such as aluminium hydroxide (BI-ALUMINA) or Magnesium Hydroxide (Bi-Milk of Magnesia). Alkalies combined with digestive enzymes would unquestionably be the ideal, as the alkalies would keep down the acidity, maintain the normal pH and the enzymes would supplement and complete the digestion. BI-ALKAZYME is such an ideal preparation and has been a boon to hundreds of subjects in pre-ulcer stage or with definite ulcer in the stomach or duodenum. Hyper-acidity leads to chronic gastritis, damage to the mucuous membranes and acid again produces erosion and ulcers are formed. In these subjects the first principle is to keep down the acidity either by drugs or by frequent alkaline drinks or even by frequent drink of milk, potent with natural alkalies. Bengal Immunity will be glad to supply further informations on the subject.

# MEDICINAL ASPECTS OF EMULSION

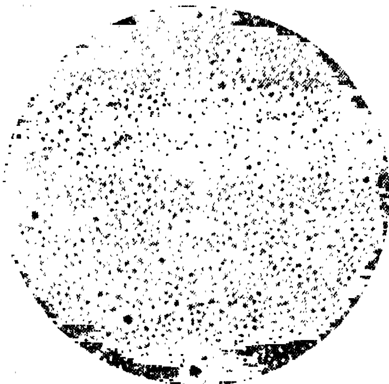
WHENEVER one thinks over the utility of an emulsion as a food or as a medicine, the question of milk at once arises, as Milk is Nature's finest example of an emulsion that is not only the best food available but affords various products for medicinal requirements also. Another food of importance is Egg—the yolk of which is again a most efficient edible emulsifying agent. Thus, it seems that emulsions and emulsification are of fundamental importance to human biology in health and disease.

The digestion and absorption of our food, particularly of fats, and absorption of some of the endocrine secretions, and of various bacterial toxins that cause many diseases, are often due to the occurrence and formation of finely divided emulsions in the system. Some emulsions by their antiseptic properties and their soothing lubricating effects upon the intestinal mucous membranes, may aid in the elimination of toxic substances excreted during an acute febrile stage. They may, by their stimulating effect upon the absorptive functions, further increase the assimilation of nutritive material, improve the appetite, lower the digestive disturbance and finally enrich the blood in all respects. By promoting the absorption of various medicinal adjuvants and releasing them at suitable points, they may again relieve the cough and facilitate expectoration. This type of emulsion would thus be valuable in gastro-intestinal and respiratory disorder as well as in the treatment of patients during their convalescent period after illness. In PETROMULSION one finds all the above characteristics. Moreover, being extremely palatable and being easily tolerated even to the delicate stomach, it is suitable for everybody including children and convalescent patients in their normal processes of digestion, assimilation and nutrition.

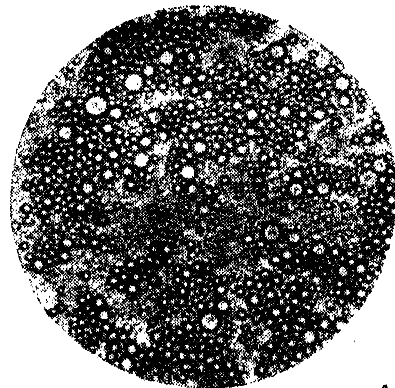
Then, again, conditions may arise just as during pregnancy, or in patients suffering from an arthritic or gouty diathesis, where an emulsion, that would exert no side effect, cause no irritation, or upset the digestion, would be the ideal for regular and complete bowel evacuation. This should be one that mixes thoroughly with fæces, making them soft, plastic and easily movable. In BI-Agar-Oil one would find a suitable type of an emulsion made from a selected variety of medicinal oil emulsified by the aid of an agar-agar of proper grade.

Not only in disease, but in the proper maintenance of the normal function of our body, and to gain resistance against various infections we require certain vitamins, particularly A and D. Nature has offered us marine liver oil rich in these vitamins. It is not yet known how fishes synthesize the above important nutritional products in their liver. The oil further contains a fairly high percentage of fatty acid that is again essential for fat deficiency disease, and as such the whole oil is of considerable importance as a food. But many cannot tolerate this vitaminized oil as it is. When, however, this is highly dispersed in the form of an emulsion, as is being done in B. I. EMULSION OF COD LIVER OIL, this natural product offers a palatable food for promoting growth, increasing appetite, preventing rickets and safeguarding eye affections, etc.

It requires a high technique so that an oily product may be emulsified to a creamy-like substance suitable for ingestion in times of need and necessity. The selection of a grade of oil and the emulsifying agent, the choice of emulsifying machines—homogenizer colloid mill—and the controlling processes in the various steps, are at root of perfection of different emulsions such as PETROMULSION, BI-AGAR-OIL and B. I. EMULSION OF COD LIVER OIL that are being daily produced in the laboratory of Bengal Immunity, Calcutta. The figures annexed tend to indicate the superiority of B. I. emulsion as mentioned above.



Petromulsion (B.I.)
(thousand times magnified)



Petromulsion Emulsion (Foreign)
(thousand times magnified)



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Famine in Bengal

Rev. H. C. Long writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

The varied conjectures and questions appearing in the newspapers as to the cause of the famine indicate that a few lines on that subject may not be misplaced. Some have even expressed doubt as to whether there was a famine at all because, forsooth, they went to a famine area and got plenty to eat. Such profound ignorance of the vast gap between the purchasing power of the higher ranks of society and the landless labourer scarcely deserve an answer. But there are several definitely contributing causes to the famine, which have been pointed out at various times.

In a country where millions live ordinarily on the verge of starvation, any event which disturbs the economic balance of the market is likely to throw large numbers into dire distress.

Even though all supplies for foreign troops were imported, the induction of hundreds of thousands of young Indians into the army must have contributed to the food shortage; for ordinarily they would have been on semi-starvation rations for several months each year in their own villages, but to keep them fit for the strenuous life of the army they must be fed well and regularly. The loss of Burma cut off a great food reservoir on which various provinces of India used to draw if anything happened to local crops. Then, too, the shifting of coolie labour to places where construction projects were under way for the war effort, and the high wages paid (for they too must eat well), all tended to draw out the all too meagre food reserves of the country districts.

Then came the cyclone of October 16, 1942.

The story of the devastation wrought is too well-known to need repeating. Obviously the almost universal destruction of crops within that area would produce a very acute food shortage. But the question will be asked : How could the destruction of most of the food of two sub-divisions with a population of only a million and a quarter, or about 2½ per cent. of the total population of Bengal, contribute much to the general famine conditions? We shall refer to that again shortly.

Pests as well as wind and flood contributed to the actual destruction of paddy.

We have connections with 150 teachers scattered over an area in this district, occupied by more than a million people; and almost all reports from them indicated extensive crop failure due to fungus or insects. Other information was that the blight extended from Burdwan on the north to south of Balasore, Orissa (about 200 miles), and from the western border of this district to Ghatal (50 miles). The manager of a big zemindary company in this area said that he thought the crop to be "about three annas to the rupee." Letters in January, 1943, from such widely separated places as Dinajpur and Mymensingh told of a partial crop failure in their vicinities. The district agricultural officer expressed the opinion that pests had seriously affected the crops in many areas of Bengal.

Had the Government taken the trouble to require information from all agricultural officers throughout Bengal as to crop conditions late in 1942, or even early in 1943, it is likely they would have been in a position to take positive steps to meet the emergency much earlier.

But so far as I know, the Government has never informed the public as to the extent of the destruction by pests, if indeed they themselves have the information.

Fear is a factor in producing famine conditions. When people find that prices are rising, as they are bound to do when there is a shortage, those who are far-sighted and have money begin to lay in stock while the price is still comparatively low. Again the merchants raise the price; and shortly there is something like a panic, pushing the price ever upward.

And then there was the factor of greed, all too well-known.

---

## Russia

*The New Review* observes :

During the last month (January), the Red Army's diary recorded an outstanding series of advances. The Nazis have been outgeneralled, outmanœuvred and outfought. They had in December last brought the dangerous bulging of the Kiev front to a standstill; their temporary success was of little import as they had dealt only with a rushing vanguard. After a short respite, the Russians, having first made a diversion in front of Nevel and Vitebsk and in the Dnieper bend, resumed their main offensive west of Kiev. They soon broke through the Nazi defences and made for the Polish frontier, swallowing, in their ever enlarging bulge, Korosten in the north and Berdichev in the south. Subsidiary and successful operations against Zhlobin and Mozyr and later around Leningrad as well as renewed pressure at the key-points in the Dnieper bend completed their victory which stands out as a strategic masterpiece.

The Russian High Command hit on the weak spot in the Nazi front : the sector of the Pripet Marshes.

At the point they severed the connection between the northern and southern German groups of armies; they then turned south-west to bend the southern segment against the Carpathians and the Black Sea, and even forced back the northern segment in the direction of the Baltic shore. The manœuvre was classical and Marshal Vasilevsky as well as Shaposhnikov is a disciple of Clausewitz who reduces all strategic methods of finishing an army to two types : breaking through at

two distant points and encircling the segment in between; cutting through at one point and forcing one segment against a natural obstacle. Hence, the Russian plan is no innovation; what is remarkable is the scale of the manœuvre. It dwarfs any similar attempt in the past, f. i. the Ludendorff's offensive of March, 1918, when he dreamed of breaking through at Amiens and swerving the Allied line against the Channel, or even the Nazi manœuvre against the Flanders groups of Allied armies in May, 1940.

Information at the time of writing is insufficient to make out with which sector, northern or southern, the Russian High Command has decided to deal first. The more important is evidently the southern sector which twists and turns in the Dnieper bend.

It is too late for the Nazi forces to disentangle themselves from their positions, but they will put up the most ferocious resistance. The Russian flank is well protected in the north by the Pripet Marshes, and the advance into Poland reaches far enough to turn any defensive position the Nazis might take behind the Bug or the Dniester. The sucess of the manœuvre turns round the battle for the Odessa-Warsaw railway which is the last rail communication with the Nazi general supply bases. The fight for Vinnitsa recalls the Middle Don offensive which completed the encircling of the Nazi divisions in front of Stalingrad. With their obstinate clinging to established positions, the Nazi High Command may well suffer another disaster; but even if they avoid a second Stalingrad-like defeat, they can only postpone defeat. What is fatal for them is the lengthening of the front week by week without any facility of reducing it to an appreciable extent. Taking as a theoretical yardstick the ratio of one division to ten miles of the line, one can calculate the growing strain on the Nazi forces and the drain on their general reserves. With initiative and numerical superiority on the Russian side, only a tremendous superiority in fire-power could avert the Nazi continuous retreat and unavoidable defeat.

On the other hand, it must not be lost sight of that by retreating, the Germans develop the advantage of shorter organised lines of communication whilst the Russians have to lengthen and reorganise their own. Again the Germans keep the relative benefits of inner lines. These advantages, however, are counter-balanced by an increasing danger from the air as cross-bombing by shuttle can now be organised between Britain, Russia and southern Italy.

### What Kind of Place Is Teheran ?

Teheran, the capital of Iran and reputed meeting place of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt, is an important link in the Allied supply line to Russia.

Teheran is situated 70 miles south of the Russian border about one-tenth of the way from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, about 1,500 air miles southwest of Moscow and 1,150 air miles from Cairo—near where Roosevelt, Chiang Kai-shek and Churchill met from November 22 to November 26 for the purpose of drawing up a blueprint for future Allied operations.

Once a city of camel caravans, peacocks and oriental bazaars, ancient Teheran has been converted by the war into a modern transport centre through which pass rail and truck conveys of American-made tractors, tanks, locomotives and other equipment for the Red Army. Planes roar overhead on the ferry route to Russia.

Some 700 miles south of Teheran, at the Persian Gulf terminus of the Allied supply route, American and British engineers supervise modern conveyor belts unloading Liberty Ships which carry Soviet-bound cargoes across the Mediterranean. Soviet airmen ferry American and British planes to Russia after they have been speedily assembled at the terminus.

Teheran covers seven and one-half square miles and has a population of 760,000. Teheran is always warm, but in the summer time it is one of the hottest places in the world with a temperature which frequently reaches 120° Fahrenheit.

Iran declared war against Germany and formally became one of the United Nations on September 9, 1943.—*The Indian Readers' Digest.*

### The Red Army

In an article in *The Indian Review*, Dr. Mahmud Husain describes the origin and early development of the Red Army whose fighting qualities have won the admiration of friend and foe alike :

The first soldiers of the Bolshevik Revolution consisted of Red Guards. From the very beginning, the leaders of the Revolution recognized that Russia must have a regular army. The old army was in a state of disintegration. The creation of a new army, which would defend the new order, could not be postponed for long. Conscription was not considered advisable at this stage as the Russian people were sick of war and the Bolsheviks had all along been promising peace. The new army could therefore be only raised on a voluntary basis.

The conditions of recruiting were laid down in a Soviet decree published in January, 1918, and within two and a half months more than 100,000 recruits were enlisted.

But as a fighting force this army was no good. Its efficiency was below the average. All sorts of uniforms were put on by its members; some even wore civilian clothes. This was perhaps not so important. What was really bad was that the soldiers lacked proper discipline. They did not receive even the most elementary military training and were distinguished by complete lack of organization. The soldiers behaved exactly in the way as if they were workers in a factory. They held meetings, questioned the validity and suitability of the orders from above and made all sorts of demands with regard to food and clothing and pay.

Many bandits and criminals also joined the Red Army. No wonder, whenever opportunity arose they took to looting and plundering. Their behaviour was making the Soviet Government itself unpopular in Russia. These forces might be useful against the anti-Soviet Russian troops but against the regular armies of the Germans in the Ukraine and the Czechs in Siberia, they were totally helpless.

A radical reform of the army was necessary if the Soviet regime was to succeed against its powerful enemies, external and internal.

The Bolshevik leaders, especially Trotsky, the War Commissar, were not blind to the weakness of their army. They recognized that Soviet Russia should possess first-class armed forces organized on the principles of modern warfare. But these could be built up

only with the co-operation of military experts. Trotzky took up this question of reorganization in all seriousness. He succeeded in creating a new army. To begin with, on March 1st, 1918, a Supreme War Council was created. This was followed by the establishment in April, 1918, of territorial commissariats in the provinces, districts and towns which were responsible for the military training of the people. Then, by a decree of April 22, conscription was introduced for all workers and peasants of 18 to 40 years of age. The propertied classes were excluded although they could be made use of for difficult and dirty non-combatant tasks in the rear. The practice of electing officers was abolished and strict obedience was enforced. With the stabilization of the Soviet regime the principle of conscription was extended to the whole population, although the formerly well-to-do classes were still forbidden to bear arms.

The Red Army on August 1st, 1918, numbered 331,000, but the number increased to 800,000 by the end of the year.

This army, however, was too small for the tasks ahead. And Lenin decided to have an army of 3 million. This figure was reached by January, 1920. The number went on increasing until by the end of 1920 it came to 5½ million. But the army still suffered from shortage of arms and equipment. Large-scale desertions were not uncommon. Even more serious was the problem of getting politically reliable officers. Trotzky thought that the Soviet Army could not do without the old officers and this view was ultimately accepted. Weapons of propaganda and terrorism were employed to ensure the loyalty of the officers who numbered about fifty thousand.

Apart from officers of the old army the Red Army included a large number of graduates who came out of the Soviet military schools. Many of them distinguished themselves, particularly in the later stages of the civil war.

---

### Surgery Enters the Ice Age

Barclay Moon Newman writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

Man's ancient enemy, cold, is now sceince's chief tool in a number of remarkable new techniques, including shockless, drugless, painless surgery. A medical journal calls cold "one of the most fertile fields open to modern medicine."

If physicians weren't making friends with ice, James W. probably would not have lived. James was eighty-three, and his circulation was poor. He stubbed his toe severely, and it turned black with gangrene. At New York's City Hospital on Welfare Island, it was decided that his leg would have to come off.

James was lucky in his hospital, because it was there that Dr. Lyman Weeks Crossman and his associates had worked out a routine of shockless ice surgery for just such cases. His leg, bound with a tourniquet, was packed in cracked ice for one hour. Then his ears were plugged with cotton and a screen was placed in front of him, so that he could neither hear nor see the operation that was taking away his foot and ankle. No anæsthetic was given—the numbing effect of the ice was enough. Throughout the operation he was in good spirits. Soon after it he ate a hearty lunch. There was no nausea, and—most important of all—no shock. Recovery was rapid and uneventful.

In Oak Park, Illinois, Dr. Robert T. McElvenny was called to help a man whose legs had been cut off at the knee by a train. Dr. McElvenny found him nearly bled out and in profound shock. In spite of transfusion and sulfanilamide, so much dirt had been ground into the ragged stumps that within twenty-four

hours the wounds began to fester. Then pneumonia developed. The poor fellow seemed a candidate, not for medical history, but for the undertaker.

Dr. McElvenny packed the torn flesh in ice. Pain ceased within an hour. Soon after, the foul discharge stopped; the man came out of delirium; blood pressure rose to normal. Three days later an operation to trim and close the wounds was possible; five days later the patient was sitting up in bed smoking a pipe.

The reason for the effectiveness of ice is that cold slows down all the processes of life. In any operation, the shock produced by the body's own poisons is one of the chief dangers. But when a part of the body is thoroughly chilled, it produces *less* of these toxic substances. Cold also inhibits the spread of bacteria through an infected wound.

---

## Arab Nationalism

In the course of his article in *The Hindustan Review* L. M. Laxminaran observes :

No student of world history can ignore the problem of 50 millions of Arabs spread over North Africa and the Near East which is the land of the basic civilization of the world.

There is not a single aspect of human progress, whether in science, learning, philosophy, art or literature, which has not received its share of contribution from the Arabs. The introduction of paper, by facilitating printing, revolutionised the "community of obedience" into a "community of will." The growth of universities at Basra, Kufa, Baghdad, Cairo and Cordoba, the teachings of Averroes (Ibnrusho), and their contributions to the development of mathematics, medicine and chemistry, all testify to the glory of that ancient land.

Of the 50 millions Arabs, approximately 10-12 millions are in Arabia proper, 4 millions in Syria, 3-5 millions in Iraq, 1 million in Palestine, 12-14 millions in Egypt, 0-7 million in Libya, 2-3 millions in Tunisia, 6 millions in Algeria and 7 millions in Morocco.

Only the Arabs in Arabia proper, the Desert Arabs, are of pure Semitic Arab race, the rest being of Hamitic race or Berbers as they are called.

The only political and social organization of the Berbers was the tribe, under the leadership of religious fraternities or local saints (like that of the Sumerian Priest-kings) who became the centre of assistance to foreign influences, Moslem or Christian, Turkish or French. The waves of invasions of the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Turks and the French have left little trace on their civilization, and there is no wonder that it took for Arabs about five centuries to Mohamedanise and impose on them a thin veneer of Arab culture. But today being permeated with the spirit of Islamic Renaissance and Western culture, the Hamitic Arabs along with their brother Arabs acclaim the idea of unity of all Arabic speaking people into one nation—Pan-Arabism.

The National consciousness among the Arabs educated at Catholic and Protestant mission schools first awoke in Syria in 1847 under the patronage of American missionaries.

Even before this period, there were symptoms of unity exhibited against foreign intrusion as that evidenced by the violent resistance of Abd-el-kadar, Emir of Muscara, between 1830-1844, to the French occupation of Algeria, but in that there was nothing to prove beyond local patriotism.

In the latter half of the 19th century the movement for Arab unity got an impetus from the teachings of two leaders, Jemal ed Din el-Afghani and Sheik Mohomed Abdo.

While the latter was for reconciliation with Western science and for adopting Western ways especially in weapons without relinquishing religious traditions, the former was for complete independence of the Arab countries, to be organised under a single Caliph with liberal and progressive institutions and for resisting Western Imperialism. Their teachings led to the foundation of "The League of the Arab Fatherland" with the three clear concepts of language, race and history as the basis of their nationalism, which have been reiterated in all the Arab Congresses since 1913.

The Arabic language is divided into two dialects—northern and southern. The former being the language of the Quran has become the predominant language of literature and commerce throughout the Arab dominions.

About the second concept, race, it has to be confessed that there cannot possibly be any ethnic unity of the Moslem world, extending from Central Asia to Portugal, in view of the *melange* of tribes and peoples, converted in the days of Islamic ascendency.

Hopes of a united Arab State after the last world war did not materialise.

During the war, the Arabs had been consolidated against the Turks and inspired with national consciousness by an Oxford scholar named Col. T. E. Lawrence. That conception of national consciousness continued to prevail among the Arabs in the post-war period, displaying itself in complex conflicts and troubles along the whole line of contact between the ancient Christendom and the Mohamedan world, *i.e.*, from west of Persia to the Atlantic coast in Morocco.



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS



### "British Orientalists"

The above book by A. J. Arberry has been reviewed by H. G. Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, which we reproduce here at full length :

It was a brilliant idea to include a sketch of British Orientalists in the admirable *Britain in Pictures* series, for few people know anything of the work of the generations of scholars who have patiently unravelled for us the long hidden secrets of the East. Professor Arberry's little book is a model of compression; he is unable to include archæology in his survey, and this rules out Egypt and Assyria. Unfortunately, too, he is precluded from saying anything about Oriental art, the discovery of which has had such a profound influence on western culture.

Europe first came into contact with the East through the Arabs. Prior to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, our knowledge of Aristotle and the other Greek scientists was almost entirely derived from Arabic translations, and even after the Renaissance, interest in Arabic continued. There were chairs of Arabic at Oxford and Cambridge; the former was at one time held by Archbishop Laud. In the eighteenth century, the first translation of the Koran was made by Robert Sale, which was extensively quoted by Voltaire. In the Victorian era, a number of intrepid travellers penetrated into the heart of Arabia, and produced remarkable books as a result. These included E. W. Lane and Sir Richard Burton, both of whom translated that great collection of Arabian stories, the *Thousand and One Nights*, Charles Doughty, author of the inimitable *Arabia Deserta*, and in modern days T. E. Lawrence and Miss Freya Stark.

The study of Persian began with the East India Company. Persian was the official language of the Mogul Court, and a knowledge of it was almost indispensable for the Company's servants. Many of them, like Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, were accomplished Persian scholars, and working on Persian sources, produced our earliest histories of India. In the nineteenth century, incomparably our best Persian scholar was Professor E. G. Browne of Cambridge, the author of two remarkable books, *A Year Among the Persians and A Literary History of Persia.* But curiously enough, the Persian work which has made the greatest impression on England was a translation of the quatrains of an obscure astronomer, Omar Khayyam, by Edward Fitzgerald, who had never travelled further east than Suffolk. After years of neglect, it was discovered and boomed by Rossetti and Swinburne, and is now a classic.

The discovery of Sanskrit, the ancient language of the Hindus, was due to a band of savants inspired and encouraged by Warren Hastings—Sir William Jones, Sir Charles Wilkins and Henry Colebrooke. Jones, like Cortez, found himself gazing on a new world. Sanskrit, he declared, was of wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either. In 1785, Wilkins startled the world with his translation of the famous religious poem the *Bhagavad Gita*. Sanskrit had even more important repercussions in Germany than in England. It profoundly affected Goethe and Schiller, and philosophers like Schopenhauer and Fichte. It also led to the foundation of the science of comparative philology. Meanwhile, James Prinsep, Master of the Mint at Calcutta, found from a study of Indo-Greek bilingual coins the key to the ancient Brahmi alphabet. This enabled scholars to decipher the edicts of King Asoka. In the next generation, Sir Henry Rawlinson did a similar service by discovering the clue to the cuneiform inscriptions at Behistun.

It is a pity that Professor Arberry omits to mention Max Muller, an Englishman in all but name. He was the pioneer in the study of the Vedas, the earliest works in any Aryan language, the secret of which had long been jealously guarded by the Brahmins. He also started that monumental series of translations, *The Sacred Books of the East*, published by the Oxford University Press. Pali, the language of the Buddhist scriptures, was investigated by a number of scholars from Tournour to Rhys Davids and his wife, and in the middle of the nineteenth century Sir Edwin Arnold wrote *The Light of Asia*, a poem which had an immense vogue, and gave Victorian readers the first popular account of the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha. The study of the Indian vernacular languages, started in the eighteenth century by the Baptist Mission at Serampore, received its coping stone in the magnificent edifice of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, the life-work of Sir George Grierson, which did for India what has been done for no other country in the world.

Professor Arberry concludes with a survey of the study of the languages of Indonesia and the Far East. A feature of the book is the delightful series of illustrations in colour.



### Stalin may Dictate Terms to Germany

In *Unity* John Haynes Holmes envisages the possibility of Germany sueing for peace to Russia and the danger of Europe with Russia as the central Power allied with Germany and Japan :

**More and more apparent does it become that the war is being won and lost in Russia. It is this fact that**

stirs the question as to whether Stalin will make a separate peace with Germany. But this question, it seems to me, is usually discussed from the wrong angle —namely, that of Russia seeking or accepting peace of Germany. We talk about the generous terms that Hitler can afford to offer Russia. But wherein is Hitler in any position to offer terms of peace to anybody, least of all to the Soviets? When did the vanquished ever thus deal with the victors? The real question, as I see it, is whether Germany will sue for peace, and turn to Russia in preference to the United Nations, and accept terms from the former before the latter are in any position to act at all. It is to be remembered that Stalin, through his Free Germany Committee, has already stated terms, and that these terms are generous in the light of his sweeping military triumphs. On the other hand, the United Nations talk about nothing but "unconditional surrender"—and behind this slogan lurk all kinds of threats of disarmament, territorial dismemberment, industrial ruin, reparations, and so forth, none of which appear in the Russian terms at all. In such a situation, with inevitable defeat looming all about them, with real hope of salvaging much out of a peace with Russia and no hope of salvaging anything out of a peace with America and Britain, what is to prevent Germany turning to Moscow and putting her fate, and the fate of course of Europe, in her hands? And what is to prevent Stalin making peace on terms which will consolidate the Russian position for generations to come? It is never to be forgotten that Joseph Stalin is a realist to the core. He has not one spark of sentimentalism. He is interested only in Russia; he is fighting only for Russia (he remained at peace while France was extinguished and England all but beaten, and fought only when attacked!); and he will in the end seek only Russia's advantage. We fool ourselves in cherishing any illusions about the Soviet dictator. This is what makes so formidable the possibility that, at the right moment, the German army will depose Hitler, accept from Russia terms of peace which will leave Germany strong, and thus to all intents and purposes achieve an alliance—with Russia still at peace with Japan!—which may defy the world. One would think, to read of Churchill's and Roosevelt's meetings, and pronunciamentos, that they held all power in their hands but they don't—not if Stalin has anything to say about it!

### Bukhara Today

N. Anapsky writes about modern Bukhara:

The ancient city of Bukhara is a true museum of architecture. In no other place in Soviet Central Asia are concentrated as many remarkable monuments of Central Asian architecture as in this city. In the centre of Bukhara rises the minaret of the Grand Mosque built in the year 1127. This is a beautiful conical column forty-seven meters high and made of square burnt bricks. As one wends his way to this minaret in any direction, he finds literally on every street ancient buildings embellished with Majolica tiles, and mosaics of glazed and ordinary brick. The patriotic war has not held up the work of restoring the historical monuments of architecture and art. Restoration work is being continued on the mausoleum of Buyankuli Khan which is faced with bas-relief in mosaic. Repair is under way on the Medressah of Abdulla Khan, the Medressah of Miriarab and the Medressah of Divan Beg which is embellished with rare tiled mosaics bearing depictions of deer and flying storks.

In evening many people are to be seen in the centre of the city by the stone parapet opposite the square. Here is an elderly Uzbek in his colored coat with turban on his head; a young working woman in embroidered Uzbek cap; and school children and workers. All are looking up at the grey brick arch where a loud speaker is visible: "Moscow speaking"; passersby become silent. The loud distinct voice of the Moscow radio announcer reads the latest *communique* of the Soviet Information Bureau. He has no sooner concluded than the street bursts into noisy life. The people speak of the front and the Red Army victories. After their day's work the inhabitants go to the tea-houses, and, seating themselves on rugs, drink bowls of green Samarkand tea. Here, too, the talk turns on one of the themes concerning the front, and how to help it.

From early morning till late at night, through streets of the city, wind caravans of camels loaded with piles of snow white cotton which they are carrying from villages to the cotton carding plant.

When the Red Army went into its offensive, the working people of the Bukhara region adopted the liberated population of the Orel and Kharkov regions. With great solicitude and affection did they gather and sent off whole carloads of gifts to the frontline sector. The collective-farmers brought tons of vegetables, dried fruits and grain, centners of wool, oil and meat into Bukhara. They drove cows, sheep and goats along the countryroads. All these things came from the personal funds of the farmers.

' Large industrial enterprises of Bukhara are working at full speed and turning out production for the front.

Bukhara took on a changed aspect this summer. Hundreds of the inhabitants daily came out on to streets and squares to help renovate the houses and sidewalks. The campaign for improving the city continued up to November.—*The Tass News Agency, USSR.*

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

FORSAKEN SAKUNTALA
By Ramgopal Vijayabargiya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL



1944

VOL. LXXV, No. 4 WHOLE No. 448

# NOTES

## *Assembly Refuses Supplies to Viceroy's Council*

The Central Legislative Assembly by 50 votes to 48, passed Mr. Abdul Qaiyum's cut motion to reduce the grant under the head Executive Council to Re. 1 as a mark of "refusal of supplies." Congress, Muslim League and the Nationalists voted for the motion.

Mr. Qaiyum, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, moving that the "demand under the head Executive Council be reduced to Re. 1 to refuse supplies," declared that the Executive Council had continuously flouted public opinion. He asked what had happened to the vote of the House against the increase in Railway fares? What was their response to the vote of the House against the sending of propaganda delegation abroad? He complained of corruption in the services and dwelt on the Bengal famine. He pointed out that on the one hand the country was being told that India would be given perfect freedom after the war, and on the other the Supply Member had been given five years' extension of office. This meant that history would repeat itself as after the last war. Mr. Qaiyum described the Viceroy's Council as a "hybrid monster born of an illicit love affair between the British Imperialism and the Indian vested interests."

The Muslim League gave their whole hearted support to the motion. Sir Yamin Khan said that the present Government of India was a "miniature form of Fascism and Nazism." Interjecting, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali said: "An apology for Hitler and Mussolini."

Mr. Krishnamachari raised a serious point when he asserted that

He had information in his possession to the effect that Whitehall had sent instructions that Indian industries should not be encouraged.

The Finance Member: "I deny it categorically."

Mr. Krishnamachari asked why the power alcohol plant, which was expected to arrive in the country, had not arrived so far. He complained that the chemical trade in the country was passing into European hands and said European firms were being encouraged as against Indian firms in the matter of imports. "Instead of merely accepting compliments that you are wise, eminent and patriotic, why can't you justify yourselves in the eyes of your associates by resigning?" He asked, addressing members of the Executive Council.

Supporting the motion, Mr. K. C. Neogy said:

The picture of the Executive Council was in black and white. The black predominated so that the white could be shown with greater boldness. It was meant to be shown to the world that the present day Government enjoyed the moral support of the people. He had great apprehension that in so far as the black were assisting the white they might be regarded by posterity in the light of Quislings. He summed up the present day policy of the Government in two words, coercion and corruption. The Indian members of the Council, had allowed themselves to be corrupted by the lure of office and by their example they were corrupting others. The present-day administration had degenerated into legalised tyranny.

His complaint against the Executive Council was that they allowed the "all-powerful person" (the Viceroy) to assume dictatorial powers even in spheres in which he had no right to assume such powers.

He added that he had looked into Government of India Act and did not find any warrant for some of the actions which the Governor-General had been allowed to take, actions which really lay in the administrative

field, as the ordinance-making power of the Governor-General did not mean he was above all control by his Cabinet.

Mr. Neogy criticised the censorship regulations and charged the Government with trying to bring the House into contempt.

Mr. Avanashilingam Chettier voiced the Congress viewpoint when he said: "No amount of Indianisation can be a substitute for a National Government. Only a National Government can fight for the freedom of this country and win the war."

That even a temporary Congress-League Coalition had become the eyesore of the Europeans in India, was clearly understood from the speech of Sir Frederic James. He said: "Mr. Abdul Qaiyum had referred to the illicit love affair between Whitehall and the Indian vested interests. What about this love affair between the Congress and the Muslim League?"

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, gave a crushing reply to Sir Frederic James' mention of a temporary love affair between the Congress and the League. He said: "My friends of the European Group cannot even stand a temporary arrangement between the two and yet they are very loud in exhorting that there should be unity between the Congress and the Muslim League." He correctly described Sir Frederic's speech as the outcome of frustration. Giving his party's support to the motion, the Nawabzada declared:

Every day in the House of Commons, the British Government's spokesman stated that whatever decisions were taken were taken by Indian members of the Executive Council because their number was overwhelming. If the spokesman was honest, he should also have stated that the Indian members of the Executive Council were those who did not have any following in the country. The fraud that this was an Indian Government had been practised for the last three years upon the world. "We can no longer be a party to the perpetuation of this fraud.

"Every vote that is cast in favour of Government on this occasion is a vote for the perpetuation of the fraud, which is being practised by the British Government throughout the world."

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sir Sultan Ahmed were the official spokesmen in the debate, both of whom miserably failed to defend their ground. The former indulged in his usual diatribes against Gandhiji and the Congress while the latter began to trace the history of the Cripps offer. Popular opinion has always looked upon this Council as a fraud. It represents nobody and it is responsible to none. They have entered this Council knowing fully well that their decisions are not binding on the Governor-General who can override each one of them, and have necessarily followed the lead of the four white members among them.

## *Central Supplies Voted Down*

After six days of mature deliberations, the Central Legislative Assembly rejected the Finance Bill by 56 votes to 55. The Bill was presented to the Assembly again next day in a recommended form and was again rejected, this time by 56 votes to 45. It now goes to the Council of State where it will be debated for 3 days till March 31, when it will be certified by the Viceroy and placed on the Statute Book. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress party, had attended on both the days. In his speech on the second day, Mr. Desai pointed out that the majority of one was in fact a vote of 56 against 18 so far as the elected members of the Assembly were concerned. Even out of this 18, if European votes were excluded, it came to this that in so far as the real voice of the country was concerned, it was a vote of 56 against 8.

In the concluding day's debate, Mr. Desai and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan had made the popular standpoint in regard to the Bill quite clear. The Nawabzada said:

Dr. Khare had taken credit for the blessings that had accrued to this country as a result of the war. He should have presented a true balance sheet of its blessings and miseries, for it was this war and the Government's incapacity to deal with the problems arising from it, that had cost lives due to starvation and want of medical relief, had brought economic depression, *had left India in the same constitutional position as it was a 100 years ago* and curtailed the liberties of the people in the name of the D. I. Rules.

Replying to the Viceroy's speech and those made by the Home Member and the Leader of the House suggesting that the British Government had done everything conceivable to secure the honourable co-operation of the people of India in the prosecution of the war and that it was really Indians who were guilty of failure to co-operate, the Nawabzada said that so far as the Muslim League was concerned, it had from the very beginning realized the necessity of doing its utmost to defend the country. *The offers of co-operation, however, were made by Government intentionally in a manner which would not be acceptable to any honourable man.* The British Government never really desired the co-operation of the people of this country.

Referring to the Viceroy's recent address to the Central Legislature and the Muslim League party's attitude to H. E.'s pronouncement, he said: "During the last three years the policy of the League consistently had been to oppose the Finance Bill not because we do not want to help in the prosecution of this war, not that we do not want to vote money for the defence of India but because we have no confidence in the present Government. *We are not ready and willing to place the resources of our country in the hands of a Government which is not only irresponsible but irresponsive.*"

Both at the Centre and the Provinces, co-operation in the British sense meant subservience. In Bengal, Sir John Herbert secured the resignation of Mr. Fazlul Huq on the definite understanding that it would be used for the formation of an All-Party Government. But in fact this letter of resignation was treacherously used to instal a reactionary Party Ministry subservient not only to the Civil Service but also to European vested interests. The Ministry was permitted to stabilise by the distribution of favours. All-Party Ministry remained a mirage, and the reactionary Ministry in their turn, begged for "co-operation." The Nawabzada has done well in explaining the real nature of co-operation desired by the Government.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai touched the vital constitutional problem when he said :

> If the war was being fought for democracy, the first desideratum was that representatives of the Indian people, who had been elected on the widest franchise permitted under the 1935 Act, should form a national Government. *It was not a mere majority Government that was intended. It was a Government composed of representatives of every element in the House. It was not even required that the constitution of the Government of India should be changed.* The Congress was quite prepared to place its services at the disposal—not of HMG, but at the disposal of the country that the cause may be fought with clean hands and stout heart.
>
> He had every desire that India should be defended. But he was opposing the Finance Bill because he did not want to *take the responsibility of finding the money without the privilege or responsibility of spending it.*

The Congress-League Coalition in the House had already alarmed the Government which, as it appears from the barren speech of the Finance Member, was further accentuated by Mr. Desai's unequivocal declaration that the Congress was quite prepared to form a National Government at the Centre together with the Muslim League. He also pointed out that the formation of a National Government does not require any amendment of the Government of India Act. In his reply, Sir Jeremy Raisman, referring to the constitutional question, said :

> The representatives of two great parties had on the occasion arrived at a measure of agreement as to what should be done about the Bill before the House. They had apparently agreed that they should register their disapproval of Government as at present constituted.
>
> "Can we hope to see that this combination will continue and go further. May I hope to be relieved of the difficulties in which I find myself of having to carry out my duties to get legislation passed in a House in which Government does not enjoy a majority? May I hope to see that this combination will continue on fruitful lines, so that we may look forward to a speedy solution of the difficulties which give rise to all this trouble we are facing?" Nobody would, he said, be happier than himself and his colleagues to see the Treasury Bench occupied by a Ministry which could command the support of the friends opposite. He would be only too glad if the union of the parties opposite would not be only a union of a day or a moment, not merely union on a negative policy, which surely was not a platform on which the problems of the country could be dealt with, but some more extensive and more fruitful combination between the great parties.—*A. P. I.*

The Congress and the League parties have been jointly working since the very beginning of this session on all matters of public importance. This was not the only defeat, the Government have suffered many more this session. A Government whose eagerness for a Congress-League unity was genuine, would certainly not have let slip such an opportunity to bring the two parties closer and try to saddle them with the responsibility they desire. This could have been done here and now without any amendment of the Act. The position was further clarified by Mr. Desai when on the second day of the vote, he said :

> Ever since the war and since India was declared a partner in the war, the country had been demanding that her affairs should—at least during the emergency—be managed on principles different to those under which they were being handled. It was then made clear that those who had the responsibility of finding the money and resources for the prosecution of the war should also have the privilege of carrying out policies for the purpose of disbursement. The question could only be solved if HMG began to realize that, however, eminent or able the individual personnel of the Government might be, it was the confidence of the people which was the bedrock and foundation of government, during a period of war.

### *The Central Budget*

The fifth war budget brings no relief to our war burdens. War expenditure continues to be staggering and in spite of heavy tax burdens imposed during the past few years, deficits are mounting. Crushing measures of taxation continue to meet them. The military expenditure charged to revenue alone has reached the staggering figure of Rs. 276 crores for 1944-45 exclusive of capital expenditures of Rs. 24 crores. The actual deficit in 1942-43 was Rs. 112 crores, the estimated deficit for 1943-44 was Rs. 92 crores and in the current year it is expected to be Rs. 78 crores. The income-tax, super-tax and Corporation taxes have been increased. Three new excise duties, namely, on tea, coffee and betelnuts have been imposed.

A very significant declaration made in the Finance Member's speech is that the various controls which have been taken during the war, will continue after it. He said :

> This would mean that the public which has perforce to submit to control in war-time when the fact of shortage was inescapable, should *accept the continuance of controls prolonged over a far longer period after peace returns.*

It is my firm conviction that the first prerequisite of Reconstruction Finance is a sound financial position, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, secured by the fullest development of their respective taxation resources. This may perhaps sound pedestrian, but in the light of our experience of war-time finance there is no reason, given the will to find money for peace on the scale on which it has been found for war, why resources should not be forthcoming to an extent which could not possibly have been envisaged in pre-war days. I have recently brought under review the post-war budgetary position of the Central Government, in so far as the many uncertainties inherent in the conditions of the present and the future permit.

This indicates that the control over the Indian economic life will continue after the war to provide ground and time for the re-capture and consolidation of the market for the British manufactures.

### *Misuse of D. I. R.*

The method of collecting money for the War Funds came in for severe criticism in a debate in the Central Legislative Assembly when the Nationalist Party's cut motion on the misuse of the Defence of India Rules was moved. The motion was carried by 53 votes to 44. Mr. Ramratan Gupta gave an instance how the inhabitants of a certain village in the Aligarh district were asked by a Daroga to pay their quota of money for war bonds. They said they had already paid their quota and that for some part of their money they had not yet got a receipt. This evidently angered the Daroga who ordered them to bend and then heavy weights were placed on their backs.

Mr. Rangiah Naidu alleged that

The duty of collecting money from villages for war funds had been entrusted to so many different officers that the villagers were being forced to pay many times over on the same account. He said that the Tahsildar of a taluka in the Kistna District had issued an order, of which he had a copy with him, levying money at the rate of Rs. 3 per candy of groundnuts, Rs. 5 per candy of paddy and so on for war funds. Mr. Naidu asked *if the grow-more-food campaign was being encouraged in order to produce more food for the people or in order to collect money on the food produced.*

The misuse of the D.I.R. is now a matter of everyday experience. The various restrictions placed on the movement of some people and the restrictions placed on railway travel and movement of goods have become unbearable. Pandit Baijnath's case showed that lawyers whose only offence was defending the accused in political cases were arrested under the D.I.R. In the Federal Court Case *Rex vs. Shibnath Banerjee*, their Lordships said that even the provisions of Rule 26 were not complied with in that case, and that they could not condemn too strongly the callous disregard shown to the provisions of the law. Only the other day, the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court had exclaimed that D.I.R. had paralysed them. An order had been served on Mr. Hossain Imam, a member of the Council of State, in which the S. D. O. of Gaya had asked Mr. Imam to appear before him to show cause why he should not be imprisoned under Section 38 of the D.I.R. Act, as it was reported that he had not bought war bonds and had prevented others from buying war bonds. Sardar Sant Singh had pointed out that persons who were not paying land revenue had been forced to pay it under the D.I.R.

The manner in which the D.I.R. is being applied has given rise to the popular belief that these Rules were intended for the defence of (British) Imperialism against Indian nationalism.

### *Minister's Complicity in Allah Bux Murder Alleged*

When the Sind Legislative Assembly met on March 3 to vote for Budget demands, Mr. Amin Khoso moved an adjournment motion "to discuss the failure of the Government to take action against Khan Bahadur M. A. Khoso, Revenue Minister, Sind, for his complicity in the murder of the late Mr. Allah Bux, ex-Premier, as alleged in the report of the Special Tribunal appointed by the Government to try the murder case of Mr. Allah Bux."

The Speaker ruled out the motion on the ground that the matter was subjudice as it might form a subject-matter for appeal to the High Court.

### *Monopoly of Foreign Trade for Foreigners*

In the course of his presidential address to the seventeenth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry held at New Delhi, Kumararajah Sir Muthia Chettiar of Chettinad referred to the export trade of India and said:

A virtual monopoly had been created for a few big importing and exporting houses, mainly foreign, and that Indian businessmen were gradually being squeezed out altogether from India's foreign trade. "It is time that this monopoly was broken and that a system of licensing introduced which will give a fair share of business to Indian commercial houses." In this connection, the Kumararajah touched upon the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation and the peculiar privileges that it was enjoying in this country. There was a feeling of grave apprehension among commercial interests that the U. K. C. C. might prove to be another Avathar of the East India Company and corner all the external trade of this country. That was why the Federation had asked the Government to give a guarantee that the activities of the U. K. C. C., would

be ended as soon as Armistice was declared. In the meantime, the Government should promote an Indian Commercial Corporation which alone would be responsible for the purchase of goods in this country and if necessary hand over the goods at port to the U. K. C. C.

After gaining control of the foreign trade, the British vested interests in India, mostly represented by the Agency houses, have now combined to stifle Indian industries by refusing to push their products on the market. Bad or tolerable Indian products are sometimes accepted for sale as substitutes, but Indian products equal or better in quality than the British ones are scrupulously avoided. The British traders would rather starve than help to build up markets for Indian products likely to stand post-war competition. The Indian big business, specially traders, would do well to pay more attention to this aspect of the problem.

### *Price of Indian Co-operation*

The March issue of the *Oriental Post*, a monthly organ of the Oriental Colony of London, edited by an Indian, Mr. Mahammad Ali Khan, writes in the editorial:

"Lord Wavell's address at the Indian Legislature was traditionally imperialistic, but also betrayed his anxiety and that of the Whitehall over the future. Lord Wavell seeks the co-operation of the imprisoned leaders at his terms. He would not release them unless they are ready to co-operate. But he should have known better. These leaders had already taken the challenge and preferred to suffer rather than yield to the jingoism of the Whitehall.

If the Whitehall is so keen on the Indian leaders' participation in the post-war problems meaning various financial burdens on the Indian people, then let it recognise their independence, release the leaders, transfer absolute power to them and negotiate a treaty of partnership. No half measure will be of any consequence. A free India will play its part in post-war reconstruction. But the Whitehall deceives itself if it hopes for a settlement in the prison camp. As soon as Great Britain has transferred power to a Provincial Government of nominated members of recognised political parties we will produce an agreed constitution within given time."

Attempts to settle Indian political problems in prison camps is nothing new in the modern history of India. The tragedy of the occasion is that a person like Lord Wavell, an avowed follower of Allenby, shrinks to rise equal to the occasion even at the hour of the greatest crisis.

### *Security Deposit Order on Sylhet Chronicle Set Aside*

The Assam Government order requiring Mr. Kalikrishna Deb Krori, editor and publisher of the *Sylhet Chronicle* to deposit Rs. 1000 as security under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, was set aside by a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and Henderson and Lodge JJ.

The Assam Government passed the order on September 16 last in connexion with the publication of an article in the above paper on August 24 last year under the caption "Rome Burning, Nero Fiddling," on the ground that the publication tended directly or indirectly to bring into hatred or contempt Government established by law, in British India, and to cause fear and alarm in the minds of the public.

Mr. Krori contended that the article was published as a fair comment and *bona fide* expression of honest views on the action of Sir Mahammad Saadulla, Chief Minister of Assam, and it did not contain any word or words which tended directly or indirectly to bring Government into hatred.

The petitioner's case was that when conditions in Habigunge subdivision were deteriorating, due to starvation, the National War Front announced its decision to hold a rally for three days, within the subdivision. It appeared to the petitioner, that feasting and merry-making were features of the rally and the petitioner considered it his duty to protest against it, in view of the condition of the people and published the article. It was a fair and honest comment on the action of the Chief Minister and not on Government established by law in British India.

The Chief Justice observed that he was of the opinion that the article complained of was a political, personal abuse of Sir Mohammed Saadulla and his political adherents. He was unable to come to the conclusion that, to use the words of the order, it tended directly or indirectly to bring Government into hatred or cause fear or alarm in public mind. In his lordship's opinion this rule should be made absolute.

The *Sylhet Chronicle* is one of those few newspapers who have boldly and courageously fought for human rights and liberties even at the risk of their own existence. It has been sensitive to every passing gust of public opinion ably reflected on its pages. No wonder that the authorities would be angry with it and attempts would be made to stifle her voice.

### *"Charge Sheet" to Gandhiji*

The *Leader*, dated March 5, reports:

A story is current here that not long ago the Government of India sent a communication to Mahatma Gandhi by way of a charge against him pointing out that Mahatma Gandhi was authorised by the All-India Congress Committee to lead a mass movement directed against Government's war effort and also interfering with law and order, and that by his speeches, writings and guidance, the A.-I. C. C. had arrived at such a decision. It is said that Mahatma Gandhi was asked to send his reply to the 'charge' to the Home Secretary, Government of Bombay.

In his reply Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have pointed out that the charge was baseless. He stated that though he was authorised to lead the movement, he had always in mind the question of negotiations which, if permitted, would have been successful and there would have been no occasion for a movement. Gandhiji, however, emphasised that, in any case he had no opportunity of launching any movement.

Mahatma Gandhi added that contrary to hampering

war efforts, the Congress stand had always been to aid them and in fact the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee stressed that point.

In these circumstances Mahatma Gandhi considered his detention to be absolutely unjustified, and, therefore, felt that either he should be released or put on trial.

It is stated that Government have informed Mahatma Gandhi, in reply, that his case will be reviewed in July, 1944, unless the Government decide to do so earlier or later.

Mahatma Gandhi's reply is said to run into several pages.

## *Peoples' Food Council for Bombay*

A Bombay Conference decided to set up a non-official organisation called the Peoples' Provincial Food Council, representative of all the districts and cities of the Province and of all sections of public opinion. The aims and objects of the Council are to watch the working of the food policy of the Government, to consider ways and means of increasing food production, to consider the situation from the point of view of nutrition and to collect data regarding food requirements and supply throughout the province. Mr. M. R. Masani, the Mayor of Bombay, presided. In his opening address he emphasised the need for utmost public vigilance to see that the tremendous power given to the district and village officers under the new procurement policy of the Bombay Government was not used arbitrarily or otherwise abused.

The resolution adopted at the Conference, as reported in the *Bombay Chronicle*, contains the following :

"This meeting expresses its anxiety at the food situation in the Province of Bombay. It considers it a matter of regret that the imports of foodstuffs into this Province, which has always been a deficit area dependent on imports of food for the proper feeding of its population, are not on an adequate scale and that imports into India from abroad have not been received even to the extent recommended by the Foodgrains Policy Committee of the Government of India. These considerations, along with the economic and psychological concomitants of currency inflation and in the absence of a Government fully responsible to the people give ground for continued anxiety and render it necessary for public opinion to be vigilant so as to ensure that every member of the community in the remotest parts of the Province obtains food and other essential consumers' goods at prices which are within his reach. The Government of Bombay have recently announced their intention to introduce a system of compulsory requisitioning on a graded scale from landlords and cultivators who grow foodgrains for the better distribution of the food supplies of the Province and for the conservation of its resources. The new policy of Government also assumes the setting up with immediate effect throughout the Province, of an efficient machinery for the distribution of foodgrains, with special reference to the needs of agricultural and other labour in rural areas. While not expressing any opinion on the merits of the scheme, this meeting places on record its opinion that in the light of past experience, in the operation of the policies for the procurement and distribution of foodstuffs, difficulties may arise and complaints about the mishandling of affairs may be forthcoming as in the past which will call for early investigation and redress. *It is essential therefore that all sections of the people of this Province should come together for the purpose of subjecting the food policies of the administration to the searchlight of public criticism, of watching the working of arrangements for the procurement and distribution of foodstuffs and of securing the food requirements of the humblest members of society.*

A Food Council of this kind is an urgent necessity in Bengal. Cannot the provincial leaders come forward and do something ?

## *Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms Shelved*

The *National Call*, Delhi, reports :

Don Iddon, Diarist of the Daily Mail said yesterday : Americans are beginning to wonder what has happened to the Four Freedoms and declarations by the United Nations.

There is a growth of cynicism in U. S. A. regarding the intentions of U. S. A. and European Allies. Almost everyone believes that there has been a deterioration in the ideology of war and it seems no longer a crusade and is showing some symptoms of the old struggle and of power-politics.

Reawakening of purpose and a restatement of ideals and rights of small nations are overdue, otherwise United States disillusioned and embittered may, after the war, withdraw into her shell or play imperialism at the international Power Table.

The American Press, Right and Left, is suggesting urgently that Mr. Roosevelt should speak out to allay fears that this war may degenerate into an old-fashioned imperialistic struggle.

The New Republic says, "it is time to admit the blunt truth that we are now failing pretty dismally on the political front."

The first challenge of the Indian National Congress, at the beginning of the war, asking Britain to declare her war aims, went without a reply. An Atlantic Charter was signed by the two great Powers across the Atlantic and four freedoms were defined, but both of them differed when the question of the application of the four freedoms to Asia and Africa was raised. Since then, war ideology is steadily degenerating into power politics and the Atlantic Charter and four freedoms shelved. No wonder people would feel that the British tail is wagging the American dog.

## *Roosevelt on India's War Effort*

In his 14th Report to the Congress on Lend-Lease operations for the period ended December 31, 1943, President Roosevelt said : "Lend-Lease experts to India from March 11, 1941 to December 31, 1943, totalled 819,452,000 dollars. Exports in 1943 were 70 per cent greater than the combined shipments for 1942 and 1941."

"Our strategic policy towards India has been determined by the importance of India's strategic and geographical position in the Far Eastern part of the war.

"India is a major supply centre for the war against Japan. From India extends the air supply line into China. Furthermore, India is a military base for operations against the Japanese in Burma.

"Lend-Lease exports of guns, ammunitions and other munitions to India for the British and Indian armies and navies through December, 1943 amounted to 554 million dollars. With the help of munitions and other materials Lend-Leased by the United States, India has become a vast military base."

President Roosevelt then pays a tribute to Indian troops who "have seen service on widely scattered fronts in this war" and adds: "Many more are preparing for greater offensives to come against Japan.

"From the beginning of the Lend-Lease programme to December 31, 1943, we shipped to India 250 million dollars of agricultural products. Of primary importance have been transportation, communications and construction equipment shipped to India.

"To enable Indian railways to carry heavy additional burdens imposed by the war, we have provided locomotives and freight cars. We have furnished 40,000 trucks to supplement the railway system and cranes, lighters and stevedoreing equipment.

"To facilitate the building of air bases, barracks and military roads, we have sent construction machinery, cement-making machinery and lumber.

"We have provided under Lend-Lease some of the machine-tools and raw materials such as steel, copper, aluminium and zinc which have helped India to expand her munitions output.

"Lend-Lease exports of machine-tools to India have amounted to ten million dollars, and currently India is buying all of its machine-tools in this country for cash.

"India's exports of raw materials have been increasingly important in the United Nations' war effort. India is now our sole source of jute used for making burlap bags. She is one of the principal suppliers of mica, which is essential to the production of radio equipment for the armed forces.

"Other important materials imported from India are manganese, shellac, talc, beryl and kyanite.

"To increase the production of these items, we have furnished under Lend-Lease a variety of industrial tools as well as mining and pumping machinery.

"The Lend-Lease aid we have sent to India has assisted, and will assist the United Nations, in gaining victories over the Axis. But this aid has not flowed in one direction. India, too, has supplied what she can for the common war effort in many forms.

"Our forces in India have also received substantial reverse Lend-Lease from India as shown in another section of this report.

The American President has dealt with India as a strategic base, but he had nothing to say about her future after this war, so far as we can gather from the published summary of his report. One thing in this report requires clarification by the Government of India. Roosevelt says that lend-lease exports of guns, ammunitions and other munitions to India for the British and Indian armies and navies amounted to 554 million dollars. But now these war materials can be credited to Indian account when they have been secured evidently for the purpose of the re-conquest of Burma which had been separated from India long ago and made a British liability under a Secretary of State for Burma !

## *Inhuman Treatment in Jail*

An adjournment motion was moved in the Orissa Legislative Assembly to discuss the "inhuman treatment meted out by the infliction of lathi charges upon political prisoners in Berhampur jail on the 26th of January in connection with the hoisting of the national flag to observe the Independence Day." Moving the motion, Mr. B. Das said :

On 26th January, between 2 and 4 in the afternoon *lathi* charges were made in which Mr. Bishwanath Das, ex-Premier, Mr. Nityanand Kanungo, ex-Revenue Minister, Mr. U. C. Patnaik and several others sustained grievous injuries. Government had not come forward with any statement regarding their condition.

Criticising the censorship of news, Mr. Das said that the news first came out not in Cuttack or Calcutta papers but in a Madras paper. The Government neither contradicted the news nor did they come out with a statement giving the condition of the injured.

Mr. A. S. Khan, Law Minister, making a statement on the incident, said that on that day some youngsters in the jail got together and wanted to hoist the national flag. These youngsters were persuaded not to contravene jail rules. Persuasion by officials and then by the older section of Congress detenus, including Mr. Bishwanath Das, against the decision of the youngsters proved of no avail. They were given 45 minutes' ultimatum and when they did not obey, a mild *lathi* charge was made and the national flag was lowered. They tried to hoist the national flag a second time and another *lathi* charge was made. Those injured in the *lathi* charge were given medical treatment on the spot and were taken to hospital and now all of them were well.

Mr. Jagannath Misra asked : "Are you sure, Mr. Bishwanath Das was not injured ?"

Mr. A. S. Khan : *I am instructed to say he was not injured.*

Mr. Jagannath Misra, speaking next, claimed that when he was in jail they observed Independence Day, and nobody objected to it.

## *Khadi in Tamil Nad*

The *Free Press*, Madras, publishes the following report from the Assistant Secretary of the Tamil Nad branch of the A.-I. S. A. :

There has been phenomenal progress in khadi work in Tamil Nad in 1943 in spite of various handicaps. Khadi production has mounted to 32,14,129 sq. yds. which is in excess of over 3½ lakhs of sq. yds. over the production in 1942. This has broken the previous record of 1938 which was till now a peak year in the history of Tamil Nad Branch when production was only 30,01,289 sq. yds.

The total value of khadi produced in 1943, is Rs. 33,52,043 as against Rs. 17,72,936 worth in 1942 and Rs. 14,29,747 in 1938. Though the large rise in 1943 is due to increase in price of khadi large part of it represents the wages paid to artisans for whose interests the A.-I. S. A. exists. The total wages paid to 70,286

spinners and 2,831 weaving families and hundreds of other artisans in 1943, working under the Tamil Nad A.-I. S. A. amount to Rs. 20,88,316 as against Rs. 11,27,451 in 1942 and Rs. 11,37,020 in 1938.

Khadi sales inside Tamil Nad in 1943 amount to Rs. 28,81,511 as against Rs. 18,03,063 in 1942. The value of khadi exported outside is Rs. 4,03,553 in 1943, while the same in 1942 was Rs. 2,41,712. Thus the total turnover of work by Tamil Nad Branch in 1943 was Rs. 32,85,064 with the meagre resources at its disposal.

Detailed report of work done in 1943 will be published during the ensuing National Week.

No time was more opportune for the encouragement of Khadi than now. Government of India, at time, have shown eagerness to help the handloom, but have never encouraged it by anything that might be considered as help. Had the A.-I. S. A. been allowed to work at least unhampered during these days of cloth famine and agricultural unemployment, some good would have resulted.

### *Tata Plan a Camouflaged Demand for Gandhiji's Release ?*

The *Free Press Journal* reports :

LONDON, Mar. 8.

The publication here of the 15-year plan of Industrialisation sponsored by Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, J. R. D. Tata, G. D. Birla and others ten weeks ago, has aroused great interest in London and industrial circles. Many influential industrialists, when interviewed, favoured the plan and said that they had cabled to India asking for complete details of the scheme with a view to determining the best lines of British co-operation.

*Reynolds News* yesterday published an interview from its Bombay correspondence with J. R. D. Tata giving fuller account of the 15-year plan.

Meanwhile, propagandists here, notably Royist A. K. Pillai and others, have launched a campaign against the proposed Reconstruction Plan as being a camouflaged demand for release of Mahatma Gandhi.

To-day's *Times* published a dispatch from its Delhi correspondent, strongly criticising the 15-year plan. This dispatch did not examine the plan on its merits, but it exaggerated the opposition by Muslims and other minorities and "guardians of Indian agriculturists," presumably landlords and emphasised that the plan politically and economically, was not feasible.

### *British Attitude in Africa*

The *Free Press* reports :

LONDON, Mar. 13.

The problem of racial relationships within the Union of S. Africa was the subject of a lunch speech by the S. African High Commissioner in London, Col. Deneys Reitz, at the Guild Hall to-day.

Col. Reitz referring to similar problems elsewhere within the Empire said that on their ultimate solution largely depended the ultimate success or failure of the Commonwealth. He surveyed firstly the relationship past and present between the Boer and the British people in S. Africa and expressed the view that within a generation or two they will have merged into a common nationhood so that the question will have disappeared for good.

Col. Reitz then examined "a far mere difficult problem—that of the relationship between the White and the Black." He pointed out that "it is a problem which not only concerns S. Africa but the entire British Empire, for the British people have to grapple with the question throughout the African continent and they have to deal with kindred problems in the East as well."

He said, "It is charged against us that we refuse our natives social, political and economic equality. This is so, and I do not altogether defend our system. But nonetheless our attitude towards our native races is a friendly one. *It is that, perhaps, of the feudal barons towards their serfs.* This may not seem ideal by modern standards, but every European and every thinking native will agree that to confer these complex civic rights upon a people who are as yet incapable of exercising them would spell disaster. We spend great sums annually on native education, agriculture training, housing, hospitals and general welfare of the native and though much remains to be done we are struggling upward.

"If we have failed, we have failed not for lack of goodwill towards our native, but because difficulties and complications are inherent in a situation where *Europeans are called upon to administer the affairs of less developed races.*"

He would say that unless others felt they could do better under similar difficult conditions they should be slow to cast the first stone.

History does not record a single event where Europeans were "called upon" to administer the affairs of less developed races. Either on a search for markets or on the pretext of preaching Christianity, the white races have set their feet on the soils of Asia and Africa, have got themselves entrenched there by the force of superior arms often combined with treachery, and then have made themselves self-appointed guardians of races whom they called "backward" in spite of the fact that many of them bore a culture thousands of years older than their own.

### *American Trade Will Move to Asia*

Mr. Henry Wallace, the Vice-President of the U. S. A., writing in the magazine *Survey Graphic* on American and Russian understanding, says :

"Forty years hence Russia's population will be 250 millions and Russia and Asia together will represent more than half the world population. Siberia and China will furnish the greatest frontier of tomorrow and quite possible the next generation will see much American trade moving across the Pacific to Asia as formerly moved across the Atlantic to Europe. Most important growing points for the world in the next century will be Asia, Russia and Latin America."

The future of the three great Asiatic countries, Russia, China and India having land frontiers with each other, and their attitude towards Europe and America may also provide other problems to which useful thought might profitably be directed from now.

## *Indian Revolution—Major Event of World War II*

The *Tribune* of Lahore reports :

NEW YORK, Feb. 26.

Declaring that "the major event of World War II is the Indian Revolution," Frances Gunther, author of the forthcoming book "Revolution in India," presents an impassioned plea for Indian independence. Mrs. Gunther, wife of John Gunther, well-known author, travelled with her husband through India in 1938, where she met Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The United Nations, she says, are not helping this revolution but are doing everything possible "to hamstring, frustrate, undermine and ultimately to destroy it." This hindrance, she warns, may drive India "from revolutionary democracy to Fascist desperation." India, she asserts, now stands on the threshold of winning her independence, but this independence will be won "by the Indian people themselves alone."

"However," she continues, "it is unlikely, but barely possible, that by making itself sufficiently heard, popular opinion in the United States, reinforcing popular opinion in England, could influence the English Government to relinquish responsibility to a representative Indian Government." Acctually, she feels it would take nothing less than a revolution in British foreign policy to effect such a change.

Such a basic change in policy she says would mean :

(1) Immediate acknowledgement of the independence of India.

(2) The unconditional surrender of extra-territoriality in all its phases in China, including the return of Hong Kong and Kowloon.

(3) The reversion to national ownership of those natural resources of foreign countries under British financial control, as : the oil of Iraq, Iran, Sarawak, Rumania, Mexico, etc. This has two important boomerangs : it would refer likewise to American-controlled oil in Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, etc., as well as to American shares in British-controlled areas. It would lead to nationalization of natural resources in Britain and the United States no less than abroad.

(4) Redistribution of Sea Power and Air Power.

She then raises the question, if such a change were effected, what would happen to the security of England ? "Clearly, it would need to be guaranteed by the United States and the British Commonwealths," she states : "But *no price is too great to pay for the world equilibrium that might result from a democratic readjustment of England's foreign policy.* In such an equilibrium security becomes a natural instead of a highly precarious and uncertain element in international relations."

Britain's ability to defend herself in a major war, of the kind of the two world wars, without the aid of America and her Dominions and Colonies will doubtless become a debatable question after this world war. The tendencies and cross currents in the U. S. A., in her dominions like South Africa and Australia and in India may require the turning of a new leaf in England's foreign policy.

## *Economic Consequences of British Trade in India*

Mrs. Gunther strongly feels that the loss of India will not mean an economic loss to the British people as a whole. She points out that Britain's capital investment in India represents about one-fourth of her total overseas investments, and her trade, shipping and banking business with India is about one-fifth of her total.

Declaring that Britain's capital investment in India represents about one-fourth of her total overseas investments, while her trade, shipping and banking business with India is only about one-fifth of her total, Mrs. Gunther minimizes the importance of the loss of India to the economic life of the British people, as a whole. *The mass of the British people have not derived any material benefit from Britain's control of India, since England's industrial population has, by and large, subsisted on a dole standard of living.* The solution for the British people is a planned, more intensive, rather than extensive economy—one that will eliminate unemployment, raise the standard of living and health. While admitting the freeing of India would cause a certain amount of economic dislocation within England, Mrs. Gunther is convinced that such dislocation would be temporary, and that, in time, England would be able to make a satisfactory readjustment.

## *Mrs. Gunther on Cripps Offer*

In the same book, dealing with the Cripps offer, Mrs. Gunther says that this mission failed because of the British Government's "*double standard of democracy*" and the "ancient Imperial convictions of Mr. Churchill," rather than "the unreasonable intransigence of the leaders of Indian democracy."

## *"Jinnah Built Up by the British"*

Mrs. Gunther asserts that the so-called Hindu-Muslim problem has been fostered and exaggerated by the British Government "as an instrument of Imperial policy." She says :

Mr. Jinnah has been built up by the British. and "*has found wider scope for his private ambitions in the opportunities offered by British interest in the Muslim League than in the self-sacrificing Congress movement.*" She warns that this open encouragement to Muslim-Hindu differences may result in civil war. She further states that the implications of British support of the Jinnah position are, "that the British Government will not voluntarily yield its domination over India to any centralized, unified, Indian Government, but will substitute its direct domination only for a balance of power control over a divided and sub-divided India."

## *U. S. Responsibility on Indian Freedom*

Mrs. Gunther declares that in this whole question of Indian freedom and post-war international relations, the United States has a responsibility to Britain, no less than to India. She says :

First of all, this country "must make it quite clear to England that *it has no intention of muscling into the trade of India behind her back.* . . . On the other hand, *England cannot expect her monopoly control of Indian*

*trade to go on for ever.* Secondly, full facilities of Lend-Lease should be offered to tide England over during the post-war transition period. . . . Thirdly, in co-operation with Britain and other United Nations, we must co-ordinate world trade; rationalize it, streamline it on assembly lines in continental areas, with no waste motions back and forth over lands and seas."

We fully agree with Mrs. Gunther's conclusions when she says that with India freed, "the world will be cured of its major political and economic derangement, and England will enjoy a healtheir, happier and saner life than she has had in centuries."

### *Madras A.-I. C. C. Member on 1942 Movement*

In a two hour speech initiating the debate on the Finance Member's motion that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration, Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, Congress Member from Madras, said :

How did the Sabotage Movement start in August, 1942 ?

It did not certainly start because of instructions from the Congress Working Committee but because Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a broadcast on August 9, 1942 described what he called the Congress programme as one of violence and sabotage, and gave details of the alleged programme, and many Congress workers took this broadcast to mean that it gave out the real Congress programme and acted accordingly !

Mr. Chettiar said, this was the explanation he had heard in jail. Speaking as a member of the A.-I. C. C., he repudiated the charge that the Congress Working Committee had incited the sabotage movement in the country. He had ascertained from a member of the Working Committee, whom he had met in jail, that there were no instructions or programme of civil disobedience issued by the Working Committee. Mrs. Naidu, after her release, has also said the same thing.

### *Frontier Assembly Bye-Election*

In the Sikh bye--election to the Frontier Legislative Assembly, the Congress candidate has been returned with a comfortable majority defeating the Akali nominee of Sardar Ajit Singh, the Sikh leader in the present Frontier Ministry formed with the support of the Muslim League. This is really a defeat for Sardar Ajit Singh and all those associated with him including Master Tara Singh's party. In this election, the whole forces of the Akali party, with the Muslim League at the back, were arrayed against the Congress. The Sikh voters by voting for the Congress candidate, have proved that they stand for the cause of freedom and democracy and have amply demonstrated the hold of the Congress on the Frontier Sikhs. The *Tribune* has rightly pointed out that "the real significance of the Congress victory can only be realised when it is remembered that it was achieved in the face of the appeal to the voters by the Akali party in the name of the Panth—an appeal that ordinarily carries great weight with the masses. If, in spite of that appeal, the Sikh voters have chosen to repose their confidence in the Congress candidate, that means that they are not only Congress-minded, but disapprove of the action of Sardar Ajit Singh and his party in associating themselves with the Muslim League."

### *Sufficient Notice Defined by Bombay High Court*

The *Times of India* reports :

BOMBAY, Feb. 28.

"When an order is addressed to a private individual, it is difficult to hold that mere publication in the *Government Gazette* is sufficient notice to that individual of the order passed against him unless there is reason to believe that he is in the habit of reading the *Gazette*, or has read it in this particular instance." This observation was made by Mr. Justice Macklin and Mr. Justice Sen at the Bombay High Court on Monday, while dismissing the appeals preferred by the Government of Bombay against the orders of acquittal passed by the Sessions Judge of Belgaum in the cases in which R. B. Patil, a Congress worker, and R. L. Patil, a social worker, were charged under the Defence of India Rules with failing to comply with an order of the District Magistrate of Belgaum..

According to the prosecution, both the accused were directed by the District Magistrate by his order, dated September 6, 1942, to appear before the District Superintendent of Police, at Belgaum, on or before September 21, 1942. The order was published in the *Government Gazette* on September 10. The accused did not appear before the Superintendent of Police. According to R. B. Patil, he left his village in July, 1942, and returned on October 12, 1942. He had not heard of the District Magistrate's order. Mr. R. L. Patil also made a similar statement. Both the accused were charged under Rule (26-5B) (*b*) of the Defence of India Rules.

Apart from the want of delegation of power, there was also want of notice to the accused, as even the village police Patil did not know of the orders. Unless it was shown that the publication in the *Gazette* was sufficient notice their Lordships would have to hold that there was no evidence that the orders had been brought to the notice of the two accused.

The recent tendency to simplify the administration of criminal law by means of various modifications of the existing rules of legal procedure in regard to notice, evidence, etc., has not earned universal support from the Bench. Trial *in absentia* of the accused and the recording of evidence in his absence, prosecution's refusal to submit documents in the court relating to the trial but considered secret by the police, to regard the publication of a notifica-

tion in the official gazette as sufficient notice to the accused, are the procedures which have always been looked upon by the people as the denial of justice. Not unoften, courts have also voiced their disapproval of these novelties. But the authorities in this country have seldom hesitated to adjust the judicial procedure to their own whims and conveniences

## *Hindu Marriage Bill*

The Central Legislative Assembly debated the Law Member's motion to refer to a joint Select Committee of both Houses the Bill to codify Hindu Law relating to marriage. Sir Asoke Roy said that the Rao Committee had expressed themselves in favour of codification of the Hindu Law stage by stage, beginning with the law of succession and the law of marriage. The Government of India had accepted this view and the Bill before the House was one of the Bills recommended by the Rao Committee. The Bill had been circulated as early as in 1942 and opinion was on the whole in favour of the principle underlying it. There was some controversy over its provision prohibiting polygamy but the Law Member thought it could best be resolved by a free and frank discussion in the Joint Select Committee which would also be in a position to consider other objections to the Bill and make the necessary modifications.

Mr. Baijnath Bajoria, the orthodox Hindu Member, opposed the whole Bill and sought to move for its re-circulation. Mr. Bajoria's chief objection was that the Bill sought to give recognition to civil marriages by putting them on a footing of equality with sacramental marriage. In his opinion, any Hindu who contracted marriage under the Special Marriage Act ceased to be a Hindu and became an outcaste. Mr. Bajoria's opinion is open to grave doubt. Contracting of marriage under the Gour Act, to our knowledge, has not led to the couple becoming outcaste, rather, with the growth of inter-provincial and inter-caste marriages in the modern Hindu Society, this Act has been looked upon as a great help. On the question of polygamy, Mr. Bajoria fought shy to support it. He said, "The House will be agreeably surprised to learn that I support the abolition of polygamy." He frankly stated that "Hindu Law propounded in the shastras did not allow polygamy," and admitted that "polygamy is also a dying institution among Hindus if for nothing else, at least for the cost it involved."

Mrs. Renuka Ray championed the cause of the Bill. She said that the outstanding feature of it was that it dealt separately with sacramental and civil marriages. No change had been made in the existing law in regard to civil marriages, but the Bill merely restated the present position removing a few glaring anomalies. Disputing Mr. Bajoria's contention, she said that even Sir B. L. Mitter, the Advocate-General of India, had stated that those who married under Special Marriage Act remained Hindus. They might be protestant Hindus, but they were Hindus who believed in Vedic Hinduism. The first feature in sacramental marriage was enforcement of monogamy and she heartily supported this provision of the Bill. She pointed out that although polygamy was rare in Hindu Society there was always a loophole in the existing law for man to take advantage of it.

This Bill when enacted would no doubt mark at least one step forward in the movement for social uplift in this county. The exact scope of the Bill has been very ably discussed by the *Indian Social Reformer* in the following words :

> Besides the traditional antipathy, the difference between the civil marriage and the sacramental marriage is that while the sacramental marriage would retain some of the present restrictions as to caste, gotras and so on, the civil marriage will be totally free from them. Both the sacramental and the civil marriages would be monogamous under the proposed legislation. The orthodox spokesman is not against civil marriage but against its being placed on an equality with the sacramental one. What the distinction he would make between the two to denote the superiority of the one over the other, he did not indicate. The new legislation is to take the form of a complete Hindu Code. The Gour Act already provides for a civil marriage as among Hindus including in the term all religionists who follow a religion which had its birth on Indian soil. This is the Mahasabha definition and it is already being felt to be too narrow. In Maharastra, according to the *Mahratta,* Christians are being enrolled as members of the Mahasabha and are working for it. It is worth while making a fresh attempt to get all the communities to agree to the passing of a simple Civil Marriage Act applicable to all without restriction. A marriage is a marriage however solemnised and it is unreasonable in the best interests of the community and impossible to make any distinction between a sacramental and a civil marriage.

## *Dumping of British Consumer Goods on India*

Mr. Ramratan Gupta asked in the Central Legislative Assembly whether it was a fact that importers of certain classes of consumer goods such as whisky, razor blades and bicycles, etc., from the U. K., were simply to apply for and were granted import licenses on the basis of bills of lading and other shipping documents at the importing centres of India.

Sir Azizul Huq, the Commerce Member, replied :

A sudden improvement recently occurred in the shipping situation and the Government of India accordingly made arrangements to increase the scale on which import licences are issued. The effect of such an expansion in licensing however takes some time to be felt, and as an interim measure, it was arranged with the India Office that consumer goods would be shipped from the U. K. without an import licence being previously obtained in India, and the import licence would be granted on the receipt of advices of shipment. This arrangement, which applies to all categories of consumers goods ceases to operate at the end of this month.

Shipping space, for civil imports was allocated for each half-year by the shipping authorities in the U. K. on the basis of a programme of requirements drawn up by the Government of India. In the case of the U. K. the shipping space actually available month by month was then filled in accordance with a directive by the Government of India after a consideration of the cargoes offering details of which were supplied to them by the India Office. Shipments were confined to goods covered by import licences issued in India, full particulars of which were made available to the India Office.

Mr. Krishnamachari : May I know whether importation of whisky is an anti-inflationary measure? (Laughter).

The Finance Member : Yes, it is (More Laughter).

Mr. K. C. Neogy asked whether the Government had satisfied themselves as regard the extent to which the commodities concerned are locally manufactured, or their production could be increased locally ?

The Commerce Member replied in the affirmative and said that the Government were satisfied that the local production was not adequate and could not be sufficiently stepped up in the near future to meet present-day demands.

The Government's policy in granting import licenses on the basis of past business came in for severe criticism among Indian businessmen. This policy not only shuts out all new entrants in the field of foreign trade who necessarily would be Indians but also it stands in the way of the expansion of foreign trade for these Indian firms who had been in the field on a small scale but now want to increase it. British firms in India dealing in foreign trade have been continually enjoying two distinct advantages, *viz.*, finance from the Exchange Banks most of whom are British and patronage from the Government whenever occasion needed it. The Indian foreign trading firms have always been at a disadvantage in respect of these two vital conditions. During this war, the Government have made it easier for the British firms to work while impossible conditions have been imposed as dead weights in Indian attempts to embark on foreign trade.

## *Railways the Arteries of British Imperialism*

The practice of granting extensions to superannuated personnel in railway services was criticised in the Central Legislative Assembly by Mr. H. M. Abdullah moving a cut of Rs. 100 under the head Railway Board. He said that this policy deprived junior officers of their due promotions. Sir Yamin Khan said that he was entirely opposed on principle to granting of extensions to any one on any ground. Government had laid down a certain superannuation age after due consideration on the ground that the way of the younger officers should not be blocked, and on the theory that officers could not be as efficient as they should be after that age. He said that this principle should be strictly followed. Sardar Sant Singh pointed out that the policy of granting extensions led to favouritism and by keeping a number of Europeans in service after superannuation the policy of Indianisation was being neutralised by the Government. Such extension also led to discontent among the subordinate staff. This may lead to the wearing down of efficiency in the Railway administration by discouraging the more active and efficient young officers to put in the maximum of their energies.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, Deputy leader of the Congress Party, said that the motion raised the important question of the scope of employment of non-Indians and the terms and conditions under which they were employed. He declared that the "*railways were the arteries through which the life blood of British Imperialism circulated in the county and the Government were very jealously guarding it. The policy was to keep Indians out of all key positions of trust and responsibility.*" Mr. Qaiyum vehemently condemned British policy in India and said : "Only fools would believe in their words and promises."

Sir Cowasji Jehangir came to the support of the Government. Deprecating what he called the racial tinge given to the debate, he said :

The principles which should normally be adhered to in peace time could not be applied to the emergency created by the war. These principles, he added, had been followed in India in peace time and no extensions were given unless it was under exceptional circumstances. To make the question a racial one was not fair either to Indians or to the department.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan of the Muslim League made a caustic criticism of Sir Cowasji's speech and said that

He had not intended to take part in the debate, but in view of Sir Cowasjee Jehangir's references to the

war, he felt it was his duty to do so. He asked: "How can we forget about the war? Is not the presence of my colleagues on the other side a constant reminder that there is a war on? (Laughter). (A voice: The horrors of war). Sir Cowasjee had stated that many things which were done in wartime would be unjustifiable in peace time. "*A just war cannot do injustice and, if injustice is to be done, then this is not a just war,*" declared the Nawabzada.

He said extensions were being given in the interest of certain vested interests. A number of deserving men—whether they be Europeans or Indians—were being deprived of their chance. It became all the more objectionable and dishonest when discrimination was based on racial grounds.

### *Agricultural Machinery from America*

The supply member of the Government of India, in reply to a question, told the Central Legislative Assembly that agricultural machinery from America valued at 1,107,000 dollars had been received in India under lease-lend upto the end of October 1943. These machinery included tractors, scrapers, ploughs, milk cans, hay balers and pressers, harrows, drills, trailers etc. Machinery worth 1,042,000 dollars had been distributed to military centres like Government Dairy Farms and the balance worth 65,000 dollars would be distributed to essential users through stockist agents.

The supply member, however, did not indicate whether attempts had been made to manufacture agricultural machinery in this country, and why simple implements like the plough had to be imported instead of having them manufactured by the village blacksmith. The lease-lend aid would have been of some help to India if heavy machinery had been imported under it calculated to steep up the production of consumer goods here. But from the supply member's statement one finds that no such arrangement has been made.

### *Dwarkanath Ganguli Centenary*

The birth centenary of another personality of Bengal, Dwarkanath Ganguli, comes off on April 22, this year. His life was devoted to the service of his motherland through various channels of national activity. Dwarkanath was one of the founders of the Indian Association. It was through his efforts that the Indian National Congress was first roused to take up the cause of kisans and labourers. Dwarkanath was the first to bring into light the sufferings of the plantation labour of Assam, and to move the Congress to take up their cause. For the cause of women emancipation, his efforts knew no bounds. He was the first to compile national songs in book-form and bring them within easy reach of the people. He was an able journalist. Looking forward centuries ahead, he had realised that for the building of a better Bengal, children's education had to be placed on the bedrock of national ideals. For this purpose, he wrote school text-books which would serve as models when a free India would be free to build up her own educational system. A radical thinker of his times, Dwarkanath had chosen the Brahmo Samaj as the guide and platform of his work. The memory of this educational and social reformer, journalist, politician and a life-long worker deserves to be rescued from oblivion.

### *Manmohan Ghose Centenary*

The birth centenary of Manmohan Ghose was celebrated at Krishnagore by the middle of March. As the first Barrister-at-Law enrolled in the Calcutta High Court and as a very successful legal practitioner, Manmohan Ghose had become a prominent figure among his countrymen in the prime of his life. Manmohan Ghose was the first *practising* barrister, the first to pass that Examination was Jnanendra Mohan Tagore. Immediately after passing the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in 1859, when he was barely a youth of sixteen, he wrote a series of letters in the *Hindu Patriot* on the subject of Indigo cultivation and its attendant evils, which led to the appointment of the Indigo Commission by the Government with W. S. Seton-Kerr as President. Manmohan Ghose attended the sittings of that commission held at Krishnagore, and took notes of the evidence for the *Hindu Patriot*, then edited by Harish Chandra Mukherjee. When barely eighteen, Manmohan started the *Indian Mirror*, with funds supplied by Maharshi Debendranath Tagore. It came out on 14 August, 1861, as a fortnightly and Manmohan continued to edit it till March 1862.

Manmohan Ghose was an enthusiastic member of the Indian National Congress and liberally contributed funds for its expenses.

### *Mr. Kirby on Rationing*

In a broadcast talk on food control and rationing, from Akashvani, Mysore, Mr. Kirby, the Rationing Adviser to the Government of India, dealt with some of the important problems about rationing. He admitted first of all that "each one and every one has a right to that quantity of essential foods that will keep him or her in a healthy and efficient state of living." He however did not mention anything about Calcutta rationing where the entire press had complained about the insufficiency of the quantity of the rationed food, specially with reference to the day labourers. Speaking on February 26,

about a month after the introduction of Calcutta rationing, he must have had knowledge of these complaints. Mr. Kirby had also nothing to say about the poor quality of food-stuff supplied, the denial of choice to purchasers and the forcing of unaccustomed food-stuffs on Bengal. In their eagerness to force Bajra on the people of this province, the Civil Supply Department had stocked huge quantities of it which they could not sell, and it is obvious from a recent advertisement that attempts are now being made to get rid of this huge stock at a loss. The people are yet to know who had advised the purchase of large quantities of Bajra for Bengal without ascertaining whether it could be used.

Mr. Kirby spoke the following few words about the necessity of a Food Advisory Council :

> Since feeding the people is such an intimate matter it is necessary to know at all times how the individual is reacting and standing up to rationing and whether the necessary regulations should or should not be amended or relaxed, if cases of real hardship are being caused by some particular order which is not achieving the objects for which it has been drafted. It is in such cases—and in many other cases—that a carefully constituted Food Advisory Committee, chiefly composed of non-official members, can be of so much use. This Advisory Committee must be helpful in its general attitude and should include ladies and gentlemen who are well-known for their welfare and social work, also a doctor and a nutrition expert should also be a member of the Advisory Committee.

A Food Advisory Council with powers to superintend the rationing operations in Calcutta is a great necessity but the authorities have not yet set it up.

The Calcutta rationing authorities have uptil now shown little regard for constructive criticisms about the defects of rationing. Quality of food-stuff supplied still remains poor and the quantity small. This necessarily explains the existence of black market in the city. That mere prosecution cannot stop selling of rice outside ration shops, is apparent from the weekly increase of prosecutions in Calcutta. No provision has been made for the supply of fine and old rice for the convalescent or on medical ground. Salt, an essential food-stuff, still remains unrationed and difficult to procure even at a high price. Fuels like coal and kerosene have been left at the hands of profiteers. The price of rationed food-stuffs shows no sign of coming down within the reach of the poor. The Government continue to make large profits, by selling rice at a margin of Rs. 1-4 and wheat products with larger margins, and go on showing huge deficits in the budget.

A comparison with Mysore rationing may here be interesting. A considerable sum of money is being spent there by the Mysore Government in order to subsidise the prices of essential rationed foods to ensure that the price to the consumer is within his capacity to pay. The rationing in Mysore has been based on the goodwill and co-operation of the people, it looks into the details of their needs and their capacity to pay. Government of Mysore have not left the people at the mercy of a handful of officials having poor knowledge of the needs and conditions of the people and no respect for public opinion.

### *Price and Supply of Soft Coke*

The price of soft coke has been fixed by the Central Government at Rs. 17 per ton f.o.r. colliery siding while its cost of production can not exceed Rs 6. The pre-war price was from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4. $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons of steam coal go to manufacture 1 ton of soft coke. Even now the Railways are buying good quality of steam coal at Rs. 6 to Rs. 8. Soft coke is made of inferior coal which always sells cheaper. The exhorbitant price of Rs. 17 has been fixed as a sop to the colliery-owner manufacturing soft coke who gets only a very small number of wagons in a month and can not, therefore, make both ends meet unless the price be inordinately high. Even at this high price he is not well off and would prefer a fair price with an adequate supply of wagons. Soft coke-producing collieries are almost all owned by Indians. These have at least a Mining Federation to voice their grievances and have just been pacified at the expense of the masses of the country having no regular organisation to fight for their interests. The Railway Member as early as in February last year promised high priority for food. But as pointed out more than once in these columns, in the list of priorities for coal wagons soft coke which is used by the poor and middle classes for preparing food and may, therefore, be considered as part of food itself comes very low—after and not before coal used by, say, jute mills and tea gardens doing ordinary work not connected with the war. The crux of the problem lies here and gives rise to another important phenomenon, *viz.*, differential treatment of Indian-owned collieries from British-managed collieries. If the Government make a statement showing the total number of wagons supplied since the declaration of the war to Indian-owned collieries and to British-managed and the pre-war basis (calculated on normal raisings of coal) of either group, a harrowing state of things will be revealed. Safeguards were inserted in the Government

of India Act for preventing discrimination against British commerce in the country while in actual practice Indian interests which as indigenous enterprise may claim preference under all systems of civilised government suffer grievously in comparison with foreign. A number of Indian showboys packing the Viceroy's Executive Council remains silent spectators of the tragedy. If soft coke come to occupy its proper place, this grave injustice will be substantially lessened though not altogether removed. Public opinion demands that the proposed coal control scheme should be designed and worked in this light.—SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA.

### *Bengal Sales Tax on Handloom Cloth*

This tax does away with an exemption enjoyed so long by the handloom cotton weaving industry which can claim protection against Indian cotton mills on the same principles on which the mills claim it against foreign cloth. Next to agriculture, handloom weaving constitutes the largest industry in the country and employs in Bengal alone according to the latest Government statistics 196,611 persons. 12 per cent less import duty on foreign yarn than on foreign piecegoods acted as a small protection to this village industry in the past but has now become inoperative on account of the decline in imports since Japan which supplied 58 per cent against United Kingdom's 13 in 1938-39 declared war. The import figure of that year is 36,459,000 lbs. as against 8,173,000 of 1941-42. Srijut C. Rajagopalachari's Ministry in Madras devised for the first time a small protection for the handloom within the narrow limits of provincial taxation by imposing the sales tax on mill-made cloth and exempting the handloom cloth from it. Many other provinces followed the example of Madras. The present uninformed Ministry in Bengal undoes the good work of one of India's astutest politicians and this after a devastating famine. The Famine Commission of 1898 under the presidentship of Sir James Lyall appointed to enquire into the widespread famine of 1897 in Northern India, Bengal, Burma, Madras and Bombay made special recommendations for the relief of weavers. The Bengal Ministry advertises itself as a Moslem League ministry. Of Bengalee handloom weavers the majority are Muhammadans. The inequity in jute about which we wrote last month falls mainly on Moslems forming 90 per cent of the jute-growers in Bengal. The manufacturing cost of 100 yards of hessian cannot exceed Rs. 3 so that the margin of profit for the mills is Rs. 11-8 in a quantity of hessian worth Rs. 28-8. That communal electorates which throw up only second-rate men eager for spoils of office cannot be a safeguard for protection of communal interests is amply proved by successive preponderantly Muhammadan ministries under the Government of India Act. If a new ministry with any claim of being nationalist in character be formed, it should make bridging the gulf between the prices of raw and manufactured jute a condition precedent to taking office.

—SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA.

### *Living Hindus and Dead Hindus in Bengal*

Politically *one* living Hindu is equivalent to *four fifths* of a living Muhammadan. 45 per cent of Hindus have 80 representatives in the local legislature; while 55 per cent of Muhammadans have 120 representatives. But the troubles of a Bengal Hindu do not end with his death. If his dead body remains unclaimed, it is used for dissection and other purposes in hospitals to the exclusion of such dead bodies of Muhammadans and Christians. When it is a question of admission to the Medical Colleges and Schools, the Muhammadans claim their *hissya* or share proportional to total population, irrespective of the fact that their proportion among the applicants or those who are qualified to attend such courses is very small; and seats are *reserved* for them in ever growing proportions. For several years attempts were made by the Hindu Satkar Samity under the leadership of the late Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjea to prevent such sacrilege and for the disposal of such dead bodies according to their religious customs; but no tangible results followed. Why the proportion of dead bodies used for dissection cannot be according to their proportion according to population in the case of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, we fail to understand.

During the dark days of famine mass cremation of Hindu dead took place. The Health Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, Dr. M. U. Ahmed—a Muhammadan, justified the revival of this practice in his report. It is, however, strange and regrettable that though he stressed the necessity of reviving the practice of mass cremation in the case of the Hindus, he did not consider it necessary to have recourse to mass burial in the case of the Muhammadans and the Christians.

It is also reported that Government were also having recourse to mass cremation in dis-

posing of the dead bodies of persons killed in recent air raids.

Bengal is not yet in Pakistan; but such things as these are fore-taste of what is in store for the Bengal Hindus in the coming Pakistan. And what is more regrettable, Bengali Hindu leaders are not alive to the danger.—J. M. D.

### *Greater Rise in the Cost of Living at Calcutta Compared with Bombay and Madras*

There has been very great rise in the cost of living, especially of middle class families. This is generally explained as due to inflation. The following figures for the working class cost of living index numbers are taken from the Reserve Bank of India Employees' Association Bulletin for January 1944.

BOMBAY

| Month | | 1942 | 1943 | Increase per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | .. | 131 | 193 | 147 |
| February | .. | 129 | 195 | 151 |
| March | .. | 130 | 198 | 152 |
| April | .. | 131 | 214 | 163 |
| May | .. | 135 | 221 | 162 |
| June | .. | 145 | 224 | 155 |
| July | .. | 160 | 225 | 140 |
| August | .. | 160 | 227 | 141 |
| September | .. | 162 | 233 | 144 |
| October | .. | 164 | 236 | 144 |
| November | .. | 170 | .. | .. |
| December | .. | 179 | .. | .. |

CALCUTTA

| Month | | 1942 | 1943 | Increase per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | .. | 125 | 206 | 164 |
| February | .. | 126 | 211 | 167 |
| March | .. | 127 | 230 | 181 |
| April | .. | 129 | 230 | 180 |
| May | .. | 131 | 258 | 197 |
| June | .. | 135 | 258 | 191 |
| July | .. | 138 | 261 | 189 |
| August | .. | 150 | 274 | 183 |
| September | .. | 154 | 262 | 171 |
| October | .. | 156 | 258 | 165 |
| November | .. | 173 | .. | .. |
| December | .. | 196 | .. | .. |

MADRAS

| Month | | 1942 | 1943 | Increase per cent. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | .. | 119 | 164 | 137 |
| February | .. | 117 | 167 | 142 |
| March | .. | 117 | 173 | 148 |
| April | .. | 121 | 175 | 145 |
| May | .. | 122 | 176 | 145 |
| June | .. | 131 | 183 | 140 |
| July | .. | 136 | 185 | 136 |
| August | .. | 140 | 185 | 132 |
| September | .. | 149 | 184 | 124 |
| October | .. | 155 | 188 | 121 |
| November | .. | 159 | .. | .. |
| December | .. | 161 | .. | .. |

It will be seen from the above figures that there has been greater rise in the cost of living at Calcutta in 1943 compared with 1942. There has been rise in Bombay and at Madras, but while in Bombay the *maximum* rise is 163 per cent; the corresponding maximum for Madras has been 148 per cent. But in Calcutta the *minimum* rise has been 164 per cent; while the *maximum* has been 197.

To what then this greater rise at Calcutta is due? It has been suggested that this is due to the unnecessary and undue interference with the normal channels of trade by the Bengal Government and its officers; and their utter failure to check profiteering and black-marketing. We also think so. The incompetence of the present Ministry has become a bye-word.

J. M. DATTA

### *An Appeal for Brojendranath Seal Memorial*

Sir Brojendranath Seal is remembered as one of the greatest philosophers Bengal has ever produced. Almost everything seems to have been forgotten about his contributions to the national renaissance of modern Bengal, particularly in the field of national education. The organisers of the B. N. Seal memorial committee will render a great service to their motherland if they succeed in rescuing from oblivion the contributions of this sage. The Committee has made the following proposals :

> It has been resolved at a public meeting, convened for the purpose, that donations to a Memorial Fund be invited from far and near, from his students, friends and admirers, so that we may be in a position to (*i*) publish a comprehensive volume in English discussing and analysing all his available writings, scientific papers, technical reports, occasional addresses, etc., (*ii*) bring out a memorial volume in Bengali of appreciations, reminiscences and biographical sketches and (*iii*) found a Brojendranath Seal Lectureship in Comparative Philosophy at the Calcutta University.

Instead of concenetrating on securing appreciations, the Committee will do well to compile a biography of Brojendranath Seal based on contemporary historical data lying scattered on the pages of old journals and periodicals. If the Committee means business, this should immediately start work. All donations may be sent to Dr. S. B. Dutt, Comilla Union Bank, 4 Clive Street, Calcutta where they will be thankfully received.

# BRITISH BUSINESS IN INDIAN LEGISLATURES

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

NON-OFFICIAL Europeans were accorded representation for the first time in Indian legislatures under the India Councils Act of 1892 and in the three decades or so which intervened between it and the Government of India Act, 1919, they continued to enjoy this privilege on the basis of nomination. Such men as they sent to our legislatures represented European commerce and industry and their advice was specially sought by the British administration whenever it was deemed necessary to enact laws concerned with banking, currency, commerce, industry, labour and the like.

It was after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1918, that the European Association as the official mouthpiece of non-official Europeans demanded their representation as a minority community. This was granted under the Government of India Act, 1919, and it is worth remembering that in the different committees and commissions appointed between 1919 and 1935, either by the Parliament or the India Government, the claims of the non-official European community to representation as a special interest and as a minority community were always admitted.

Omitting all reference to the amount of representation accorded or proposed to be accorded to non-official Europeans during the abovementioned period, we shall pass on to the situation created under the Government of India Act, 1935, comparing it with that granted to the members of this community under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919.

## EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION UNDER THE ACTS OF 1919 & 1935

If the federal part of the Government of India Act, 1935, had come into operation, Europeans would have filled 7 seats on a communal basis in the Council of State. Similarly, in the Lower House at the centre, they would have filled 8 communal seats besides a certain number of the 11 seats set apart for representatives of commerce and industry.

Comparing this with the representation accorded to the Europeans under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, we find that whereas under the 1919 Act, they occupied 3 seats as representatives of commerce and industry in the Upper House at the centre, under the 1935 Act, they would occupy 7 communal seats there.

In the Lower House at the centre, the Europeans under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms occupied 9 seats of which 8 were elected from communal constituencies and one was a nominated commerce and industry seat. Under the Act of 1935, they would occupy 8 communal seats plus a certain proportion of those reserved for commerce and industry.

Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan who represented our Muslim brethren at the three Round Table Conferences and who is at present our High Commissioner in South Africa on page 329 of his *Indian Federation*, has observed that it would have been easy for the Europeans "to secure a majority of the 11 seats which have been reserved for representatives of commerce and industry in the Federal Assembly."

Those who have carefully studied the recommendations of the Hammond Delimitation Committee as regards the constituencies which would elect the representatives of commerce and industry, are of the opinion that Europeans would have succeeded in securing not less than 6 or more than 7 of these seats.

Under these circumstances, the Europeans would have occupied not less than 14 and not more than 15 seats in the Federal Assembly.

The gains made by the Europeans therefore at the centre amount to this that where under the Montagu-Chelmsford Act they had been occupying 3 seats in the Upper House at the centre where initiative does not certainly lie and 9 communal seats only in the Lower House or a total of 12 seats altogether, under the Act of 1935, they would have occupied 6 to 7 seats as representatives of commerce and industry and, taking the two Houses together, 15 seats on a communal basis or altogether 21 to 22 seats.

In its representation to the Muddiman Committee of 1924, the European Association had very strongly demanded "direct representation of European commerce and industry" in the Lower House at the centre but not "at the expense of the European general (i.e. communal) constituencies". What had been refused in 1924, was granted in 1935, involving a gain of not less than 10 or more than 11 additional seats.

Coming to the Provincial sphere, we find that under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, Europeans occupied 10 communal and 36 commerce and industry seats in our Provincial legislatures, 9 among the latter being nominated ones. The total number of seats therefore occupied by them was 46. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the number of com-

munal seats accorded to Europeans in the Upper House of our Provincial legislatures was 9, the number of communal seats in the Lower House was increased from 10 to 26 so that the total number of communal seats occupied by Europeans was 35 which is 350 p.c. more than the number occupied by them under the Montagu-Chelmsford Act. Then again, the constituencies for the commerce and industry seats were such as to ensure a minimum of 40 seats to them. In other words, where the Act of 1919 had enabled the European community to occupy 46 seats, the Act of 1935 gave them 75 seats in the Provincial sphere.

### Some Implications of European Representation

In entering its demand for the communal representation of non-official Europeans, the European Association through a manifesto issued by its Secretary had urged in 1918, that

"European non-officials are entitled to substantial representation as a community in the Imperial and Provincial Legislatures in addition to the representation already given through Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations and Planters' Associations. Representatives of these specialised bodies naturally cannot receive any general political mandate from their constituents, and that is a strong reason for according an adequate measure of communal representation to Europeans."

Another and, in the opinion of the European Association, a stronger argument for granting communal representation to non-official Europeans was that

"So long as representation is merely through a Chamber of Commerce and sectional bodies, a considerable number of Europeans engaged in the legal, medical, journalistic, and other professions, or resident where specialised bodies do not exist, are denied all representation."

The view that in addition to the representation enjoyed by European Commerce and Industry through their special organisations, non-official Europeans who are not engaged in these activities are entitled to representation and that on a communal basis was urged in a Minute by Sir Reginald Craddock then Lieutenant-Governor of Burma forwarded to the Indian Government towards the end of 1918. This is incorporated in the First Despatch of the India Government on the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals dated the 5th March, 1919. Here Sir Reginald observed that he did not consider that the non-official European community could be adequately represented through seats granted to their Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations, etc., because

"The representatives so elected are merely mouthpieces of the Chambers and Associations to which they belong. They regard themselves as charged with special commercial interests only."

Sir Reginald urged that, in addition, communal seats should be granted to the non-official European community because

"Although European commercial interests are of great importance, they by no means represent the entire European interests of the country. The interests of the European lawyers, medical men and other non-official Europeans of the professional classes, as well as Europeans, official or non-official, who have settled in the country after retirement from service or business, cannot be ignored."

It thus follows that here this old and experienced member of the Indian Civil Service agreed with the European Association in regard to the necessity of granting representation to the non-official non-business sections of the European community in order that their interests as a minority might be adequately protected from which it may be concluded that if the reasons behind this demand for communal representation were genuine ones urged in good faith, one would naturally expect that while all the seats reserved for European commerce and industry would be occupied by their representatives, a majority, if not all among the communal seats would go to the non-business sections of non-official Europeans.

Seeing that there are old and efficient organisations controlled by British business which, under law, enjoy the right of sending their representatives to our legislatures, we would not be surprised to find the European commerce and industry seats occupied by leaders of British business.

So far as the non-business non-official Europeans are concerned, we would expect them to enter our legislatures with the whole-hearted support of the European Association, their communal organisation. We would assume that the European Association would not fail to carry out the undertaking it gave indirectly when it demanded and secured communal representation for non-business Europeans, by doing everything which lies in its power to facilitate their entrance into their legislatures.

### Lothian Committee and European Representation

That the view put forward here is correct becomes evident when we remember what the Lothian Committee said on the eve of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935.

In paragraph 321 of its Report, the Lothian Franchise Committee indicated very clearly the reasons for the inclusion of European businessmen as well as of communal representatives of

the European community in our legislatures. It pointed out that the former as "business and economic experts" equipped with "first-hand experience of those great commercial, industrial and banking undertakings which play a rapidly increasing part in the life of every community in the modern world" were expected to "speak in the legislatures from the expert and technical point of view."

In the case of the European community, the Lothian Franchise Committee stated that

> While its communal constituencies might "not infrequently return individuals whose knowledge and experience is such that they can make contributions of value in discussions on commercial and industrial questions, those members speak primarily as representatives of their general (in other words, communal) constituency."

From this the logical inference is that the Lothian Franchise Committee thought that British businessmen would fill the commerce and industry seats and non-business non-official Europeans, the European communal seats. The reason it gave why the former should refrain from occupying the European communal seats was that

> "They (European communal representatives) may on occasion find that the claims of that constituency are difficult to reconcile with a wholly dispassionate examination of particular economic issues."

We therefore conclude that the presence of communal representatives of Europans was regarded as desirable to ensure the proper representation of the general views of Europeans in India as distinct from the views of the different varieties and sections of British business which would, in normal circumstances, be voiced by its representatives sent through the Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations, etc.

It is the aim of the present discussion to ascertain whether the seats reserved for non-official Europeans are filled by the people to whom they were supposed to have been given and, if not, the reasons, if any, which have kept them out.

## European Representation as a Special Interest

So far as business organisations such as Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations, Mining and Planting Organisations from which leaders of British business would be and are actually elected, are concerned, we are told in Paragraph 150 of the first volume of the Simon Commission Report that the electing bodies "represent the directorates or managements of the great business interests of the country and not the employees." It therefore follows that Europeans other than leaders of British business have little if any chance of entering our legislatures through these constituencies.

If individual Britons who are not leaders of business do so here and there, it is only because their past record has shown that they will represent the point of view of British business as faithfully as British businessmen themselves. It may also be argued that in such cases, openings are often found or created for them because leaders of British business are unable to find sufficient time and energy for the proper discharge of legislative duties, a fact noted and commented on by the Simon Commission which in Paragraph 216, Vol. I., of its Report said in 1930 that

> "There has frequently been difficulty, as might be expected, in finding Europeans who have sufficient leisure to spare for such (legislative) duties."

It is also possible that the continuous presence of such men in Indian legislatures might be regarded as desirable in view of the constant changes of representatives of European business, commerce, etc., owing to transfer, leave and retirement.

The attention of the Lothian Franchise Committee was drawn to this fact by the (European) Chambers of Commerce of Bombay and the United Provinces in 1932. These demanded that the existing electoral rules under which firms which were members of the Chambers of Commerce had to nominate a representative to vote and act on their behalf in connection with elections to legislative bodies should be modified because

> "Frequent changes in the personnel of partners, directors or managers may result in disfranchising many firms at the time when an election takes place."

From this it follows that the presence of trustworthy representatives of British business of the type referred to just now in Indian legislatures was and is necessary for this tends to preserve something like continuity and uniformity of policy.

It has also to be stated in this connection that big British business which is always busy and over-worked and which therefore would find it difficult to conduct an election campaign does not, as a matter of fact, find any difficulty in being elected to Indian legislatures. The first and the most obvious reason is that the number desirous of undertaking legislative responsibilities is always limited and the second is the

restricted electorate leading to the practical absence of anything like contested elections. The last fact is proved by what the Simon Commission said in Paragraph 215 of the first volume of its Report where it stated that

"96 members of the (European) Madras Chamber of Commerce elect two members, 16 members of the Madras (European) Trades Association elect one member," etc.

### European Representation as a Minority

Seeing that on the eve of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, British business did not enter any very emphatic claims for a larger number of seats as a special interest, an inference we are entitled to draw is that either it was more or less satisfied with the number allotted to it or that it was conscious that a demand for more extensive representation could not be justified. In either case, there was nothing to show that it would make any attempt to appropriate the seats allotted to the European community as a minor minority.

In this connection it would be profitable to recall the observations made by the Simon Commission in 1930 as regards the difficulty in securing an adequate number of European representatives for the Provincial legislatures. The Simon Commission which, as shown elsewhere had recommended a larger number of seats for the European community than what it had been enjoying under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms felt that it would not be easy to get a sufficient number of Europeans. This is proved by what appears in Paragraph 81 of the second volume of its Report where it was stated that

"It is clear that it will not be easy in the enlarged councils (recommended by the Simon Commission) to find a sufficient number of suitable European business representatives able to devote their time to the work of the legislatures."

When we remember that the non-official European community was given 96 to 97 seats under the Government of India Act, 1935, where the Simon Commission had recommended 81 to 83 seats in 1930, the only conclusion we can draw is that the drawback referred to must have increased rather than decreased.

In order to prove that the difficulty in securing an adequate number of European representatives of British business in the Provincial legislatures was also present in the Central Legislature, we shall refer the reader to the following observation made by the Lothian Franchise Committee in 1932, in Paragraph 421 of its Report. After pointing out the desirability of including a certain number of representatives of commerce and industry "directly chosen by Chambers of Commerce and other equivalent bodies" for the purpose of assisting the Central Legislature with expert and technical advice, it goes on to say that their number must be small because

"Only a limited number of men of the requisite standing can find time to attend the sessions of the Central Legislature and take an active part in politics."

Under these circumstances, one would naturally expect, provided of course that the European community as a whole took real interest in Indian politics, that while the leaders of British business would find representation in our different legislatures through Chambers of Commerce, Trades, Mining and Planters' Associations, those economically less fortunate, such as assistants in British business, and European professional men, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, journalists, etc., on whose behalf communal representation had been demanded by the European Association in 1918, would find representation through the communal constituencies and that their co-operation in such matters would be sought by the European Association in view specially of the well-known difficulty experienced in securing an adequate number of leaders of British business for filling the commerce and industry seats allotted to the European community to which reference had been made by the Simon Commission and the Lothian Franchise Committee.

What we actually find is that the assistants in British firms, European professional men, such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, journalists, etc., are very rarely found seeking election from European communal constituencies which was demanded for the avowed purpose of affording them facilities for voicing the opinions of the European community as a minority in our legislatures. Even today, in an overwhelmingly large majority of cases, these "communal" seats are occupied by representatives of British business.

### Some Inferences from Absence of Contested Elections

This was noticed by the Simon Commission which in Paragraph 215 of the first volume of its Report said that

"Whether professedly representing the European community of a province or a Chamber of Commerce or other predominantly European body or interest, the difference between the two modes of representation is scarcely reflected in the members returned. . ."

And again,

"Contested elections for European seats have sel-

dom arisen and changes of representatives have been frequent."

The Simon Commission signed its report towards the end of May, 1930, and the observations it made on the above matter were therefore applicable to the elections of representatives of Europeans as a minor minority and as a special interest under dyarchy which was operating up to the beginning of 1937.

Similarly, Mr. Geoffrey Tyson on page 42 of his *Danger in India*, published in 1932, said that

"It is very rarely that an election is fought in a European constituency."

That this is equally true today is proved by what happened in 1937, when the first elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, were held.

The present writer after an examination of the reports of the Reforms offices of the British Indian Provinces issued after the last elections was surprised to find that there was not any contest for any one of the 36 odd seats reserved for British business as a special interest. So far as the 26 seats reserved on a communal basis for Europeans are concerned, 25 were uncontested. In only one of the constituencies, Darjeeling in Bengal, a colonial entered into a contest with the nominee of the European Association. The struggle was a close one and he defeated his opponent by the very narrow margin of four votes only. It is no secret that he found his position in the Bengal Legislative Assembly no comfortable one though he always voted with the European group and also that it was not long before he realised the wisdom of making his peace with the European Association.

The two conclusions which follow from the above facts are first that the European Association is all-powerful so far as dictating the election of Europeans to our legislatures is concerned and that it is largely controlled by big British business.

This is proved by what Sir Hubert Carr, for many years one of the most prominent of European businessmen of Calcutta, who was President of the All-India European Association from 1922 to 1925, and who represented European business interests in all the three Round Table Conferences wrote in 1932, in his contribution entitled "The British Commercial Community" in *Political India* (pp. 142-143):

"The expansion of political work has tended to remove the centre of political activities from the Chambers of Commerce, . . . except so far as the conduct of business has necessitated political action. . . . Consequently, although political influence largely remains with the Chambers, its expression generally rests with the European Association and its branches throughout India."

The inference drawn by the Indian from such facts as are available to him as well as indirect admissions of this type is that the small man who is not in the good books of British business or who cannot see eye to eye with it has little, if any, chance of entering our legislatures.

### General Abstinence from Politics Accounted For

We shall now try to ascertain why those Europeans who are not leaders of British business do not seek election to our legislatures. Probably it is not quite incorrect to assume that the most numerous among them are assistants working in the different commercial, industrial and other concerns controlled by British capital. So far as these people are concerned, we are told by Mr. G. Tyson (*Danger in India*, p. 7) that

"It is safe to state that ninety-nine per cent. of the young men chosen for business posts in India have no leaning whatever towards politics or public affairs."

According to the same author, all that is demanded of them by their superiors is that they should always carry the English public school or better still the English university atmosphere with them and that they should make themselves socially and commercially acceptable. It is also the impression, may be wrong, of the present writer from such contacts as he has been able to establish with this class of men that the London head offices discourage the idea of all except the seniors taking any active interest in Indian politics.

The result of all this, in the language of Mr. Tyson (*Danger in India*, p. 46), is that

"In the cities of India the Briton, when he occasionally thinks politically, thinks as his *burra sahib* or immediate employer desires him to think, for in a majority of cases he dare not do otherwise."

If he thinks otherwise it would, according to Mr. Tyson, "certainly render him liable to social and commercial victimization."

Another and probably a smaller section of non-official Europeans consists of professional men, such as journalists, engineers, doctors, lawyers and the like. So far as the first among these are concerned, it is a well-known fact that they are almost always connected with Anglo-Indian periodicals generally patronised and nearly always financed by British interests. It would require a large amount of courage for such people to advocate in their papers a policy not approved of by their patrons. Should such a

contingency arise, as has happened now and then in the past, not merely the withdrawal of patronage but the adoption of steps calculated to put an end to their connection with the periodicals have invariably been their portion. What happened to Mr. B. G. Horniman years ago and recently to the editor of a well-known Anglo-Indian daily which claims to enjoy the largest circulation at least in Upper India is too well-known to require anything except the barest mention.

The Indian contention, may be wrong, is that as these people can not afford to antagonise British business, there are certain strictly defined limits within which only they are permitted to carry on their journalistic activities. Nor can they hope to enter our legislatures through European communal electorates without the support of the leaders of British business who control the European Association.

So far as the other professional men are concerned, we know that in many cases the largest part of their income is drawn from non-Indian sources and that their adoption of a policy directly opposed to that of the European Association would entail an unpopularity which would be immediately reflected in their earnings. Even when a predominantly large part of the professional earnings of such people comes from Indian sources, it is not easy for them to forfeit the goodwill of their countrymen. Lastly, as the European professional man's income is determined by the amount of time and attention he can devote to his work, he rarely thinks of spending his energy on political work, always a thankless task and specially so if he is so unwise as to think of opposing the leaders of British business.

A third class of European non-officials consists of men and women connected with various missionary societies. An examination of the directories issued by the Protestant denominations from Nagpur and by the Roman Catholic Church from Madras will show that these are approximately 10,000 in number. Roughly about one-fourth of them come either from Britain or from the Dominions. These as citizens of the British Empire enjoy franchise in India. The present writer who has enjoyed the inestimable privilege of coming into close contact with some of them as their guest in his different All-India tours for the last six years or more in every part of British India except Sind and the North-West Frontier Province and more than two dozen Indian States, feels no hesitation in stating that while, as a class, they have not the slightest desire to take active part in Indian politics by seeking election through the European communal constituencies which are theoretically open to them, they recognise fully the fact that if they were so ill-advised as to do so, they would not, in the absence of the backing of the European Association, have the slightest chance of success. They, as well as other liberally minded Europeans, are also aware that they cannot expect its support as they are often unable to subscribe *in toto* to the policy laid down by this organisation.

On many occasions, the answer received to the enquiry as to why a very large number among these missionaries do not seek membership in the European Association, has been that recognising as they do that the economic communalism of their countrymen is not fundamentally different from or less objectionable than the so-called religious communalism of their non-Christian fellow-citizens, they feel that their duty as followers of the Master is to refuse to have anything to do with it or to give it their moral support by joining it. When it was pointed out that if liberally minded Britons and British missionaries joined the European Association, they might be able to at least partly influence and change its general policy, the reply was that British business had entrenched itself so strongly in the parent body and its branches, that any such move was hopeless. Besides, these men had come to India for a certain purpose and they could not fritter away their time and energy on work for which they had no call.

Rightly or wrongly, India has come to feel that in general, the indifference of the Briton to Indian politics is due to the recognition of the fundamental fact that he is a temporary sojourner always thinking of going home either on leave or after retirement. It is only those who have large financial stakes in India who, compelled by the sheer necessity of maintaining and, if possible, of extending their position in our economic life, actively participate in Indian politics and that, in a majority of cases, only when they seem likely to affect their financial interests.

It thus appears that those Britons who are not leaders of business, in other words, the small men, either voluntarily keep out or are, to all intents and purposes, excluded from seeking election to our legislatures from the communal constituencies through which only this privilege can be enjoyed by them.

### Partially Representative Organisation of the European Community

British business has every right to give a particular shape to the politics of the non-official

European community through the control it has established over the European Association. Nor can any one criticise it if, by way of reply to what has appeared above, it tells the Indian that if there are liberally minded Europeans who do not approve of the politics of the European Association, there is nothing to prevent them from forming an association of their own and to persuade their countrymen to join it in such large numbers as to make it the one and the only representative organisation of the European community. It may also be urged that those British businessmen who enter our legislatures as representatives of the European community as a minor minority are perfectly within their rights.

No objection can be taken if this is the attitude of British business. But this would lay open the European Association, through which it gives effect to its political policy, to the charge that it does not represent the views of the European community as a whole in just the same way that it has been urged against the Congress that it does not represent the views of the Indians as a whole because there are some parties which repudiate its leadership. It is admitted that so far as the European Association is concerned, it cannot be said that there is any single organised party of Europeans which has openly denied its allegiance to it. But the Indian who has carefully studied the correspondence columns of Anglo-Indian papers is aware that there are at least some Europeans who find themselves unable to subscribe *in toto* to its views. It is no argument that these dissidents are so small in number that, for all practical purposes, their views may be ignored. In the case of the Congress, its overwhelmingly large membership as compared with that of its rivals does not count when its claim to represent India as a whole is challenged. Similarly, the presence of these European dissidents detracts from the claim of the European Association to represent the views of this community as a whole.

Probably these liberally minded Europeans have not organised themselves into a separate party because the non-official European community is an infinitesimally small minority of which these dissidents form a small fraction, because they are scattered over a vast area and lastly because of lack of the militant type of leadership. But all these facts do not in any way diminish the value of the opinion that there is a section in the European community which has not yet made itself vocal and which does not in every case find itself in agreement with the general policy of the European Association and also that it has as yet found itself unable to make its contribution to our public life mainly because it has been deliberately shut out from our legislatures by the European Association.

What Indians would emphasise is that in spite of its apparently solid facade, the European Association does not faithfully represent the views of the community as a whole but only of a small, influential and powerful section of it. This has organised it in a particular way rendered possible only because of the general indifference of the community as a whole to Indian politics and the backwardness of the liberally minded Europeans to challenge the authority of the European Association.

Indians contend that the predominant position occupied by British business in the European Association and, specially, the practical exclusion of European non-official non-businessmen from our legislatures, though technically valid, amount, to all intents and purposes, to an indirect admission on its part that, as its main preoccupation is the earning of profits, it has assumed the task, may be uninviting, of occasionally opposing India's political and economic ambitions. As this does not always find favour with all its countrymen, British business has been compelled, perhaps unwillingly, to monopolise all the seats, commerce and industry and communal, reserved for Europeans.

If this is so, it must be emphasised that this would lend countenance to the view, generally held by Indians, that essentially alien, British business has come to India with one motive only, the exploitation of our material resources for its own benefit and that so powerful is its appeal that it is ready to use the representation granted to Europeans as a minor minority to retain and, now and then, to advance its economic interests. It would also justify, at least to some extent, a policy of discrimination against which it has always tried to guard itself.

As regards the claim of British businessmen to occupy the communal seats, the Indian would point out that though, under law, they are entitled to do so, they are thereby depriving their non-business countrymen of a valuable right. He would ascribe the resignation of the latter to this obvious act of deprivation either to a sense of utter helplessness or to utter indifference to Indian politics or to both. Whatever the reason, this fact is sufficient proof that India does not receive any contribution worth the name from non-official non-business Europeans and, to that extent, the seats accorded to them in our legislatures are not only wasted but, in addition, have, at least occasionally, been utilised by British

business to the detriment of India's political and economic interests.

### BRITISH BUSINESS AND THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION

When we compare the lists of office-holders of the different branches of the European Association as well as of the parent body itself with those of the different European business organisations, we find that either the same set of men are largely common to both or that prominent British businessmen, not necessarily office-holders in Chambers of Commerce and the like, are elected officers of the Association and its branches. So far as the present writer is aware, in not a single case from 1937 onwards has any independent British non-businessman no matter how high his standing in his profession been elected to any important official position in the Central and Provincial European Associations. Exceptions, if any, are so insignificant in number that they merely serve to prove the general correctness of the opinion advanced above, the clearest proof that this organisation is controlled by big British business.

The leaders of British business have undertaken the self-imposed task of safeguarding the communal interests of the Europeans. They, through the European Association which, according to the Report of the Simon Commission "takes a leading part in organising the election of European members to the legislatures" (Vol. I. Paragraph 65), select men whom they consider suitable to represent them as a community and as a special interest and get them elected without any contest. Under these circumstances, it is only natural, as we actually find in an overwhelmingly large number of cases, that the people run under their direction by the European Association should all belong to their own class even where the seats filled are from communal constituencies. Equally natural would be for these men to bend all their energies for the preservation and, wherever possible, the extension of facilities calculated to promote their business operations, the aim of which is the earning of profits, in our motherland.

From this it follows that, on the whole, the policy of the European community must be, as it actually is, largely conditioned by the attitude of British commercial and industrial interests towards our political problems and that any step likely to affect its economic position adversely is bound to call forth opposition from this community. The correctness of this view becomes evident when we remember that this has actually happened more than once when Indians have sought to put forward or to give effect to proposals which might even remotely affect British vested interests.

That British business attaches such importance to this factor that it is prepared to stand in the way of the political advancement of India is clearly proved by what Mr. Gavin Jones who represented European business said on the 16th January, 1931, when the First Round Table Conference as a whole was discussing Paragraph 14 of the Report of the Minorities Sub-Committee which dealt with the commercial rights of Britons in India. His words, according to the official report (Proceedings of the First Round Table Conference, pp. 332-333), were as follows :

> "In the Federal Structure Sub-Committee I agreed, on behalf of my community, to the transfer of responsibility to a legislature on the understanding that our safeguards were introduced into the Act."

The attitude of British business to the further political progress of India was made clearer still by Mr. E. C. Benthall at a meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the Second Round Table Conference held on the 18th November, 1931, when he is reported to have said :

> "It has been necessary for us, and still is necessary, to state that unless our rights are protected in the clearest and most unequivocal manner we must reserve our consent to the transfer of power and that protection must be afforded in the Act itself."

It thus appears that the political progress of India's 350 odd millions (we are speaking of the Round Table days) must be postponed till the interests particularly of British business and generally of the British as a minority are safeguarded in the particular way approved of by them. Here there is no question of coming to an agreement with the Indian communities or Indian political parties, a counsel of perfection apparently reserved for the solution of Hindu Muslim differences.

### THE INDIAN CONTENTION

Probably the strongest argument against the granting of complete independence to India urged from the British side is the separatism caused by caste-prejudices and communal disunity. In the case of the former, it is said that the higher castes utilise their superior social position to keep members of the so-called lower castes under their domination mainly in order to exploit them economically. Nor can it be denied that this charge is true though not today to the same extent as in the past.

So far as communal differences are concerned, it is a fact that among the more orthodox or rather fanatical members of the different communities specially where they are uneducated, these are very largely due to so-called religious reasons. It is, at the same time, an admitted fact that the educational backwardness and the fanaticism of the masses are often exploited by the more advanced members of the different religious groups for the purpose of securing political power and improving their economic position. This is why a prominent Indian Liberal has said that "in a majority of cases, the communal struggle is fundamentally an economic struggle," a view the correctness of which is readily admitted by nearly all who have studied this problem carefully.

Indians have received much good advice from British politicians and individual Britons about the desirability of coming into some sort of understanding among themselves and thus ending communal strife. And there can be no doubt that this is good and sound advice which will ultimately have to be taken and given effect to if we have any desire to live in peace. We all recognise that the only basis of a lasting compromise is the giving up of selfishness by all, the putting forward of justifiable claims only and their acceptance by all the parties. What has hitherto prevented and is still preventing this much desired mutual understanding is the selfishness of social and religious groups which have hitherto attached a higher value to their sectional and group interests than to the interests of India as a whole. And these interests, as pointed out just now, are at bottom economic in their nature.

What India would like to know is whether the leadership under which the European community has worked so long is immune from the same weakness. Has not the majority of the European community consisting of small men whose financial interests in our country are certainly very much less than those of big British business allowed itself to be exploited by British business? And just as our masses have permitted their religious sentiments to be exploited by their clever and educated leaders to advance their personal economic interests, has not the European community as a whole allowed its racial affiliations to be exploited in a similar fashion and for a similar purpose by big British business?

Even if this view is wrong, and honest difference of opinion on this matter is only to be expected, where is the superiority of the European community to the communal-minded sections of the Indian population which today seem determined to utilise their nuisance value as a bargaining counter in order to extract economic and political concessions to which they are certainly not entitled, under the threat of holding up India's political advancement? Was not this the attitude of its representative when he demanded on behalf of the community he was representing at the Second Round Table Conference the incorporation of safeguards saying at the same time that his community would refuse to lend its support to the further political progress of India, a country with which its only connection is as a place for earning a living and if possible a competence, unless they were guaranteed?

India will acknowledge the absence of communalism in the wider sense of the term in the European community only when it will give up of its own accord such privileges as are prejudicial to India's economic interests, when it will cease to utilise India as a profitable field for the investment of its capital to the detriment of Indian capital desirous of operating in the same sphere of business and when it will no longer exploit its influence and power to stifle competition from Indian sources. This does not mean that Europeans as individuals or European business will be shut out. What India looks for and demands is equality of opportunity not in the legal or competitive sense but as one would understand it from the standpoint of equity.

Indians maintain that British business has committed a grievous wrong against Economic and Political India by shutting out the liberally minded non-business non-official section of the European community from our legislatures thus preventing it from making its contribution to our public life. The best proof of a departure from its present and, from the Indian point of view, its objectionable attitude would be for it to give up its control of the European Association for its own purposes, to welcome the co-operation of these men and to facilitate their entrance into our legislatures even if this implies the disappearance of its existing, and in Indian eyes, its artificial solidarity.

When Europeans though belonging to the same race and professing the same faith join, some the Right, some the Middle and others the Left in our legislatures, according to their political convictions, it is then and then only that they will be in a position to advise Indians to forget their social and religious affiliations and to

organise themselves not into Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and Depressed classes *blocks* but to come together and to form political parties pledged to identical political and economic programmes.

Till this happens, advice from Britons individually or from British sources, however wise and admirable in its way, is not calculated to carry much weight with Indians. To put it frankly, so long as this fundamental principle of democracy is not carried out into practice by the European community itself, its condemnation of our communalism looks, may be wrongly, to us too much like the European pot calling the Indian kettle black.

---

# MALARIA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON WORLD HEALTH

By PAUL F. RUSSELL

*Lt.-Colonel, Medical Corps, Army of the United States, Chief Tropical Disease and Malaria Control Section, Preventive Medicine Division, Office of the Surgeon General, U. S. Army*

## INTRODUCTION

"FROM the standpoint of prevalence, malaria appears to be the most important of all diseases in the world today." This statement is based on wide experience and great authority, for it is the first sentence in that excellent treatise on tropical diseases by Admiral Stitt and Colonel Strong. Adequate morbidity and mortality statistics regarding malaria do not exist, yet it is generally believed by those who have studied the subject, that no disease has, or has had through centuries, a more profound influence on world health than malaria. Medically oriented historians suggest that this disease has postponed development of the tropics for centuries, and that it has accelerated the decline of nations. Even today this preventable mosquito-borne infection is the greatest enemy of merchant, soldier, administrator, and farmer in all of the warmer countries.

Such sweeping assertions seem rash in the United States where in 1941 the mortality rate for malaria in fourteen Southern states was only 2·73 per 100,000. Taking the census registration area of the whole country, the death rate from malaria in 1900 was 7·9 per 100,000 but only 1·1 in 1940. Relatively few can recall local conditions of six or seven decades ago when our South was highly malarious and even such northern states as Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio were afflicted. For instance, the death rate from malaria in Michigan in 1880 was 19·5 per 100,000. As late as 1900, Memphis had a malaria mortality rate of 200 per 100,000, and Savannah almost as great. High as these urban malaria rates appear, they were about a fifth of those obtaining in such tropical cities as Singapore as late as 1911.

Malaria at present extends as far north as 60° N. latitude (in Russia) and as far south as 40° S latitude (in Argentina). It is found as low as the Dead Sea (1,300 feet below sea level) and as high as Quito in Ecuador (9,000 feet). But malaria is a focal disease and is not evenly distributed nor uniformly prevalent in any country. In the United States it is most common in the southeast, although it extends as far north as Illinois and Indiana, and also occurs in California.

There is a great deal of hyperendemic malaria between 45° N. and 40° S. latitude, in the plains and foothills of Central America, north and northeast South America, Central Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, North Africa, south and especially southeast Europe, Turkey, the Levant, Iraq and Iran, Afghanistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, South China, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Netherlands Indies, Formosa, the Philippines, and many islands of the Pacific which are west of 170° E. longitude and north of 20° S. latitude. (The Fiji Islands and Samoa, for example, are not malarious but the New Hebrides suffer severely).

Malaria is hyperendemic in many areas of the littoral of some of the world's great seas and gulfs, the names of which connote vistas of sand and coral, mangrove and coconut, with a wide variety of peoples and topography, encircling the globe. The Caribbean, Mediterranean, Tyrrhenian, Ionian, Adriatic, Aegean, Black, Azov, Caspian, Red, Arabian, East and South China, Sulu, Celebes, Java, Banda, Timor, Arafura, and Coral seas, the Bay of Bengal, the gulfs of California, Mexico, Honduras, Panama, Guinea, Persia, Oman, Siam, and Tonkin, all are bordered, in part at least, by highly malarious regions.

To many of the countries within the hyperendemic malaria zones this disease, which has been a medical curiosity in much of our own country, is bringing not only physical diaster but economic and social tragedy. In India, for example, malaria is a veritable juggernaut disease. There it kills at least a million persons every normal year, more in epidemic times. Another million die from indirect results of malaria. Throughout all Hindustan there are each year at least 100,000,000 cases of malarial fevers. Quoting Sinton :

> "There is no aspect of life in that country which is not affected, either directly or indirectly, by this disease. It constitutes one of the most important causes of economic misfortune, engendering poverty, diminishing the quantity and the quality of the food supply, lowering the physical and intellectual standard of the nation, and hampering increased prosperity and economic progress in every way."

Hehir, a competent observer, wrote :

> "It may with confidence be said that the eradication of malaria in India would in a single generation convert that country into one of the most prosperous in the world."

It is now one of the least prosperous so far as the vast majority are concerned. Average incomes in rural South India are as low as a dollar a month.

What the actual sum total of malaria is today, no one knows, or can estimate closely. But one would venture to assume from such data as are available and from personal acquaintance with certain areas, that there are not less than 3,000,000 malaria deaths and at least 300,000,000 cases of malarial fevers each year, throughout the world.

These facts are of greater concern to us now than ever before. In this global war our armed forces are operating in some of the world's most malarious areas. We have already felt the impact of this debilitating fever in such places as Panama, West Africa, Burma, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands. In such areas malaria is by all odds the greatest disease hazard to our soldiers; indeed, in some places it is a greater menace than the enemy. To more than one of our medical officers malaria is no longer an exotic disease but a difficult military problem.

### Earliest Days

The history of malaria extends so far back into antiquity that speculations as to when and where it first appeared are futile. Certainly the present great library of malariology represents cumulative endeavors of many generations of priests and philosophers, parasitologists and physicians.

The ancient Greeks 2,000 years ago recognized quartan, tertian, quotidian and semitertian (probably malignant tertian) varieties of malaria. They also were aware that the disease had seasonal and topographical features. In patricular, they associated the intermittent fevers with marshes and marsh vapors. Hippocrates in the fifth century B.C., wrote of the enlarged spleen of inhabitants of marshy regions.

Then there was a Greek story (perhaps apocryphal) of Empedocles of Agrigentum who controlled an epidemic in Selinus, Sicily, about 550 B.C., partly by draining the marshes and partly by turning two rivers into them so that, as Matthew Arnold wrote, Empedocles was able to "cleanse to sweet airs the breath of poisonous streams." Whether or not Empedocles was dealing with malaria, certainly there are many passages in the Greek which clearly connect this fever with marshes.

Fabius Maximus and Julius Caesar suffered from intermittent fever and during the Civil Wars the health of Caesar's army was shattered by it. Cicero wrote of the "old Fever Temple on the Palatine," indicating that the cult of the Fever Goddess in Rome was very ancient.

Then too there was a famous passage from Columella (about the first century B.C.) which stated that

> "Marshes threw up noxious steams and bred insects, armed with mischievous stings, and pestilent swimming and creeping things whereby hidden diseases were often contracted, the causes of which even the physicians themselves could not thoroughly understand."

Thus, in ancient Italy, as in ancient Greece, both medical and lay authors recognized the intermittent fevers and clearly surmised an etiological relationship between these fevers and low marshy places. This is easy to understand because the malarial fevers, with their characteristic periodicity, even to this day in Greece and in Italy are often most prevalent near marshes. There was a good deal of malaria in ancient Greece, where it was apparently introduced during the fifth century B.C. In fact, Ross, Jones, and others have suggested that malaria was a contributing factor in the great decline in moral and intellectual vigor which took place in Greece between 500 and 300 B.C. It has also been postulated that malaria had a similar disintegrating effect in ancient southern Italy. Some historians, as Childs, believe that while disease is mighty over the individual, parasites and viruses have played an unimportant role in social history.

The great Arab physicians of the eighth to thirteenth centuries wrote of these intermittent

fevers but, in general, active interest and speculations on etiology subsided with Galen in 200 A.D., not to be aroused again until the seventeenth century.

### Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

In the seventeenth century European physicians learned that the bark of a South American tree is an effective remedy for the intermittent fevers. There have been many accounts as to how this came about. Apparently the bark was first known in Peru, where the first recognized use of this bark was in 1630, but whether natives had recognized its medicinal qualities before Pizarro invaded their country in 1512-1533 is unknown. The traditional anecdote, dating back many years, appears to have little historical basis. It told of the fever of Ana de Osorio, the first, or of Francisca Henriquez de Ribera, the second wife of the fourth Count of Chinchon, Viceroy of Peru. A friend, as the story goes, sent to the Count's physician a parcel of powdered bark of the quina-quina tree, a substance that had once cured him of "tertiana." The physician, Don Juan de Vega, having tested the powder on a number of patients, is reported to have administered it to the Countess with great success. About 1640, the enthusiastic Vicereine, or her physician, or some Jesuit father, is said to have sent or carried samples to Europe.

This story has suffered a serious blow in the recent discovery of the official diary of the Count of Chinchon, wherein is a careful day-by-day account of the Chinchon family. It now appears that the first countess was blessed with amazing good health. Aside from a sore throat and a "flux and cough on the lungs" she had no illness at all in Peru. The noble count himself was frequently ill with malaria, but nowhere is it recorded that he experienced a dramatic cure by fever bark. The countess did not take bark back to Europe, for she died in Columbia, on the way home, of what seems to have been yellow fever.

The true, albeit less romantic, account of the advent of cinchona bark in Europe appears to be that of Haggis, who made a scholarly search among original documents. He notes that during the last decades of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century there was a brisk trade in medicinal barks and herbs from South America to Spain and Italy. One item in considerable demand was a bark, which because of its medicinal properties was called quinua-quinua by Peruvians and which is now known to have been from the tree Myroxylon peruiferum. In commerce this bark was referred to sometimes as Peruvian and at other times as quina-quina bark. Peruvian balsam was extracted from it and was used as a non-specific febrifuge. When demand came to exceed supply, the exporters began to substitute another bark of similar appearance, which from the evidence must have been taken from cinchona trees. For some decades during the seventeenth century the dual source of so-called Peruvian bark led to confusion among physicians as to its real value in treating the intermittent fevers. But gradually the adulterant replaced the original bark completely. Thus, as has been pointed out, it would appear that we owe the discovery of one of our most useful chemotherapeutic remedies to dishonest traders rather than to keen-eyed scientists.

The earliest mention in European literature of the use of cinchona was by Heyden in 1643, so the remedy must have been introduced before that. Powdered bark had been sent from Spain and Italy to England by 1655 and was used in this form against the intermittents for about two centuries. The bark was known in the North American colonies. For instance, in 1776 the Continental Congress ordered the medical committee to forward 300 pounds of bark to the southern department for use of the troops. Jackson, a British Army surgeon in the forces of Lord Cornwallis, used the bark extensively to treat intermittent fevers among British troops in their southern campaigns.

The first man to describe the fever tree scientifically was Charles Marie de la Condamine, an astronomer, who in 1735 led an expedition from France to measure an arc of the meridian near Quito, Equador, in order to determine the shape of the earth. He quarrelled with his associates and quit them to explore the Amazon, and eventually the Peruvian country. But it was the Swedish botanist, Carl von Linne, the great Linnaeus, who gave the name Cinchona to the quina-quina tree. His misspelling of the name of the Countess has been perpetuated.

Two French pharmácists, Pelletier and Caventou, isolated the alkaloids quinine and cinchonine from cinchona bark in 1820. Since then many other alkaloids have been isolated from this Peruvian bark but only four occur in any considerable amounts. These are quinine and quinidine, cinchonine and cinchonidine, all of which exert a therapeutic action on malaria.

Demand for cinchona bark increased rapidly, and the trees, which grew wild, were recklessly destroyed. It occurred to several scientists that the tree could probably be grown

in other tropics as well as South American. In 1743, de la Condamine attempted to take cinchona plants to Europe but they were all swept off his ship by a wave in the river Amazon before he had even left South America. In 1849, cinchona trees were planted unsuccessfully in Algeria. The Dutch, in 1852, sent Justus Charles Hasskarl, a courageous botanist, on a hazardous collecting expedition which took him across the Andes into Bolivia and Peru. He was successful, by a narrow margin, and began cinchona cultivation in Java in 1854. His Government rewarded him with a knighthood of the Netherlands Lion and a Commandership of the Oaken Crown.

In 1860, the British sent out a party under the exceptionally able leadership of Clements R. Markham, a geographer and archaeologist. As a result of his work a cinchona plantation was started in the Nilgiris Hills of Madras Presidency near Ootacamund, where over two and a half million trees were growing by 1872. This plantation is still a source of government quinine for use in India. Markham was knighted for his achievements.

The seeds and seedlings of these early Dutch and British expeditions were not the best yielding varieties of the fifty or more species of cinchona trees growing in South America. The most successful collector of high quality seeds was an Englishman named Charles Ledger who had been living in the cinchona belt and knew the difference between strong bark and feeble.

Ledger, in 1865, sent fourteen pounds of high quality seeds to his brother George, who lived in London. George Ledger attempted to sell them to the British Government who were not interested. However, he finally sold half of the seeds to the Dutch for a few guilders and the other half to a Madras planter. Within eighteen months of this sale the Dutch had 12,000 plants ready to set out and five years later their analyses of bark were showing from 8 to 13 percent of quinine, whereas no other bark on the market could show much over 4 percent. The seeds sent to Madras also in time grew well but on a much more limited scale; this species was officially named Cinchona ledgeriana. The Dutch did a good deal of experimenting with hybrids and successfully developed the world's best cinchona trees. At the outbreak of this war, Java had some 37,500 acres of cinchona, producing more than 20,000,000 pounds of bark a year—what amounted to probably the most effective crop monopoly of any kind in all history.

Today the Japanese control all the cinchona of the Netherlands Indies and, with their Axis partner, Germany, they also control the Dutch stocks of cinchona alkaloids, together with the quinine factories. Consequently, we are once again dependent on American bark. In this hemisphere there has never been the intensive development of cinchona plantations with emphasis on varieties having a high quinine content. American barks generally have a relatively low quinine content but are reasonably rich in other principal alkaloids. Since all of these alkaloids have antimalarial value it has been decided to utilize American bark in the form of totaquine, which is a standardized antimalarial mixture of the alkaloids. This mixture was recommended by the League of Nations Health Organization in 1932. As now standardized in this country in the present emergency, it contains not less than 7 percent and not more than 12 percent of anhydrous quinine, and a total of not less than 70 percent or more than 80 percent of the four principal alkaloids of cinchona. Totaquine, which will be the only form of cinchona available for civilian use in this country, is as effective as quinine sulphate when total daily doses are 20 grains or more. In smaller doses 7½ grains of totaquine have about the same therapeutic effect as 5 grains of quinine.

### Etiology

The Greeks and Romans, as noted above, from earliest days had associated malaria with bogs and pestilent vapors. In Italy it was a common belief that bad air from marshes was the actual etiologic factor and during the seventeenth century it became customary to say that patients dying from intermittent fevers had died from "the air" (d'aria) or from the bad air (male aria). At first, not the fevers, but the causes of the fevers were referred to in this way. But in time this expression came to be applied to the disease itself. So far as one can determine, Horace Walpole, in 1740, while in Italy, was the first to put the two Italian words together in print as one English word, "malaria," in a direct reference to the fevers of Rome (Oxford English Dictionary).

In 1847, Heinrich Meckel, a German scientist, was studying organs and blood from a patient who had suffered from malaria. He noticed in some blood vessels of the brain certain round, ovoid, or spindle-shaped protoplasmic masses containing black, irregular, pigment

granules hitherto undescribed, although Lancisi in 1716 and Bright in 1831 had noted the graphite pigmentation of spleen and brain seen, post mortem, in malaria. From Meckel's carefully worded description it is clear that actually he was looking at pigmented malaria parasites but, at that day and under the circumstances, it is not surprising that he failed to realize their significance.

### Laveran

In 1878, Charles Louis Alphonse Laveran, a French army surgeon stationed at the military hospital in Constantine, Algeria, began an investigation of changes produced in the human body by malaria. His attention was naturally directed towards the pigment, now called hemozoin, which had aroused discussion and he searched for it not only in autopsy tissue but also in blood from patients. Working with inferior lenses (he actually used a 4 mm. dry lens) Laveran strained his eye many an hour over objects which did not seem to be normal blood cells but which he could not be sure were parasites. Persistently, he continued his studies and finally, one memorable day, 6th November 1880, in a wet smear of fresh blood, he saw unmistakable waving, hair-like projections or flagella, suddenly develop from one of the "pigmented spherical bodies" which had been puzzling him. Now, at last, he was certain that he was observing a living organism, a parasite in human blood. He named it Oscillaria malariae.

Laveran had talent and perseverance to follow up his observation and thus was able to reveal the minute cause of malaria. He saw ameboid, rosette, spherical, crescentic, and flagellate stages, but did not realize the relationship of these forms. Later he wrote four treatises on paludism, between 1884 and 1898, and in 1907 he was rewarded with a Nobel prize for his exceedingly important discovery of the malaria parasite.

Although a colleague, Dr. E. Richard, confirmed Laveran's discovery in Phillippeville, Algeria, in 1882, yet both announcements were received with well-nigh universal skepticism for several years. In 1885, however, Ettore Marchiafava, Italy's leading pathologist, and Angelo Celli, a colleague, saw the parasites in fresh blood behaving as Laveran and Richard had described and they became as enthusiastic in support as they had been in opposition. They were able to sketch, for the first time, part of the developmental cycle and they gave the organism its generic name of Plasmodium. Another Italian, Golgi, also in 1885, observed multiplication of the parasite by asexual spore formation and he noted that the patient's temperature rises when these spores are liberated. Councilman and Abbott, in the United States in the same year, also confirmed the discovery. Then, in 1891, in old St. Petersburg, Romanowski developed a new method of staining blood smears. This has been of the greatest usefulness in all subsequent studies of malaria parasites.

### Manson's Theory

Patrick Manson was a Scotchman born in Aberdeenshire in 1844. From 1866 to 1871 he was Medical Officer of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs in Takao, Formosa. The next thirteen years of his life he spent in Amoy, China, practising medicine, still under the auspices of the Customs Service. There he became very much interested in filariasis, a malady common in some tropical areas. While on leave in London in 1875, Manson searched medical libraries to find out what he could about this disease. He learned that microscopic immature worms called microfilaria had been seen by Demarquay in 1863, by Wucherer in 1866 and 1868, and by Lewis (in blood) in 1872. Manson went back to Amoy in 1876, carrying along a new microscope, and he proceeded to study filariasis. It was natural that he should reflect on the question as to how the filarial worm could infect one man from another. He concluded that since the larvae were usually in blood they might escape with the aid of blood-sucking insects. He selected mosquitoes as being most probable because he thought their geographical range coincided with that of the disease.

His theory enunciated, Manson proceeded to feed mosquitoes on patients in whose blood there were embryo filarial worms. He then demonstrated these worms inside mosquito stomachs, where he saw that some were not digested but actually began to develop. Manson succeeded in tracing the filaria through the stomach-wall of the mosquito into the abdominal cavity, and then into the thoracic muscles. During this passage the parasite increased in size, developing a mouth, an alimentary canal and other organs. Quoting Manson, "Manifestly it was on the road to a new human host."

Here at last, scientifically observed, was a parasite of man's blood being sheltered in the gut of a blood-sucking insect, undergoing essential development, "on the road" to another

human host. Manifest indeed were the implications of this discovery, first published in 1877 in the China Customs Medical Reports. Manson published again in 1879, using the title, "On the development of Filaria sanguinis hominis, and the Mosquito considered as a Nurse."

A few scientists accepted Manson's report with enthusiasm but many were cold to it, so the observations were repeated and amplified and republished in 1884 in the Linnean Society's Transactions.

Unfortunately, Manson believed that the filarial worms escaped from drowned mosquitoes into water which then infected the men who drank it. He had placed too much dependence in a book on natural history which stressed the ephemeral character of mosquitoes, leading him to believe that they quickly perished in the water on which they laid their first eggs. The fact that mosquitoes could live for several weeks, repeatedly taking blood and laying eggs, noted by Ross in 1897, was unobserved by Manson. The complete chain of filarial infection from man to mosquito to man was not demonstrated until 1899, when Low found the worm in the proboscis of mosquitoes. He published in 1900 and his important discovery was soon confirmed by James.

Manson's observations did not complete the man-to-mosquito-to-man cycle in filariasis but they gave him a logical basis for theorizing about malaria and mosquitoes. He formulated a working hypothesis based on facts observed by himself or published by others. This mosquito-malaria hypothesis he stated publicly in some lectures in 1894 (Brit. M.J., Dec. 8, 1894). Briefly, Manson saw no reason why if mosquitoes could suck worms out of man's blood they might not draw out malaria parasites as well. He had been impressed by seeing in fresh bloodsmears the same unexplained exflagellation which had been noticed by Laveran.

Shortly before Manson published his mosquito theory of malaria transmission, Richard Pfeiffer enunciated in 1892 a logical conjecture of the same sort, based on some of his own studies with a related parasite. Said he:

"The following solution suggests itself, but I bring it forward only as a hypothesis, the justification for which rests in the fact that it indicates a line of investigation. It is possible that in the case of the malarial parasite there exists a developmental cycle which completes itself outside the human host, possibly in the body of a lower animal (as, for instance, certain insects). This malarial germ could then be conveyed to man through the air or water or as Robert Koch has remarked to me through the sting of a blood-sucking insect."

So there was nothing fantastic about Manson's hypothesis. But human nature once more asserted one of its most ancient and deathless characters and Manson was derided for his speculations. His critics, some of them men of importance in the scientific world, called him "Mosquito Manson," and once on St. James Street, London, derisively tapped their foreheads as he passed by their club. Manson cheerfully tapped his own at them and walked on to Fame.

### Smith and Kilborne's Demonstration

Between 1889 and 1893 Theobald Smith and F. L. Kilborne, Americans, proved the thesis that insect-like creatures can transmit disease from one animal to another. This work was first announced in the 6th-7th Report of the United States Bureau of Animal Industry in 1891, and was published in extenso as Bulletin No. 1 of this bureau in 1893. In some nicely planned, thoroughly scientific experiments, they demonstrated that ticks certainly transfer the cause of redwater, or Texas tick fever, from one cow to another. Ticks, they also found, could even inherit infection from a parent tick and pass it to a cow.

### The Observations of Bruce

In 1896 David Bruce, a British Medical Officer working in Ubombo, Zululand, on a devastating disease of horses and cattle, called nagana, demonstrated, with the aid and comfort of Mrs. Bruce, that tsetse flies can carry the trypanosome parasite from animal to animal. Sheltered only by a wattle and daub hut, living on the roughest of food, sixty miles from other white folk, Bruce and his wife carried out experiments which were clear-cut and convincing. Bruce did not show and, not until 1909 was it demonstrated, that the tsetse fly is a true host rather than simply a mechanical carrier. Yet it seems fair to say that Bruce was the first to prove that a disease caused by a protozoan parasite can be transmitted by a true insect.

### Ross's Discovery

In spite of all these advances, no one paid much attention to Manson's malaria theory until there came along Ronald Ross, another Scotchman, and an Army surgeon in the Indian Medical Service. Although Laveran had discovered malaria parasites in 1880, his drawings were not too good and in spite of repeated attempts Ross had not seen the organisms until Manson showed them to him in a London hospital, in 1894. Ross became interested in

Manson's mosquito theory of transmission and went back to India to test it by actual experimentation. It seems incredible but there is no evidence that anyone else in the world was actively investigating the mosquito theory of malaria at that time.

Ross tackled the hypothesis seriously, commencing on his birthday, May 13, 1895. After much research, involving many mosquito dissections, Ross in Secunderabad on "Mosquito Day," August 20, 1897, first saw a pigmented malaria parasite from man, growing within the stomach wall of an Anopheles mosquito (A. stephensi ?). This insect had fed exclusively on a patient whose blood contained crescents. Ross had no doubt that he was looking at the malaria parasite of man and it was certainly undergoing development in a mosquito. This observation crystallized the mosquito-malaria speculations of centuries.

By this time the fact was well established that multiplication of malaria parasites within red cells in the human body is entirely asexual. It was also known that not all of the young organisms so formed will, upon breaking out of red cells, complete a cycle by splitting asexually at their own maturity. Some parasites called gametocytes, do not divide in this manner but take on unique shapes so that they may be recognized as distinct from ordinary asexual forms. Those of P. falciparum, for example, look like minute crescents. In 1897-98 William George MacCallum, an American pathologist, discovered the significance of these unique forms when he studied exflagellation. He found that the peculiar and sometimes crescent-shaped parasites in malaria blood, which do not split up, are actually male and female cells. MacCallum, in 1897, looking at Haemoproteus, a malaria-like parasite in a drop of crow's blood, and then MacCallum and Opie at Johns Hopkins in 1898 studying malaria organisms from man, saw male parasites exflagellate and then saw one of the flagella penetrate and thus feretilize a female parasite. There is no evidence that such mating ever takes place inside a living animal, but it may occur in a drop of blood on a glass slide and, as was soon discovered, it usually takes place in a mosquito's stomach. MacCallum and Opie's observations were of great importance for it became clear that malaria parasites have a sexual as well as an asexual cycle, and, taken together with Ross's observation, it was indicated that this sexual cycle probably took place outside the human body in the stomach of a mosquito.

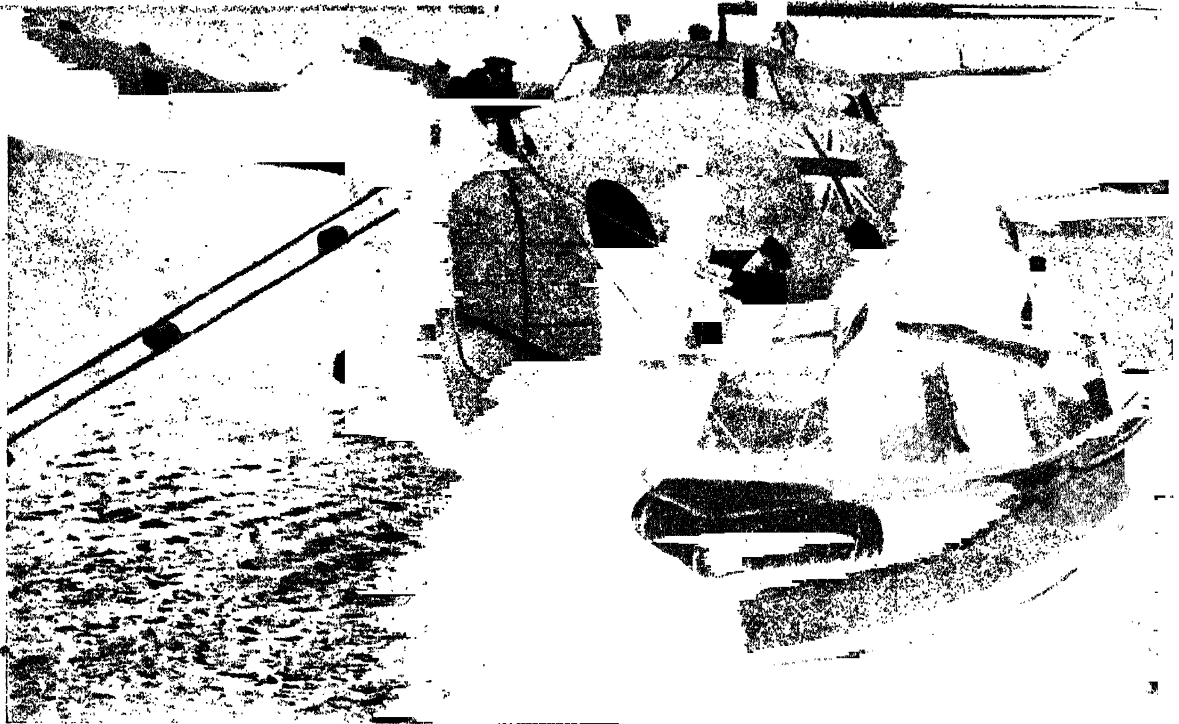
Soon after Ross had made his first promising discovery in Secunderabad, he was transferred to a place where he was unable to experiment with malaria. This was unfortunate, but finally, through the influence of Manson and others who recognized the great importance of his studies, he was placed on special duty with instructions to investigate malaria in Calcutta. At that time, for various reasons, chiefly because of some riots due to antiplague inoculations, it was not possible for him to experiment with human beings, so, ingeniously, he used birds. In his laboratory he followed the parasite of malaria, stage by stage, in its development in the blood of sparrows. Then he allowed Culex mosquitoes to feed on the birds. Careful microscopic examination of these mosquitoes allowed him to study development of the parasites in the stomachs of the insects. He traced path and growth of the parasite as it made its way gradually from the mosquito's stomach to salivary glands. He then made his greatest discovery, something hitherto unsuspected either by himself or Manson. He found that mosquitoes that had fed on malaria infected birds and that had allowed the parasites to develop and to lodge in their salivary glands, could then infect healthy birds. These in turn became malarious. So here was the last link. Bird to mosquito to bird. Thus, on July 9, 1898, he completed his demonstration of the entire life cycle of the parasite of bird malaria, which is transmitted by Culex mosquitoes. This was Ross's discovery and to no one else belongs the credit. It transcended far beyond Manson's hypothesis and it antedated the Italian contribution.

It was a tremendous and fundamental achievement for it was now perfectly clear that the closely related parasite of human malaria must probably in like manner be carried from man to man by mosquitoes. The first observation by Ross of a parasite of human malaria in the stomach wall of an Anopheles mosquito, followed by his absolute proof of the transmission of bird malaria by Culex mosquitoes, made it practically certain that mosquitoes transmit human malaria. However, it needed complete proof. Ross, having predicted the probable, set out to prove it. But he encountered initial difficulties and was soon ordered to investigate kala-azar, a subject he had not previously considered. In March, 1899, he left India and a few months later retired from the Indian Medical Service. He completed his original



U. S. Army Engineers with a malaria control unit on the Southwest Pacific Island of New Guinea dip samples of stagnant water from a jungle pool in their search for breeding places of anopheles mosquitoes which spread the disease





This picture shows the "women seamen" making fast alongside a flying-boat which has just arrived from Africa and making ready to help stevedores with the unloading of essential supplies

observation regarding human malaria in the same year in Sierra Leone.

### The Italian Contribution

Ross, as a matter of course, had promptly reported to the world his work with bird malaria, as well as his original observation of a parasite of human malaria in the stomach wall of a mosquito. His bird experiments were confirmed by several observers, including Daniels, sent to Calcutta for this purpose in December, 1898, by the Malaria Commission of the Royal Society. In November, 1898, Amico Bignami, an Italian, succeeded in infecting a man experimentally with malaria by the bite of an Anopheles mosquito. Bignami and his colleagues, G. Bastianelli and Battista Grassi, a few weeks later, were the first to prove in full the cycle of the parasite of human malaria, and to show that human malaria is transmitted probably by only one genus of mosquito—Anopheles. These findings were quickly confirmed by Koch. In August 1899 the Sierra Leone malaria expedition, of which Ross was a member, found malaria parasites in two species of Anopheles.

To Italian workers must go praise for applying Ross's avian discoveries so quickly to human malaria. It should also be recorded, as noted by Shryock that, just as the work of Theobald Smith and Ronald Ross had stimulated the Italians, so in turn the Italians, through the medium of William S. Thayer, when he returned from Italy to Johns Hopkins, stimulated Walter Reed and his colleagues, who made the next great advance in the field of medical entomology by disclosing the vector of yellow fever.

To Ross is due, for all time, the credit of being first to place a scientific finger on mosquitoes as agents which spread malaria from man to man. This work brought him a Nobel prize in 1902, and later a knighthood from his King.

Dramatic confirmation of the fact that malaria is transmitted by Anopheles mosquitoes was furnished by Manson in 1900 in two simple tests. In the first experiment Doctors G. C. Low and L. W. Sambon and Signor Terzi, all of the London School of Tropical Medicine, lived in a screened hut during the three most malarious months at Fumaroli in the Roman Campagna. It was said at the time that it was sufficient during the fever season to sleep a single night there without protection to contract the disease. Yet these three men escaped. While the fact that they had no malaria was not absolute proof of its mosquito-borne nature yet, because their neighbours in unscreened houses suffered severely from malaria, the experiment was highly suggestive and was reported in scientific periodicals and newspapers throughout the world.

In the second and more convincing experiment, some infected Anopheles were sent by Professor Bastianelli on a three and a half day journey from Italy to London where there was no malaria. These mosquitoes had fed on a malaria patient in Rome. Manson's son, P. T. Manson, a healthy young London student, allowed himself to be bitten by three lots of these mosquitoes and fifteen days later he developed tertian malaria. The experiment was repeated by George Warren, laboratory asistant at the London School of Tropical Medicine. Some mosquitoes were still living after Manson's son fell ill, and, quoting Manson, Warren "thought it would be a pity to waste them, so he fed the insects on his own arm." He came down with tertian malaria fourteen days later. Both volunteers fortunately were cured with quinine. This experiment was significant even to the most skeptical.

*By courtesy*, USOWI

*(To be continued)*

---

## HOLI

By CYRIL MODAK

From leafy covert Spring waylaid
Sweet Nature nuptially arrayed,
And poured his richest shimmering green,
And sprays of red to mark his Queen:
The riotous sport of Nature told
The weary world to wake, behold
The vernal miracle, rebirth,
Join jubilate of the Earth
Now uttered in a choric burst
Of colour, joyous last to first.

Come, Sweetest, let us celebrate
This carnival of hope, elate
With triumph of resurgent Spring!
To pageantry of colour bring
Our vidual gifts of royal blue
And green and gold and every hue
Fresh from the rainbow, splash a kiss
On Life's sad face! We will not miss
Our share of joy: you play the part
Of Nature, I'll be Spring, dear Heart!

# INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

By Prof. PRIYA RANJAN SEN, M.A., P.R.S.

Mauritius is known in literature as the background of the story of Paul and Virginia, which, in the closing years of the 18th century, penned by a gifted if eccentric French writer, Barnardin de Saint-Pierre, produced a deep influence on men as widely differing from each other as Rousseau and Hazlitt, and the echoes of the story through a Bengali translation stirred Rabindranath deeply in his boyhood.



Gandhi Gate, Hindu Mahayajna



A view of the Procession, Hindu Mahayajna

Mauritius has another interest for us today. An island in the Indian Ocean, measuring about 720 square miles in area, it has a large Indian population; according to the census of 1921, out of a total of 376,680 persons, 265,884 were Indians and 6,820 Chinese. It was captured by the British from the French in 1810, and the British possession was confirmed by the treaty of Paris. According to the terms of the treaty, the inhabitants retain their laws, customs and religion; and this explains why the island is still largely French in "language, habits, and predilections." Upon the abolition of slave trade in 1839, labour was introduced from India, and immigration was definitely sanctioned by the Government of India in 1842.



Gandhi Maidan, Port Louis, where Yajna was performed

The article in the Encyclopædia Britannica (14th Edition) tells us that "the Indo-Muritians are now dominant in agricultural and domestic callings, and much town and agricultural land has been transferred from the Creole planters to Indians and Chinese. The tendency to an Indian peasant proprietorship is marked." More than 15 years have passed since.

It is gratifying to learn that there has been an interest of late in the pursuit of Hindi literature and language, and a Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has been organized. A Hindu Seva Samity has been formed. It may be mentioned here that there is no communal difficulty as yet; it may be because there is no communal electorate. Hindus and Mahomedans co-operate to the good of the community as a whole.

Twenty-four tracts have been printed and

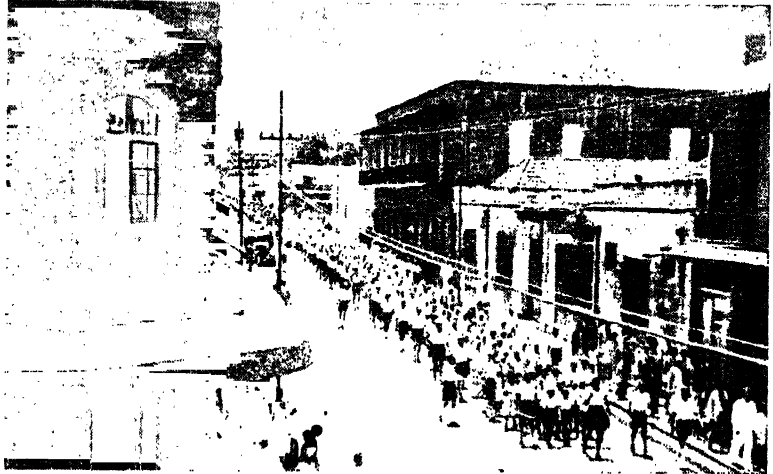
distributed by the Samity. They have their subjects as follows: (1) L'Inde et le Monde; (2) L'Inde et sa religion; (3) L'Inde et sa Civilisacion; (4) L'Unite de l'Inde; (5) L'Inde et sa Philosophie; (6) Versets Védiques; (7) Pensees et Conseils; (8) Orient et Occident; (9) Paroles Eternelles; (10) L'Hinduisme et le Christianisme; (11-12) Les Héros de L'Histoire Indienne; (13) F. *Fool;* (14) Guldasta; (15) Bharat aur us ka dharma (16) Adhyapak Sahachar; (17) Sevak Sahachar; (18) France me Bharat; (19) Daktar Bharadvaj; (20) Beer Manilal; (21) Bharatvarsha ka Itihas, etc., etc.

The Seva Samity has organized about 50 schools for educational purposes. It will be seen that the tracts are mostly educational in nature.



Sri Bissondoyal addressing the pilgrims

On 12th December 1943 sixty thousand Hindus met in the capital, Port Louis, to perform a *maha-yajna*, a great sacrifice, for the good of the world. Among other items there was a procession. It was an unprecedented sight. The members of the *Swayam-Sevak Samiti* which owes its birth to the enthusiasm of the young on the occasion of the Sahitya Sammelan maintained perfect order so that not a single policeman was required to keep the peace. Hindu ladies and *Swayam-Sevikas* attended in large numbers.



Procession, Hindu Mahayajna

The purpose of the *Yajna* being fellowship, the Indians of Mauritius—for Mahomedans joined them—met in one common act of love.

Sri Bissondoyal, one of the organisers of the Sammelan and the sacrifice, a graduate of the Panjab and Calcutta Universities, whose ancestors hailed from Bihar, is seen in one of the photos accompanying, addressing the assembly.

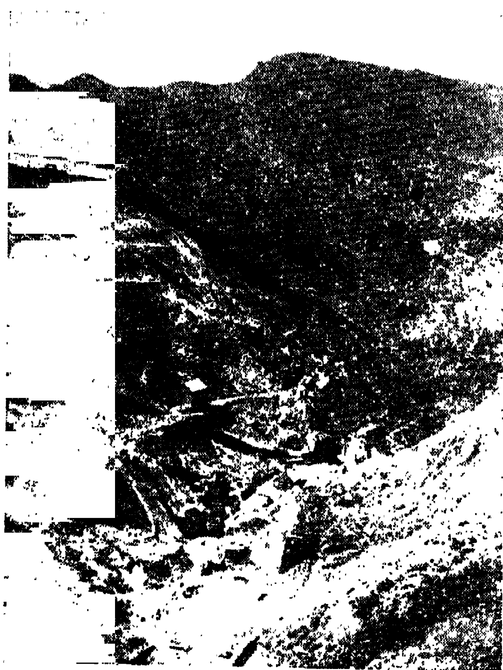
Greater India does not exhaust itself with the history of the past; it forms part and parcel of modern history too, and modern India may profit by some of the lessons which an island like Mauritius has to teach us—one of which is the freedom from communalism in the life of the community.



# SLATE FROM WELSH MOUNTAINS

By CLAUD GOLDING

BENEATH the shadow of Mount Snowdon, in North Wales, are the biggest slate quarries in the world. The slates used in British and Dominions schools; the fullersite (powdered slate) which, mixed with bitumen, is helping to make the military roads that are gradually pushing their way through virgin forest and arid plain in many parts of the world; and even the volcanic dust which forms the basis of face-powder, are almost certain to have come from Wales.



Beneath the shadow of Mount Snowdon, in North Wales, are the biggest slate quarries in the world

There are few things that suggest gloom so readily as slate. Yet there is a good deal of romance in its production, apart from the fact that the quarries are situated in a land of legend and tradition.

Let us go along that tortuous road from Bangor to Bethesda, through wonderful mountain scenery, probably the path taken by the Roman legions and Caractacus, their doughty opponent, at the dawn of the Christian era; where, too, the Merlin of Arthurian legend is said to have dwelt in the sixth century.

### TRIP TO THE WORKS

It is well for our tired bones—if we are not in the bloom of youth—and also for the preservation of our shoes, that we take the bus from Bangor to Tregarth, where we begin the climb up the mountain side to the Penrhyn quarries.

A bare mile along the road we begin to sense unnatural gloom. For, flanking the road are huge banks of discarded slate and stone, towering above the roadway about 200 feet. At once we are reminded of Merlin's prophecy that "the time would come when the rocks of Carnarvonshire would be converted into bread."

Here is evidence of industry over many years; evidence of millions of Welsh man-hours to benefit humanity, and to make bread for families that have lived "quarry" lives in villages that are built of slate.



This picture shows workmen drilling a hole in the rock-face. The slate must only be loosened by blasting, not shattered to powder

We trudge on between the moulds of broken rock until, on the left in a glen, we see the

village of Bethesda, not unattractive in the sunlight which brightens the slate walls and roofs. After a mile or so, we pass through the gates of



This picture shows slabs of slate being stored after planing

the quarry, along a mountain path from which we can see the rugged peaks of adjacent mountains; and finally reach the summit of the hill on which the works are situated.

Soon we can look down and across thousands of feet of excavation to terraces hewn in the rock. These terraces run all the way round the great chasm. On them are men, looking no larger than beetles, and wagons no larger than hazel nuts, moving hither and thither, although from such a height it is not quite apparent what they are doing.

### Process of Blasting

Suddenly there is the sound of a bugle that reverberates all over the quarry. The "beetles" disappear into small huts that look no larger than tea chests, and the "haze" becomes stationary. A strange silence broods over the scene for several minutes. Then comes the crack of an explosion, and a puff of smoke drifts slowly away from the rock face on the far side. Other explosions follow in quick succession, accompanied by the crash of hundreds of tons of rock. A dozen puffs of smoke slowly disperse. The bugle sounds once more, and activity is resumed on the terraces.

We have heard the process of blasting, which goes on at specified times throughout the day. Huge blocks of slate are thus loosened and fall on the terraces. They are split into suitable sizes, and carried by cradle across the excavation to the dressing sheds at the top.

Here we see expert workmen, both old and young, splitting the blocks until they are about an inch thick, and possibly three feet square. More splitters get to work with hammer and chisel, and the slabs are split to a thickness of about one-sixth of an inch, and cut to roofing slate size.

### Methods of Cutting

The apparatus for the cutting appears at first sight to be crude. One instrument is similar to a pair of scissors with one blade attached to a block of wood, the other blade being wielded



This picture shows workmen trimming the slate and packing it into a truck to go to the dressing sheds

# AN INTERESTING PIECE OF SCULPTURE IN THE ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM

By S. C. KALA, M.A.
*Curator, Municipal Museum, Allahabad*

In the Nagod section of the Allahabad Municipal Museum there is an inscribed fragmentary stone post belonging to the 2nd century B.C. The post once adorned the railing of the Bharut Stupa, the remains of which were initially brought to light in the year 1873. In their excessive enthusiasm men uninitiated into the scientific ways disturbed and disarranged most of the finds. It was Sir Alexander Cunningham who began systematic excavation of the site and his efforts were crowned with the remarkable discovery of the Eastern gateway and also other fragments of historical significance. Very recently through the keen efforts of Rai Bahadur Pandit Braj Mohan Vyas, late Executive Officer of the Allahabad Municipal Board, some rare specimens of Bharut sculpture have been acquired for the Municipal Museum.



A fragmentary piece of sculpture, Commercial Museum, Allahabad

The railing post under discussion is not valuable as the only document of the type but also as a document of historical significance throwing light on the styles of entertainments in vogue during the 2nd century B.C.

The relief is executed on a post of red sand stone from Central India. The lower portion of the post is missing but the upper one for all practical purposes complete. The post has bevelled edges. The central space is covered with a dumb-bell shaped panel. The top and the bottom panels are circular. At the top there is a half lotus medallion while the remaining space contains a group of men hanging from the legs of the men at the top. The number of the figures hanging at the bottom is eight. Each man holds the feet of the man above, by firmly gripping the feet and the knees of the one just above him with both of his hands. On one of the bevelled sides there is a male figure in an attitude of adoration and on the other a female figure. The female form is considerably weatherworn but there are indications to show that she was touching her breast with one of her hands.

All the figures in the groups wear a loin cloth and richly embroidered turbans. A longish scarf is thrown round the shoulder with ends falling on either sides or the front. Their bodies are bedecked with earrings, bracelets, necklaces and anklets.

The relief does not represent the best Buddhist art. It lacks that vigorous and fertile imagination which gives all sculpture a certain accent of life and originality. It is wanting in that fire and fervour which leads the artist to conceive and create an unforgettable expression of the very soul of the deity. The highest aim of Buddhist art has been to create an atmospheric repose which in this relief is absent. There is, on the contrary, a tendency towards flatness. The bulging and wide open eyes are devoid of expression. The respect for tradition probably leads the artist to occupy himself with the type rather than with the individual. This is also respon-

sible for the deadening uniformity in facial expressions. The variety shown by the extreme left figures in the second and the third row is a relief to eye.

What this scene signifies it is difficult to explain. There is a fragmentary inscription on this post which reads as 'Pusadataya Ganikaya.' This however does not help us in identifying the scene of the sculpture. The plausible title therefore to the scene would be "Acrobats." In those days art and education were interchangeable forms of expression of national thought and culture. There are several scenes in the art of Bharut which have nothing to do with religion. They are more or less sociological documents. Their purpose is unavowedly secular. Like Moghul art of a later date they excel in exhibition scenes of the palace, city and town and sports or physical feats* but in spirit it is entirely unlike the Moghul aristocratic art. It is in the main a folk art emerging from a society deeply merged in Buddhist religion and folk culture. The various comic scenes and the scene described just above may indicate that inner feeling for joy and laughter which has given the gloomiest religions a luminosity and a ray of hope.

* Barua : *Bharut*, Part III (Fig. 157). (Fig. 62, 64, 75, 76, 77).

# THE ROAD FROM INDIA TO CHINA

## One of the Most Difficult Man Has Built

By TILLMAN DURDIN

Whatever success has been achieved by the Allies against the Japanese in Southeast Asia is due mainly to the construction of the Ledo Road.

Ever since the monsoon finished last fall, progress has quickened on the construction of the Ledo Road that cuts into the Naga Hills from Assam in Northeastern India toward the Japanese bases in Northern Burma. Started in December 1942, the road is now well on its way through the jumbled, jungle-covered mountains.

American, Chinese and Indian engineering units, working with modern equipment and road-building machinery and aided by gangs of Indian civilian labourers, are pushing the road through some of the world's densest forests across successive ranges of two to six thousand foot mountains. Chinese troops are guarding the road, and, supplied from the air, they are staying well in advance of the construction work to keep the route clear of enemy interference.

As it gets steadily nearer the main centres of Japanese control in Northern Burma, the Ledo Road is becoming progressively more important as a factor in the fight against the Japanese in Southeast Asia. Just how far the road has gone and just where it is headed cannot be disclosed at present. For the time being it is through the wild and virtually unknown region of the Naga Hills, into which the Japanese have sent only small patrols from time to time from Hukawng Valley.

### A Flight Over the Road

I took the rear seat of a little observation plane, piloted by Sgt. Marshall G. Eliason and from a few hundred feet in the air followed



Advance patrols which clear the way for the construction gangs behind are supplied by air

the tortuous course of the road to the furthest point where men are blasting jungle trees for the right of way. Within a short time I had

made the round trip which on the day before had taken much longer by jeep



Constant vigilance must be kept on the Ledo Road against Japanese air or land attacks

The road winds and dips its way through some of the worst terrain man ever attempted to traverse with a motor route I have travelled the old Burma road, and the Ledo route is just more of the same, with a thicker jungle thrown in to intensify construction headaches. At times the road snakes around precipitous peaks, and at times it winds alongside bamboo-choked ravines.

On either side is always a wall of jungle—a tangle of hardwood trees and thick undergrowth beautified with the delicate pinks and yellows of the Burma orchid. Col. Charles S. Gleim commands an advance engineering unit on the road. Colonel Gleim has done some building in his time—he was in charge of construction for the Port of New York Authority on the Holland Tunnel, the Lincoln Tunnel and the George Washington Bridge, which even in the U S are considered major construction jobs—and he calls the Ledo Road the worst job he has ever had

Colonel Gleim's men work ahead of the surfacing gangs They scoop and blast the initial route and build temporary bridges behind the Chinese engineering outfit that fells and roots out trees A big task for Colonel Gleim is to prevent the road from washing out behind him until permanent grading, drainage, surfacing and bridging are completed

American troops are working on the Ledo Road and they carried on right through the monsoon when much other construction



The road from India to China which is now being pushed through Northern Burma will be a valuable supply route for the Allied Armies in China, when the road has been completed

work in this area was forced to stop. Last June fifty inches of rain fell over the road. On September 28, seven inches came down, the season's record for a single day. Malaria, dysentery and "Naga sores" that result from leech bites have taken a heavy toll of men, but the work has gone on.

At many places the Ledo Road runs along Naga hill trails across which the thousands of Indian and Burmese and some European and American refugees escaped from Burma in 1942 as the Japanese took over the country. Many died on the route, and their skeletons are a common sight along the Ledo Road. What the engineers think of the Ledo route is expressed in signs along the way, such as "Gateway to Hell," and "Hell's Corner." The many gangs of Indian labourers are considered invaluable help in the road construction.

*Courtesy*: USOWI.

# THE STORY OF BOULDER DAM

THE southwestern corner of the United States, formed by parts of the States of Arizona, Nevada and California, is country of high mountains, deep canyons, deserts and valleys. The scenery is not unsimilar to parts of the Punjab which lie near the Himalayas. Through it, winding south to the Gulf of California in Mexico, flows the mighty Colorado River, known primarily for its wondrously scenic Grand Canyon in northern Arizona. The Colorado is the third longest U. S. river; it rises in snow-capped mountains 1,700 miles north of the Gulf of California.

The untamed Colorado was a menace. Each spring, fed by melting snows, the river roared over its banks and inundated the country for a great distance around. In 1905 the agricultural region of the Imperial Valley in Southern California, which had begun to benefit only a few years before by an irrigation system piped from the Colorado, was devastated by Colorado floods. And while farmers feared flood, they also feared drought, for the Colorado sometimes ran dry.

## BOULDER DAM A CONQUEST

Boulder Dam, standing astride the Colorado River just north of the three-state boundary, stands today as a monument to man's conquest over the vicious cycle of flood and drought. Highest in the world, the dam towers 726 feet above the river. Its powerful generators send electric power surging into the three States, into an area larger than Bengal and the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Its immense reservoirs supply water for domestic use as far away as the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Its irrigation system waters the fruit and vegetable lands of the Imperial Valley, an all-year food source for the nation. Its control system has improved navigation. Its lakes and parks have provided recreation spaces for the people and refuges for wildlife.

The Boulder Dam project, pushed to completion by the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation (part of the Department of the Interior), was the result of many years of planning, deliberation, surveying and testing. The Boulder Canyon Project Act authorizing the work was adopted by the U. S. Congress in 1928. Planning and contract negotiations were completed and construction actually got under way on March 11, 1931.

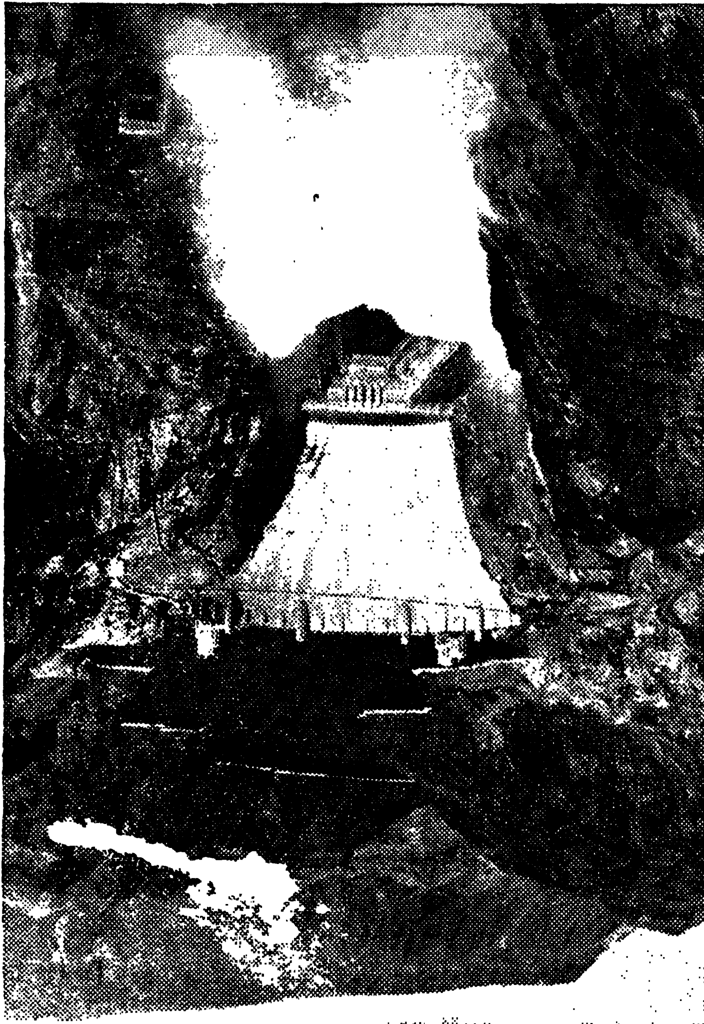
Seven years had been allowed for the difficult job; it was completed and its first generator operating in just over five years. In continuing work and development up to June, 1940, the U. S. Government had spent the equivalent of over Rs. 41 crores in building the dam and over Rs. 10 crores for the All-American Canal, the heart of the Imperial Valley irrigation system.

## THE BENEFITS OF BOULDER DAM

The benefits which Boulder Dam has brought fall into eight categories: Generation of low-cost power; flood control; irrigation; domestic and industrial water supply; elimination of silt; improvement of navigation; recreation, and wildlife and bird refuge.

Electric power flows out from the Boulder Dam generators over a web of transmission lines into municipalities and industrial plants of Arizona, Nevada and California. From the time power operation began, in 1936, to May 30, 1942, the equivalent of slightly less than Rs. 7½ crores in net revenues had been earned against the cost of the project. The city of Los Angeles was Boulder's first big customer. A "Pageant of Light" celebrated transmission of

the first energy October 9, 1936. Today, the vast industrial machinery in the Southern California region operates on Boulder power—airplane factories, shipyards, mining developments and other enterprises.



A view of Boulder Dam on the Colorado River near the three-state boundary of California, Arizona and Nevada in the south-western United States

With a heavy influx of war workers to the area, small businesses of many kinds—stores, theatres, restaurants and markets—have sprung up, all brought into being by the basic fact of electric energy from the huge dam.

In Nevada seven communities, including five mining districts, were without electric service before Boulder power was available. Today there is a revival of mining operations and a prospect of continued expansion in post-war years. There has been a steady reduction in the rates charged to domestic users of electricity as well as to industries.

### Control of Floods

Boulder Dam has taken control of the Colorado River floods. Lake Mead, extending upstream 115 miles above the dam, has a storage capacity equal to two years' flow of the river. It absorbs not only the lesser floods which could occur in any season, but also the great run-offs of spring and summer. Safe from unrestrained waters are the homes and rich lands of the Imperial, Coachella, Yuma and Palo Verde valleys which American pioneers wrested from the desert. These lands below Boulder Dam are estimated to have a value which is equivalent to about Rs. 81¼ crores.

In benefits of irrigation for farming lands of the southwest, Boulder Dam has had an immense impact. The stored waters of the rushing river are parceled out, when needed, to the "vegetable and fruit basket" of the United States.

There are estimated 19,00,000 acres of irrigable land below the Boulder Canyon Reservoir. Of these 7,00,000 acres are in Arizona; 1,175,000 acres in California, and 25,000 acres in Nevada. Actually under irrigation at present are 600,000 acres in California and 60,000 acres in Arizona.

The All-American Canal, reaching 80 miles from the Colorado River into California's Imperial Valley, is an integral part of the Boulder system. It is primarily an irrigation and water-supply source, and its cost is being repaid to the Government by contract arrangement with local governments. Principal crops which benefit in the Imperial Valley are alfalfa, melon, lettuce, barley, corn, milo maize and small fruits. About 30,000 carloads of melon and lettuce are shipped from the valley each season. The alfalfa yield is seven to ten tons per acre, and melon 96 crates to the acre.

The value of land irrigated by the Boulder

project is now estimated at Rs. 487-8-0 an acre, as compared to Rs. 3-4-0 to 15-4-0 an acre before the dam was finished.

### Water Supply Assured

Another important factor in the development of Boulder Dam has been the insuring of ample water supply to 13 Pacific Coast cities of Southern California, including Los Angeles. The Colorado River Aqueduct carries the water over mountain and desert for 242 miles through tunnels, conduits and canals to homes and industries. The Metropolitan water District of Southern California was formed to pay for the diversion dam and aqueduct.

Silt carried by the turbbulent Colorado aggravated the flood danger and clogged the waterway. Today the great reservoirs trap this sediment and free the flow of the river from obstruction.

With construction of Boulder Dam, navigation was opened along the reaches of Lake Mead, the reservoir above the dam, and along the Colorado below the dam. Previously shipping was perlious and uncertain, since the river's flow was uneven.

Finally, a great playground has been opened to the public above Boulder Dam. In 1940, there were 6,00,000 tourists at Lake Mead, using its camping and recreational facilities. Roads have been built, camp sites erected and streams stocked with fish. The lake is easily accessible by motor car from the large cities in the vicinity. In addition, the area has been designated as an official government wildlife refuge, with hundreds of thousands of acres around Lake Mead offered as a haven for animals and birds.

All of these benefits have been reflected in a tremendous increase of population and economic activities in the region served by Boulder Dam. From 1930 to 1940 the population of the metropolitan area of Southern California jumped 27 per cent., while the estimated growth for the nation as a whole in the same period was seven per cent. By 1950, it is estimated that $52\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of people in the region will be served by power and water from Boulder Dam, as compared to 38 lakhs in 1940.



An irrigation project linked to Boulder Dam is enriching this tract of land in Arizona, U. S. A.

*Courtesy* : USOWI



# THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE first quarter of 1944 is now at an end, and therefore the opening of the Second Front now should be imminent. Although Mr. Churchill has warned the world that there would necessarily be many false alarms and many feints before the real thrust is delivered, there are certain limiting factors which would place the beginning of the second quarter of the year as being the most suitable for the opening moves. Days are lengthening now, and daylight, or too much of it is not very good for large-scale landing operations against a determined and well-prepared opponent. The beginning of April will provide a modicum of moonlight with intermittent cloudy weather, which is regarded by some experts as being ideal for such operations. In Russia the thaw must now be well on the way, and that might give the hard-pressed German High Command some respite by the end of April. And if that respite does come, it would militate to a certain limited extent against the Allied plans in the west of Europe. The shortening of the nights would further put limitations on the scope of large-scale night air-raids such as are now taking place over Europe and would render large-scale ship movements liable for detection by scouting air-craft and submarines. These and other factors considered make April the most likely month for the invasion of western Europe, but of course there might be equally weighty considerations that may lead to the further postponing of the actual campaign.



Chinese troops, trained in India by Americans, pass a bull-dozer in a forward section of the new Ledo Road.—USOWI

In any case Russia is relentlessly keeping up the pressure against the Axis defenders who are now thrown back to the approaches to the Carpathians and the frontiers of Rumania and Hungary. Further south they are still on Russian soil and to the north of the Dniester area near Tarnopol, where they are still grimly hanging on in an endeavour to slacken up the Russian advance, they are now in a narrow salient of which the escape gap is being very slowly pinched in by the Soviets' armies. Up in the north nothing much has been heard for some time about the Russian armies that were pressing into Esthonia, and it must be presumed that there is a temporary lull there, while the Russian armies are waiting for reinforcements and supplies to enable them to re-group for fresh assaults. Russian pressure is now at a peak where the three frontiers of Poland, Hungary and Rumania meet. between Ruthenia and the Bukovina, with the Dniester to the east and the Carpathians approches to the west. The German defence line here is very near strong natural barriers and so the Russian advance in this area is likely to be costly and slow.

In main the German High Command has not been able to stem the Soviets' drive in the Ukraine as yet, and the signs are that the Russians are intensifying the pressure in order to complete the expulsion of the Germans out

of the Soviets' territories before the thaw holds up the campaign. On the other hand, despite newspaper reclams, no major German debacle is as yet in view. The Tarnopol salient has not yet been liquidated and curiously enough the Axis forces in Crimea have not so far made any attempt at pulling out, despite the fall of Nikolaiev. There is no disorderly retreat or rout apparent anywhere in the southern front, and in the middle portion and the north there seems to be a lull. All of which seem to indicate that despite the fact that even though 60 per cent of the available land forces of the German High Command must by now been stationed at other fronts, to meet the impending shock of the Western Allies' invasion forces, the job lies heavy on the shoulders of Russia. Magnificent as have been the results of this last total effort of the Soviets, it can only be crowned with ultimate success when the Second Front starts delivering the same amount of pressure on the Axis as is being exerted on it in the East.

On the Italian front the Allies are still bogged down in the face of German opposition. The latest news from this sector does not indicate any improvement in the situation beyond the fact that General Mark Clark has evidently been successful in beating off the furious German attempts at driving his army into the sea. Cassino, which is in a sense the keystone of the Gustav defence line, has not been cleared of its German defenders as yet and the latest news putting forward the opinion that fighting in this area is now only a matter of prestige makes curious reading. It is true that at the present all the energies of the Western Allies must be devoted to the opening moves of the Second Front invasion and until such time as the bridge-heads in the West are established on a broad-front commensurate with the requirements of a campaign on the lines of continental warfare, there should be no dissipation of strength. But it must not be forgotten that Mussolini is at liberty and in power in Northern Italy, and given time he may again develop more than a mere nuisance value for the Axis.

In the Far-East and the South-Pacific fronts there is no change in the procedure. There is still the same painfully-slow and costly method of jumping from island to island in force despite indications in the U. S. A. press that public opinion there is getting impatient. "Slow but sure" and "All in good time" seem to be the cardinal principles guiding the counter-offensive against Japan. There have been many criticisms and some amount of acrimony in the U. S. A. over the mildness of support given to General MacArthur in his amphibious campaign. Nothing is in evidence as yet to show that there has been any change in the ideology of the Allied Supreme Command regarding the measures to be adopted against Japan.

The Japanese diversion on the Indo-Burma Frontier has been the focus of public attention for some little time past. Various opinions have been pronounced on the situation by the spokesmen of the Allied Command and these have been prominently displayed in the press. The importance of retaining Imphal has been stressed, as without it maintenance of supplies and reinforcements to General Stillwell's divisions would become well-nigh impossible. It has been further pointed out that the Allied forces in the sectors affected enjoy superiority in all arms and that the supremacy in air is unchallenged. Various guesses have been made regarding the main objective of the enemy, most of which come to the conclusion that it is in the main an attempt to forestall Allied offensive plans, on the principle that "attack is the best defence," which theory certainly seems to be fully justified by the enemy moves made so far.



U. S. troops land south of Rome.—USOWI

As yet we have no clear picture before us showing the pattern of the Japanese offensive. But in the main it has been uptil now a confused series of opportunistic—and very shrewd at that—blows on or around the main centres from which a many-pronged drive into Burma might have been initiated by the Allied South-East Command. The Chin Hills, the Kabaw Valley, Arakans, all of them contained bases from which strong thrusts might have been launched against the main strongholds of the Japanese in Burma.



The bazooka at a demonstration of the U. S. Army's new anti-tank gun to student gunners —USOWI

The Hukwang Valley thrust has amply demonstrated that the Japanese defence measures in the frontier areas are far from complete as yet, and, on the other hand, the terrain of the Indo-Burmese frontiers, makes it impossible that a major offensive could be launched from any single sector, on a scale much exceeding that of the forces under General Stillwell. The Japanese evidently did not think that a thrust even of the magnitude of that now being delivered down the Hukwang Valley was possible over the extremely rugged and jungle-clad mountainous barriers of the Frontier. Realization of the dangerous potentialities of a series of similar thrusts from many directions along the land frontiers has resulted in a quick reaction on their part, the reaction being this typically daring and violent gamble in which much has been staked on the element of surprise, as is usual in the tactics employed by the Japanese on similar terrain.

As yet it is too early to speculate on the results of this move on the part of the Japanese, since the struggle is still going through a critical phase. Not much news is being released as yet—for obvious and justifiable reasons—about the details of the fight in the vital Manipur sector, but it is becoming evident that the surprise phase is coming to an end. It cannot be denied that the Japanese have made some definite gains, not the least being the temporary stalling off of the present Allied offensive, and now it is the turn of the Allied command to make the weight of numbers and superior armament tell. It is too late in the season, with the monsoons only a few weeks ahead, for a complete reversal of the position to take place through a counter-offensive being staged on a major scale across the Upper Chindwin, but in any case a full restoration of the operational bases should be achieved in the near future.

Although the Japanese must be paying dearly for the successes they are achieving, we think too much stress is being laid on that point. The total weight of the struggle now going on in Burma, does not measure up to that centring round the beach-heads near Rome, as has been correctly pointed out by a war-correspondent. And even if it did, we do not think a ruthless and tough opponent like Japan is likely to place much consideration on that score, while a vital gamble was going on. When a desperate bid for strategic gains is made with inferior numbers and with inferior equipment on the " double or quits " principle, it should rather be taken for granted that the enemy is prepared to write off the entire force employed, as the costs of the venture, if for nothing else then merely to gain time, the most vital factor in Japanese considerations now.



Allied forces land 30 miles south of Rome. An American tank rolls uphill from a beach between Anzio and Nettuno on the west coast of Italy



Allied scout cars and trucks roll over a completed section of the Ledo Road, which is being built from India through the Burma jungles to China



American troops embark for thrust south of Rome. Allied landing forces establish beachheads in the Anzio-Nettuno area, 30 miles south of Rome

U. S. planes fly over a German airport on their way to bomb Munster

# THE WRITER IN A CHANGING WORLD

By Professor RAJENDRA VARMA, M.A.

"The Great Poet, in writing himself, writes his time."—T. S. Eliot.

What can we make of our society which has produced two World Wars in the course of two decades? Society is used here to mean those basic foundations upon which the human society of all nations rests irrespective of racial, cultural or religious dissimilarities. Because, after all, however revolting the idea may be, man's society has been changing with changing material conditions, and the material conditions, to express baldly, are mainly conditions of production and exchange. It may indeed touch the romantic revivalists to the quick who suppose that human society moves on the pivot of some eternal value. Bernard Shaw's *Major Barbara*, as early as 1905, perceived the truth when she said,

"I stood on the rock I thought eternal and without a word it reeled and crumbled under me."

For persons centred in their own dream world and static visions, it needs years of whizzing bullets, shattering splinters and Air-raid sirens to rouse and make them sensitive to the world around them. At the first sight the protagonist of this talk of society, economic foundations, wars and revolutions might seem to fly off at a tangent on politics; but it is undeniable also that these things vitally affect and mould social relations, disturb and juxtapose values, and transform the psychic man. Literature, if it is the expression of the social man's hopes and fears, loves and hates and general attitude to life in emotional terms, cannot possibly remain cold and unaffected. Literature therefore represents this action and reaction, this clash and synthesis that goes on in human society and consequently in the mind of man. When literature keeps pace with this transformation it is said to progress.

So far there can be little by way of debate. But danger peeps in when "Progressivism" in literature becomes chic for like all fashion dresses it begins with the risk of blind and unquestioning idolatry. It has yet another danger in the shape of "ism" at the end of the term. Like all "isms" it also provokes violent prejudices and partisan spirit. In order to evaluate Progressivism in the correct perspective is needed discussion of its origin, nature and implications.

## I

Most of the literary cults that reach our shores to tempt our instinct for variety come from the West. Our nearest approach to this Western influence is through English literature.

The post-War era in English literature was one of disillusionment, irreverence, self-consciousness and disgust. The War with its woeful results taught men the relation of the objective world to literary impulse. The nineteenth century writers, mostly the Victorians, regarded the objective world as something alien to the spirit of fine literature. Tennyson was baffled by the enormity of the tide of events, Browning escaped into a realm of metaphysical speculation. But the generation after the last Great War saw through the tinsel of values founded on "Escape." Things for them fell apart, the centre could not hold; but this climate of uncertainty and futility reared up, in course of time, a growing interest into the co-relation between social events and literary values. To them literature mattered only as the consciousness of the age. The literary tradition had rather die if it did not act as a pervasive influence upon thought, feeling and standard of living. T. S. Eliot and his disciples Dr. Leavis, Dr. Richards, etc., who grew sceptical of the master in the long run; W. R. Auden, Cecil Day Lewis and Stephen Spender who wrestled with the problem of a cure of the people consumed with deathwill; Ralph Fox and Caudwell who mercilessly exposed the class character of a bourgeois-ridden culture, are some of the few but those that matter in the field of contemporary criticism in English literature.

Mr. T. S. Eliot has still round him the halo of a prophet, but a prophet who is being gradually lost to his people. It is he who even till this day dominates the technique of poetry; his severe measured and sober enunciations of literary theories have become postulate in a good deal that has been written on Donne, Dryden, Milton and Romantic poets. He is most keenly alive to the dangers of a society which has fallen in fragments and with it, inherited culture of the past. His *Wasteland*

in plan, execution and imagery typifies the uprooting and disorganisation of European culture. The plight of modern European society fills him with acute sadness. In order that literature may reappear as the final flowering of a coherent society he has his own suggestions to make. And Mr. Eliot would always be important whatever he may say.

"The people," he wrote in *Sacred Wood*, "which ceases to care for its literary inheritance becomes barbaric, the people which ceases to produce literature ceases to move in thought and sensibility."

Literary inheritance is then the vital point with Eliot in reckoning the creative possibilities of a people. This inheritance involves a strong belief and absorption in much that has gone by, in a word, Tradition. Sick to the heart at the sight of a society bereft of faith, enfeebled in convictions (symptoms of the same disease which overtook the European mind after the last Great War) he means to rejoin it to a past when Man's life was such as gave him his poise and true insight into reality.

Mr. Eliot has indeed raised a very vital issue. Can literature progress by completely breaking away from the past and converting uncertain present into the stuff for dreams of future ? Much will depend on what tradition really means and what part it plays in the evolution of society. Lest we should carry away a popular connotation of the term Eliot warns us that it is not something static nor does it mean merely that which has happened in the past and still sustains us. He has rationalised his position in *After Strange Gods* which may be briefly stated thus :

"Tradition is rather a way of feeling and acting which characterises a group throughout generations. It may be conceived as a by-product of right living not to be aimed at directly. It is of the blood so to speak rather than that of the brain : it is the means by which the vitality of the past enriches the life of the present."

Emphasis of Eliot is clearly on the historical sense. Then he goes on to say :

"The general effect in literature of the lack of any strong tradition is two-fold : extreme individualism in views, and no accepted rules or opinions as to the limitations of the literary job, when one man's view of life is as good as another's all the more enterprising spirits will naturally evolve their own. . . . . It is true that the existence of a right tradition, simply by its influence upon the environment in which the poet develops, will tend to restrict eccentricity to manageable limits. . . . . But what is most disastrous is that the writer should deliberately give rein to his individuality, that he should even cultivate his differences from others; and that his readers should cherish the author of genius, not in spite of his deviations from the inherited wisdom of the race, but because of them."

Mr. Eliot is convinced that without a correct historical sense a writer, instead of representing the consciousness of his age, develops and projects his own personal view of life into his writings; in short his creation becomes a private affair, uprooted from the soil of his race. He protests against the way some of the modern novelists try to foist their personal view of life upon their readers; this tendency, as we would see, results inevitably in the exploitation of personality. Now personality is no illicit intruder in the literary craft, the writer does express his personality in his writings, but personality in this sense does not cancel the strong relations which bind him to his environments. Jane Austen, Dickens and Thackeray had their own personality; but

"the standards by which they criticised their own world, if not very lofty ones, were at least not of their own making."

But Mr. Eliot gets alarmed as soon as a writer tends to draw inspiration deep down from his own self. He praises George Eliot for her profound moral insight and passion but disapproves her "individualistic morals" which were fashioned after the contemporary philosophical ideals of empiricism.

So far two points emerge out in relief : first, by cherishing his separateness from traditions of his society or race a writer achieves eccentricity rather than originality; for according to Eliot originality consists in improving upon and creating newly out of what already exists. Originality is not exaggerated novelty. Second, that the writer should not cultivate his personal view of life to the exclusion of the community view which is the product of centuries of living and feeling together. By way of concrete illustrations Mr. Eliot points out the contrast between D. H. Lawrence and James Joyce. Lawrence, says he, has no accepted moral sense; he is ever concerned with two individuals and their failure—"always looking to the perfect relationship and of course never finding it."

In the Lawrentian world, to the painful surprise of Mr. Eliot are wholly absent the spiritual conflict, the Original Sin, etc. His men and women are sick, emotionally and mentally. They are ever groping after the dark gods of the 'blood' rather than the usual false gods of the 'brains.' Mr. Eliot is baffled by Lawrence's insensibility to ordinary social morality. He holds that it is spiritual conflict which alone can show us as true human beings. Now Lawrence's men and women are not true human beings since their creator himself lacked any sense of spiri-

tual conflict. On the other hand, James Joyce is accepted with approval by Mr. Eliot because in this novelist he discerns a consciousness of Christian morality. James Joyce is concerned with 'relation of God to man'; his understanding of the Sin is the key that unlocks the character of Stephen Dedalus in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. His art is permeated by a sense of history, while Lawrence's art being individualistic is expressive of the momentary.

With the first point of the argument few will disagree. We know that the quest for novelty often lands the artist in the mazeland of eccentricity. And this eccentricity ultimately digs the grave of the writer's cult. Dadaism, Surrealism and extreme Symbolism are some of the instances to the point. With the substance of the second point, too, most of us agree. There is nothing like 'personal view of life' in literature if it be the expression of the time. The artist has his individuality inasmuch as it heightens his selectivity, beyond that he becomes the spokesman of his people. In this role he does not necessarily submit to the people's view of life. The conflict in him, which largely generates the creative power, results in a synthesis which is the point of view of the age.

But, then, shall we go whole-hog with Mr. Eliot? Let us search beneath the sober and austere exterior of his theory. If tradition is not standing still but

"rather a way of feeling and acting which characterizes a group throughout generations,"

shall we take it that the 'group' remains the same in character throughout generations? Mr. Eliot would, of course, answer that these habits of the heart and mind of the community should be supervised by what he pleases to call 'orthodoxy.' To make himself clearer he says:

"Tradition and orthodoxy mean habits of the community formulated, elevated and corrected by the continuous thought and direction of the Church."

So then, it is the Church (of course for the British community) which performs the task of the critic and guide of the community habits. Tradition is linked up with the functioning of the Church.

Mr. Eliot is not so absurd and dogmatic as he appears at this antiquated theory. In rehabilitating the prestige of the Church by picking up the thread of 'tradition' what he aims at is the creation of a mind which is homogeneous and not divided and confused as at present. The present European mind hops about because there is no balanced view of life. The power of the Church has gone to waste, man's ingenuity consists only in devising means to excite and satisfy his senses, all sanctions which held together the individual and the community are dissolved and men are mere "Hollow men—Stuffed men." Mr. Eliot speaks out, again and again, against such a state of society of Europeans. In order to save it from the final crash he wants the re-living of the traditional life which is shot through and through with Church morality.

What is that life to which Mr. Eliot appeals? Evidently it is the Middle Ages. The medieval society was more ordered and coherent than ours. The Church ruled the heart and mind of men; scholastic philosophy was based upon faith which it was a rank heresy to challenge. All Europe had one mind and a single eye. To such an age belonged Dante who sends Mr. Eliot into raptures. This coherence disintegrated at the revolt of the Renaissance spirit. And with the break up of the old medieval order began the spiritual troubles for Mr. Eliot.

All would be well for Mr. Eliot if the society did not change its character or changed at the dictation of the Church. But laws of social dynamics prove that Mr. Eliot's conclusion is a sorry bungle. The cultural form or the state of society in the Middle Ages was a product of the economic environment; the simple methods of production and exchange, the absence of exclusive nationalism and so of centralised temporal authority, the clear-cut division of the society into serfs and feudal lords because of the simple forming and lack of widespread commerce—all tended to produce a homogeneity in which the individual was a cog in the great machine. He would not revolt because faith was superior to reason. But with the inrush of the Renaissance spirit this order was disturbed. Feudalism was yielding before a centralised authority and with the growth of commerce was rising the bourgeois class which was the precursor of a new age. The bourgeoise of the early Renaissance was up in revolt against the obsolete social and cultural conventions which impeded its path.

Now ideas and institutions outgrow their economic environment and get imbued in the life of the people through memories of the past. The institution of the Church when it ruled and ordered life of the medieval man is one such instance. It was a powerful factor in the medieval times. At any particular stage of human history clash is going on between old customs and institutions which are out of gear with the new economic facts, and the new cultural forms, institutions and ideas which the new conditions

warrant. The present day capitalist society with its supreme temporal power has already sapped the moral fibres of the Church; yet the spirit of the Church morality has been handed down from generation to generation. It has become part of the deep-rooted mental habits of the people. But the clash has occurred between the old values and new facts. The need for change is felt all around. At this stage the change may be a true synthesis, or a reactionary one imposed upon the society by those in power. This is not an entirely novel phenomenon. When capitalism was faced with a deeper crisis it sought refuge in a new fascist structure which could buttress it up. Now capitalism is individualistic, it was born out of the *laissiz faire* policy, and fascism is totalitarian, the opposite of individualism. Yet capitalist morality fused into the fascist one because it was such a change that could save it from final catastrophe. Such a change is therefore admittedly reactionary and it is this "change" which Mr. Eliot holds out as a solution of the present muddle—his acceptance of a decayed institution as the only instrument for ordering the contemporary chaotic life and his nostalgiac longing for the medieval life, are the constituents of this change which is comically out of tune with realities of today. He is unconsciously helping those who mean to divert the mass of disgust, doubt and self-contempt into channels which are relics of an old order. It is the philosophy of those who have anything to lose by real social changes, those who stand for the *status quo* in society.

This 'tradition' of Mr. Eliot therefore is myth. It is a myth which has a moral for mad adventurists in literature, it is not entirely without value. But in the last analysis it is a form of reaction. For progress to be real, discontent with the present is needed. Mr. Eliot is thoroughly discontented with European life as he sees it at present. But for progress something more positive is needed. You may either go back or move forward. Mr. Eliot is one of those who would move away from the present but backwards. Progress consists in a correct historical perspective, in moving towards new cultural forms which follow in the wake of synthesis between conflicting forces.

(*To be continued*)

# INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

## A Critical Survey

By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. UMESHA MISHRA, Kavyatirtha, M.A., D.Litt.,
*University of Allahabad*

II

After reviewing in brief the progress made in Indian Philosophy and Religion in the course of these two years, I now propose to take up the next and perhaps the more important aspect of my duty.

It is already known to you how Philosophy in India is inseparably connected with the very idea of existence. It is, perhaps, because of this that it has outlived all possible changes social, religious and political through which the country has passed. Several nations of the world have, from time to time, invaded, conquered and ruled over the country, partly or wholly, and produced political and a few social changes. The Muslims, the Buddhists and the Jainas and many others, have attempted to reform the social and religious outlook of the people of this country and may have been even successful to a certain extent though quite detrimental to the interests of Indian thought and people, yet none of them could ever produce any change whatsoever in the philosophical outlook of the country. Ever since the very dawn of reasoning truths as propounded by the great seers have remained unaltered. The utterances—the unfolding of the best and mature experiences of the great seers and sages—have proved infallible and insurmountable so far. It is in this respect that India has held her head high and has never stooped down before any nation of the world. Indian philosophy is, undoubtedly, the purest and the most reliable record of human achievements. In fact, it is the nucleus round which all that is best and most sublime in India has grown. Hence, if we want to study India in her unsophisticated form we must unearth her hidden treasures—the philosophical records—of which we are so proud.

It should be always kept in mind that in order to study the mind of any country it is most indispensable to be very intimately and sympa-

thetically acquainted with the general conditions of the country, with the natural trend of the mind of its people and with its religious and social customs and practices. The unperturbed and unassuming life of a country forms the very back-bone of the thought of that country. It is found reflected and inter-woven in its literatures both light and serious. But there is something more, and much more important than this in Indian literature, particularly, in its philosophy. The gradual evolution of her philosophical thoughts, the mature and infallible experiences of the great seers of the past as recorded in the authoritative texts, represent only the theoretical aspect of human existence, while the practical side of it is found in the actual and unsophisticated normal life of her people. If, therefore, a system of Philosophy in India does not correspond to the actual functioning of human life on regular and sane line, it would have neither any practical value nor any general appeal; and I am afraid, it does not deserve to be recognised as a system of Indian thought. In other words, one must study and understand with faith the true spirit of the life of Indian people in order to have a proper grasp of the spirit of her Philosophy.

It must be kept in mind that philosophy and life of the people in India both aim at the same goal, that is, absolute freedom from pain or the realisation of the highest truth. There exists mutual reflection between these two. In other words, life of people in India is regulated in close adherence to what is found in her philosophy. Thus, Philosophy and Life may be said to be identical for Indians. The standard of judgment is the same for both. So without any hesitation we may say that the life of people in India is nothing but philosophy in practice. This alone differentiates Indian Philosophy from those of other countries.

The ultimate aim of Philosophy and Life in India is realised by the true vision of the Supreme Self, that is *Atman;* so says the Sruti—'आत्मा वाऽरे द्रष्टव्यः', and every system of thought directly or indirectly stands as a means (*sādhana*) to this very aim. It is only because of this that it deserves the name *Darsana*. The nature of this *Atman* is so very subtle that to speak of it, nay even to think of it, is simply impossible as is clear from the Sruti—'यतो वाचो विवर्त्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह'.

It is never possible to know the unlimited *Atman,* that is, its realisation, with the limited *Manas*. The *anantarūpa* of the *Atman* cannot be expounded by any one particular school of thought. So what is found in different systems is that each one has limited its scope and represents one or two aspects of that ultimate truth only. Thus Nyāya-Vaisesika, for instance, asserts the separate and independent existence of *Atman*, while the Sānkhya proves that it is nothing but pure *caitanya* and leaves for the Vedānta to propound its blissful nature. Accordingly, every enquirer into the nature of this ultimate truth cannot realise it at one and the same time. It is, therefore, that the great *Acāryas* have advised us to proceed after the *Arundhatīdarsana-nyāya* and have laid great emphasis on the question of *Adhikāribheda*. It necessitates the attainment of those qualifications and conditions which must be acquired and fulfilled by the aspirant to philosophical studies before he can enter their portals and also in the course of those studies until he realises the ultimate goal. With this back-ground the various schools of philosophy in India have been arranged and any one desirous to study them must also be accordingly equipped.

This being so, it must be admitted that the various schools of Indian Philosophy expound the Truth from different angles of vision. Thus, it is not correct to hold that all the schools of thought deal with the same aspect and from the same stand-point. I do not think it would have been ever possible for the systems of thought to differ amongst themselves had they all taken their stand upon the same angle of vision. Can under any circumstance a thing, say a pot (*ghata*), for instance, appear to be different from what it is, if it be looked upon from the same standpoint? But that there exists vast difference in the objects of treatment between the various schools cannot be gainsaid. It is this very difference in the outlook that necessitates the difference in their objects of treatment. Again, to an enquirer when all the systems are looked upon collectively, there appears a sort of gradation also amongst the various schools of Indian Philosophy. One system presupposes the treatment of another. As for instance, the Sankara-Vedānta presupposes the *Satkāryavāda*, the *caitanyasvarūpa* of the *Atman* and so on of the *Sānkhya*.. It is therefore, difficult to follow a particular system, if systems dealing with those stages which are prior to that, have not been properly studied. The doctrines of Sankara-Vedānta cannot be rightly understood if the Sānkhya system has not been thoroughly studied, or those of the

Sānkhya without the careful study of Nyāya-Vaisesika, and so on. Hence, what one particular system teaches is only an aspect of the ultimate truth and not the whole.

Having kept all these in mind if any new approach is made to realise the highest end, it is welcome, and I would consider it an addition to the existing systems of Indian Philosophy. Do we not have some ten different systems of Vedānta alone closely based on the *Brahmasūtras* all leading to one and the same goal? Not to speak of the past but even within our own living memory, only some three years back, the late Mahamahopadhyaya Panchanana Tarkaratna of this very city propounded a new line of thinking, called *Svarupādvaitavāda* and wrote a new and quite original commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, *Isāvāsyopanisad* and the *Bhagavadgītā* named *Saktibhāsya*. His viewpoint is indeed a fresh addition to the list of the already existing monistic thoughts in the History of Indian Philosophy. According to this view the Absolute or the Universal Being is the Unity of Supreme Power which is identical and yet in a mysterious way transcendent of its mutually contradicting aspect of *Cit* and *Acit* (*Purusa* and *Prakriti*), or Spirit and Matter—the eternal principles of Light and Darkness, of Consciousness and Insentiency, of Immutability and Flux. Spirit and Matter are held to have a common essence with *Brahman* or *Sakti*; in fact, they have the same indivisible unity of Being एका सत्ता as of *Brahman* or *Sakti*. There may be others who might have done similar service to the cause of true knowledge. The only point to be kept in view is that we should be true to our aim and that we are consistent in our method of approach in accordance with what has been said before.

This sort of originality is possible only when a man has maintained moral and spiritual discipline throughout his life and is at least above the average man, if not entirely, free from *rāga*, *dvesa* and *moha;* and is always guided with right intuition अपरोक्षानुभूति and is also equipped with the knowledge of the existing systems. In the present generation most of us are busy in ascertaining the correct interpretation of the existing texts. No doubt, this is very useful and must be done at all cost, but we should never forget that this is a *means* only and not the *final aim*. Though Philosophy in India is more or less individualistic and requires that every individual person should realise the ultimate truth for himself, yet it is also necessary that he should leave behind his mature experiences for the good of the future generation.

It is very encouraging to see that the study of Indian Philosophy is becoming more popular and that the students and teachers of European philosophy also consider their equipment incomplete without its study. To my mind this is a change which has been brought about by the publication of *the History of Indian Philosophy* by Professors S. Radhakrishnan and Das-Gupta. No doubt, the ground was originally prepared by the translations of the most important and difficult texts by the late Dr. Jha and a few others, but it is from the pen of these Professors that the thoughts have been synthetically arranged and presented to the scholarly world in a more interesting and readable form, so that it has become quite clear to all that Indian Philosophy also can be studied like the Philosophy of other countries. Following these scholars many others have also begun to write and it is very pleasing indeed to see several books now in the field. These scholars represent one type of scholarship, while the other type is found represented by scholars like the late MM. Dr. Jha, MM. Gopinath Kaviraja and a few others who have produced much more critical works entirely based on original sources and imbued with authenticity.

These two types of work present a very important problem for us. We know the Western thought, though critical and logical, yet is entirely speculative. Scholars trained in that thought wholly depend upon reasonings and have no means to verify their conclusions. It is also a fact which needs no verification that howsoever pure a reasoning may be it can never ensure the validity of their results unless it is corrobroated by the actual reality. It is not that the Western scholarship does not realise this deficiency in its method, but as the philosophical problems are so very subtle and as they deal mostly with things which are beyond the range of our physical means of verification, it is not at all possible to carry on experiments in this field. It is, therefore, that the results of their speculation are frustrated very often and the scholars working according to that method are never sure of what they are doing. In Indian Philosophy, however, there is the process of *nididhyāsana* which is compulsory for all to test the validity of the results of pure reasoning, and so its conclusion is never found invalid.

Under the circumstances, when scholars trained in the Western method purely on speculative lines make an effort to interpret the subtle problems of Indian Philosophy, they cannot

ordinarily be expected to change their outlook and use the Indian method; for, once the speculative method has made its impression on their mind, it is difficult, if not impossible, to wipe it off and remove their prejudices. I would insist on the combination of the critical method of Western scholarship and that of the orthodox learning. It may be true in the present circumstances to doubt the critical habit of Indian scholars, but it is simply ignorance to deny it. Our higher studies in different branches of learning very clearly show that the method of critically examining a problem is even now traditionally present in most of our orthodox Pandits. It is, therefore, that the scholars of European philosophy try to find out the thoughts of Spinoza, Berkeley, Hume, Kant and Hegel in the works of Indian thinkers and if, by chance, they could thrust in their views in the works of Sankara, Rāmānuja and others, then alone they appear to attach some sense to the works of Indian Philosophers. In other words, the present standard of judgment of our modern scholars is Western thought. Whatever appears similar to or is found nearer to the western thought that alone can have some value for our modernists. The result is that Indian thoughts are interpreted wrongly in the light of the western thoughts and the true spirit and merit are hardly ever realised by them. This is a grave danger which we have before us. If this practice is allowed to continue for a longer period, I am afraid, the original contributions of Indian Philosophy will be thrown behind the huge columns of thick dark clouds of utter ignorance, and the sublime tradition of the thought will be irrecoverably lost.

Already it is found that, due to some reason or other, the traditions of certain schools are lost and we find ourselves in utter helplessness to understand the true spirit of those thoughts. I will just refer to one or two instances to illustrate the above :

From our studies of the various schools of philosophy, we find Sānkhya has been so very popular that hardly there is a sastra, or even a book of Sanskrit literature which does not refer to its teachings, and it is perhaps due to this very popularity that we have so many variations in its treatment. As for instance, some hold *Prakriti* to be eternal, while others consider it to be a product. Again, some believe that there is only one *Prakriti,* while others propound its plurality, and so on. But due to the loss of its tradition and some connecting link we find hardly any commentary which can claim to be true and faithful to what Isvarakrsna has taught in his *Kārikās,* and to my mind it has become extremely difficult to restore his teachings.

Again, a much more serious result appears to be that though it is so very clear that there exists a synthetic gradation amongst the various schools of Indian Philosophy, yet most of our orthodox Pandits, who are, in fact, the real custodians of the treasures of Indian scholarship, are quite unwilling to accept it. It is the negligence of this outlook which seems to me responsible for so much misunderstanding in the true interpretation of philosophical problems even amongst the orthodox Pandits.

Then again, we know that the Bhāsya of Ramanujacarya on the *Badarayanasutras* is called *Srībhāsya* and there is a common belief in this part of the country that the school of Rāmānuja-Vedānta is said to belong to the *Srīsampradāya.* Most of our Pandits and modern scholars hold that *Srī* is the founder of the *Sampradāya* and they quote the following verse from the *Padmapurāna* in support of their belief :

कलौ खलु भविष्यन्ति सम्प्रदायप्रवर्त्तकाः ।
श्रीब्रह्मरुद्रसनकाः वैष्णवाः क्षितिपावनाः ॥

But our critical study and enquiry in the traditional families indicate that *Srī* is not the founder of this *Sampradāya* and that the school of Rāmānuja-Vedānta emphasises *Sriyah Patih* and not *Srī.* It is further said that as the term *Srī* indicates नित्यविभूतिमत्त्व the Vaisnavas of the Rāmānuja school and others also have been traditionaly adding it before everything they name. So they have *Srīvaikuntha, Srīdhāma, Srīmukha,* and so on. Now it is difficult to say which of the two views is correct.

These are some of the instances where we can see the disastrous results of the loss of tradition and original thoughts. So if our modern scholars continue the practice of reading western thoughts in Indian thoughts, I am afraid, only after a few years the true spirit will be lost, nay the very foundation of Indian Philosophy will be shaken, and once the tradition is lost, it will not be possible to recover it.

I must make it clear that I am not opposed to any comparative study, rather I think it very useful for the clear understanding of philosophical problems. What I mean, therefore, is that as the two thoughts differ like the two poles in their outlook, it is very difficult to find out any common and useful ground to work on and any kind of forced interpretation to bring them together will simply ruin the cause. So these

two thoughts should be left to flourish quite independently in their own separate spheres. And if ever any reference has to be made for showing some similarity their outlook should never be forgotten. With these clear ideas of difference in mind whenever and wherever any attempt is made to study Indian Philosophy, it is welcome. It is, therefore, quite necessary that we, the students and teachers of Indian Philosophy, should try to study the original texts on the traditional methods and not to depend upon mere translations which are generally confusing and sometimes convey thoughts not quite accurate. At present there is a great need of that type of scholarship which the late MM. Dr. Jha, MM. Ramavatara Sarma and the present MM. Gopinath Kaviraj have shown in their works. We should produce works written with the help of modern critical method combined with the depth of learning of the traditional Pandits. This type of work alone can maintain the high tradition and purity of Indian thought. Our work should be marked with authenticity fully documented with original texts and critical judgment. We know such works will not be so popular, but is it not dangerous to sacrifice everything for gaining popularity ? For popularity too we do want a separate set of books, so that they can be freely used by the beginners, or those who are working in different fields and cannot easily get any facility to study standard works. But here also I would like the presentation of thoughts to be very accurate, so that the grounding of our beginners may not remain shaky and unsound.

By the way, I wish to inform you that it is with this very idea that the admirers and friends of the late Dr. Ganganatha Jha have founded a Research Institute at Allahabad. Amongst its various aims, one is to bring the two types of scholars together to their mutual benefit. There are eminent Sanskritists whose knowledge of their subject is deep and quite sound, but neither it is recognised in the world of modern scholarship nor does the advantage of that learning become available to such modern scholars who need it most. It is very necessary to bring the Sanskritists who have finally qualified themselves on the traditional lines in close touch with the methods of modern scientific researches and to provide facilities to the modern scholars to be introduced to the depth of the traditional learning of the orthodox Pandits. Then alone we shall have the most needed combination of what is best in the two types of scholarship. This will also help us to preserve the ancient traditional learning of the country which to our great regret is fast disappearing. But it pains me to remark that we never feel for this even for a moment. It will not be out of place to quote a few lines from the experiences of an ex-Governor of Bengal which will tell you what others think of our Pandits even these days. Lord Lytton says :

> "I have called this book *Pundits and Elephants* because, as I said in my farewell address to the members of the Asiatic Society,* these were examples of the indigenous genuine and original qualities which compelled my admiration whenever and wherever I met them. I never tired of watching elephants and studying their ways and habits. They seemed to me to be the embodiment of the true civilisation of India. Their antiquity, their calm dignity, their deliberation, their immense reserve of strength, their complete self-confidence and their superb humility were qualities that I also associated with the Pundits."

Coming back to my proper subject I wish to draw your serious attention to a very important fact. I need not say that India is essentially a country of spiritual and religious thoughts. Philosophy and religion are the two vital parts of her people. Not only in the very veins of her people there flow Philosophy and Religion but even in the very soil of her we see nothing but Philosophy and Religion. Such being the case, how do you like that thousands of her children go out of the sacred portals of our Universities every year without getting any opporttunity whatsoever of thinking, nay even of hearing, for a moment of their own essence, I mean Philosophy and Religion ? We prescribe courses in Western Philosophy, Logic, Psychology, Metaphysics, Ethics and so on and teach our boys things which are quite foreign to their nature and which may or may not be congenial to them, but why are we ashamed or careless to prescribe even one-fourth of the entire degree course to be compulsorily taught in Indian Philosophy ? Dare you say that there is nothing worth teaching ? What more shameful can it be to see that the best brains of the country go out without ever being told of the best hidden treasures of their own in the *Upanisads* and the works of great *Acārya* Sankara, Ramanuja and others ?

The same is the fate of Religion which alone teaches us the means of becoming happy here and here-after. It is religion alone which moulds the life of a man. If closely seen, it is found that every man follows consciously or

* *Vide*—" Pandits and elephants are things which are associated in my mind, they alike arouse my deepest respect and I shall be ever grateful to the country that has made me acquainted with them both "—1927.

unconsciously some religion or other, but what is required is to give a regular training in it on right lines, so that one can understand the essence of it and make the best use of it in the course of one's whole life. But we see that in the course of his entire period of training a boy is never told of it. He is, therefore, quite ignorant as to the very aim of his life. Even when he grows old and completes his training period, he becomes so much merged into the worldly life that he hardly gets any time to think of what is Religion. The result is that throughout his whole life he fails to experience peace and consolation and never realises the force of inner-self. He never feels for a moment that there is a life after death and that he should make some preparation for that long journey. His life remains aimless and irregular. May I ask you to tell me who is responsible for all these? Can we consciously throw the blame on the shoulders of our youngsters? Never. Persons in authority alone are to be blamed. It is their duty to give them timely instructions in this line also. So they alone are responsible for all the shortcomings of our youngsters. Even if anything is being done at present towards this in any institution it is clear the authorities are never serious and so the little they do becomes a farce.

It is never late to admit one's own mistake. We may even now, if we desire to do something seriously, rectify our past negligence. I would therefore, suggest that we should try our best to introduce a full paper in Indian Logic in the Intermediate stage and one full paper in the degree course to begin with and after some experience we must reserve fifty per cent of the total marks for Indian Philosophy for every examination. We are the authorities to propose this in our committees of courses in different Boards and Universities, and if we at all realise the seriousness of this proposal we should not fail to take the earliest opportunity to move the proposal in our committees and draft the syllabus for the course and appoint qualified scholars to write books accordingly.

There is one more point to which I would like to draw your attention. For any kind of higher research work a good collection of manuscripts is quite indispensable. Though there are several organisations where this work of collection searches is being done, yet there is a very great need of making much more vigorous efforts in this field. Every day we see that thousands of manuscripts are crumbling to pieces and are left at the mercy of white-ants and are lost for ever. It is to be kept in mind that for the reconstruction of the social, political, philosophical, and religious history of India, we have to depend entirely on these MSS. alone. That we have not yet been able to do much work in the ancient period of our history is a clear proof to show that our searches in this field are not quite satisfactory. I may inform you that just a little effort in this field has enabled us to collect over three thousand manuscripts for the newly established Ganganatha Jha Research Institute at Allahabad within five or six months. We have definite information about thousands of manuscripts lying unused and uncared for in this very city and we can easily imagine the importance of these manuscripts. I may tell you that the owners in most cases are ignorant of the value of these manuscripts and so they are perishing. It is very difficult to preserve these manuscripts and if no effort to secure them or to preserve them even in their own places is made in near future, they will all be thrown in the lap of mother *Gangā*. It is also necessary in most cases to get their transcripts done, for some of the MSS. have become so very old that they will be destroyed even while handling. This work of ours needs big funds and sincere workers. For want of funds, I am sure, no serious scholarly work can ever be allowed to suffer and particularly when we have our revered Pandit Madana Mohana Malaviya and Professor Radhakrishnan with their Rajas, Maharajas and Birlas. I only feel dearth of man. It is a work which can be done if all of us join together and try to collect these MSS. from every village and town where we go and live. I would ask even the students to collect these from their villages and place them in safe place.

Lastly, I would draw your attention to the fact that there seems to be a tendency to regard Jainism and Buddhism as separate from Indian Philosophy. I do not see any justification for this. Already there are so many splits and do we not feel tired of it? Are they foreign to India? Do we not see vast differences even amongst the orthodox systems themselves? Can any student of Indian Philosophy neglect their study? It is the duty of every student of Philosophy to study each of these systems from the right angle of vision and do full justice to them. No system of thought can be properly studied without reference to all of them. So I leave it to you to find out if there is any sense in this split.

This is all, friends, that I had to say; and I hope we shall be able to do something to fur-

ther the cause of Indian Philosophy on right lines. I shall regard myself amply rewarded if you can secure a safe place for it in our Institutions and also do something to collect and preserve manuscripts. Before I conclude I must once more thank you for your kindness and patient hearing.

(*Concluded*)

# LIN YUTANG'S "MY COUNTRY AND MY PEOPLE"

## An Appreciation

By ABANY C. BANERJEE

LIN YUTANG—the name echoes long in the Indian heart. For it is the name of a contemporary Easterner whose published words, powerful and graceful, have done much to rouse the East to a new knowledge and a new courage about itself in a context of world-awareness. Like our own Rabindranath Tagore, he has added to the international stature of our Eastern dignity and given international meaning to our Eastern cry for freedom. The presence of this Chinese writer recently in our midst and his passionately spoken utterance to us about ourselves have happily reinforced the already abundant inspiration derived from his writings. His latest book, *Between Laughter and Tears*, also has for its theme our distressful selves. But it has been rendered forbidden fruit for the reading public of India! So, let us turn—for what the psychologist may call 'compensation'—to one of Lin Yutang's many enthralling publications about his native land, India's cultural and geographical neighbour, China. The book I have in mind bears the title *My Country and My People*. It is a work of singular charm and compelling power. Here is one of the essential books of our time, a book born of rare knowledge and understanding. Lin Yutang is a master mind, in whom we see the fine flowering of the blended cultures of East and West. This wise man of the modern East writes to educate the world about China or rather about the many Chinas astir upon the screen of time; the classic China of a far-flung storied past, the stricken China of a chaotic yesterday, the risen China of an epic present and the dream China of a beckoning to-morrow.

He writes with expansive and synthetic scholarship about the cycles of Chinese history down-a-down milleniums :

"Each cycle," he maintains, "each cycle (of eight hundred years or so) "begins with a short-lived and militarily strong dynasty, which unified China after centuries of internal strife. Then follow four or five hundred years of peace, with one change of dynasty, succeeded by successive waves of wars, resulting soon in the removal of the capital from the North to the South. Then came secession and rivalry between North and South with increasing intensity, followed by subjugation under a foreign rule, which ended the cycle. History then repeats itself and with the unification of China again under Chinese rule there is a new bloom of culture."

And what were the stabilizing forces that conserved the country's integrity throughout the ages? Her family system "which was so well-defined and organized as to make it impossible for a man to forget where his lineage belonged"; her rural ideal in life and art which perennially reinforced and rehabilitated her spirit; her preference for the simpler joys of life, lest the gods should be jealous. "Choose the lighter happiness," admonished a thinker at the end of the Ming Dynasties.

According to Lin Yutang, the traits peculiar to the Chinese character have been (1) sanity, (2) simplicity, (3) love of nature, (4) patience, (5) indifference, (6) old roguery (by which he means an attitude of gentle amusement at the crude and callow manifestations of life), (7) fecundity, (8) industry, (9) frugality, (10) love of family, (11) pacifism, (12) contentment, (13) humour, (14) conservation and (15) sensuality. He appraises with acumen each of these qualities, without recourse to Western yard-sticks of value but equally without any shy evasions or soft concealments. He is an authentic realist, incisive and unflinching. Unlike such Western Sinologues as the author of *Letters from John Chinaman* or the author of *The Flight of the Dragon*, he does not blink the sad and seamy side of his country's civilization; he is swift to flay that side. The subjection of women to the tyranny of neglect, the snobbery, nepotism and acquisitiveness of mandarins, the jejune pomposity of

classical scholars, the all too common distortion of pacifism into poltroonery, of patience into servility, of conservatism into greasy complacency, are impartially swept into his condemnation. Lin Yutang sums up the virtues and vices of his ancient race in the single word "mellowness."

This "mellowness" caused and conditioned the developments of Chinese custom, thought and culture for many long centuries. What is the meaning of life? Christianity has asked the question and waited hauntedly for an answer to be wafted from the Beyond. Nietzschean philosophy screamed vehemently that life was empty of purpose; but it lacked faith in its own disbelief. Chinese humanism, however, found the true end in the simple enjoyment of the good things of the earth and in refined human relationships. Thus considerate respect for old age became one of the grace notes of Chinese life; and elegance of manners, so amply prevailing, reflected the generosity of the Chinese soul. Gastronomy came to be commonly regarded as an aesthetic adventure in which food was eaten for its "texture," "the elastic and crisp effect it had on the teeth," as well as for its "colour, fragrance, flavour" and blending of flavours. Tea drinking became an art and a cult. As for wine, listen to this song called "Drinking alone under the Moon" by a lonely poet:

> "A pot of wine amidst the flowers,
> Alone I drink sans company.
> The moon I invite as drinking friend,
> And with my shadow we are three.
> The moon, I see, she does not drink,
> My shadow only follows me:
> I'll keep them company a while,
> For spring's the time for gayety.
>
> "I sing: the moon she swings her head;
> I dance: my shadow swells and sways.
> We sport together while awake,
> While drunk, we all go our own ways.
> An eternal, speechless trio then,
> Till in the clouds we meet again!"

Why, there was a technique evolved in China even for the transition of consciousness sweetly from waking to sleeping, so that one might arrive "without any effort at the fairy palace" of dreams.

This "mellowness," too, gave China her true religion, which was neither the rectitudinous credo of Confucius nor Buddha's abnegational doctrine of Nirvana, but the luxuriant Pantheism of Laotse, in which human life became contextured with the life of surrounding Nature. Was there a house to be built, or a temple or a pagoda or a little open pavilion on the edge of a pond?

> "Its lines should soothe but not obtrude. Its roofs should nestle quietly beneath the kind shade of trees and soft boughs should gently brush its brow. The Chinese roof does not shout out loud and does not point its fingers at heaven. It only shows peace and bows in modesty before the firmament. . . . The best architecture is that in which we are not made to feel where nature ends and where art begins."

Had a home to be decorated or a garden to be planted? Shen Fu told them how to "show the large in the small and the small in the large, provide for the real in the unreal and for the unreal in the real" by a process of suggestion, evocation, surprise and rhythmical irregularity in agreement with nature. Were man and woman held in a long embrace? They were but the human counterpart of saplings in love bending boughs and whispering secrets of a wistful happiness whose moments were fleeting for ever away. And to Chinese ears the laughter of the child melted orchestrally into the trilling of the bird, the chirping of the cicada and the wind among the trees. Thus man and Nature in China united to make a common pattern of earthly life.

From this union was derived, as Lin Yutang makes vivid to our appreciation, the arts of China, which have been among the wonders of the world. The sorcery and dynamism of line in Chinese calligraphy drew its inspiration from what he calls the "rhythmic vitality" of Nature. The enchanted world of Chinese painting, as we enter it with this enlightening Chinaman, thrills us to reverent awe and ecstasy. It is a world of fresh transforming movements that reveal a new earth and a new firmament of unsuspected light, warmth and tenderness, of indefinable associations and elusive emotions, a world in which vision and design and translucency are animated by a creational energy throbbing in unison and intimacy with the moods, accents and rhythms of Nature. With what magic strokes those masters of old brought into being beauty, as if the brush had been driven by a whirlwind or been fluttered by a reed or been wimpled by a dancing brook or been stirred by the trembling of a leaf or been fanned by the echo of its rustle! One holds one's breath enravished! . . . About Chinese poetry, too, the author utters winged, illuminating words that awaken us to a sense of its vibrant, pictorial grace and exquisitry. Yes, pictorial; for this poetry was, indeed, painting through the medium of words. The treatment of its themes and the spirit it evoked were those of the picture. It was not uncommon, therefore, for a poet to be also a painter or for a painter to be also a poet. Witness the picture-

technique and the nature-intoxicated mood in the following lines of Ch'en Ngo about the lotus flower :

> "Lightly dips her green bonnet
> When a Zephyr past her has blown;
> Red and naked she shows herself,
> When she is sure of being alone."

Lin Yutang sensitively sums up by observing that Chinese poetry "gives a picture, expresses a sentiment and leaves the rest to the reader's imagination." What a civilization, what a people !—one exclaims, as one tears breathlessly through the first nine chapters of the book.

The opening pages of the tenth and last chapter, however, tell a woefully different tale. The shock of impact with the Western world threw China into convulsions. Gone were her age-old "mellowness," her balanced life, her quiet dignity, vigour and self-confidence. She had lost her bearings, lost her anchorage. She was adrift helplessly upon dark and dangerous waters and she was buffeted by cruel rushing winds. In an early edition of the book, the writer has described in poignant detail those "years of bewildering aggression, of hesitancy and importunity and begging for mercy, of evasion and futile pleas for intercession and useless crying over broken pledges." Whither, China, whither ? Oh, for a leader of inspiring, full-grown modern stature, a saviour who will unite the race, make it arise and wrest back its lost integrity and its more than half-lost freedom !—Lin Yutang cries out in wondering pain.

Suddenly on July 7, 1937, the Japanese aggression burst upon the country. Purblind, wanton, swaggering, diabolical aggression ! City after city was captured; homes were desecrated and destroyed; property was stolen or looted; women were raped and babies bayoneted under the very eyes of those who loved them most dearly.

"Since God's creation of man," Lin Yutang protests, "no race or nation has subjected the population of a fellow-nation to greater atrocities, with greater consistency, ruthlessness, arrogance, cruelty, indecency and self-demoralization on such a scale as the Japanese have done in China."

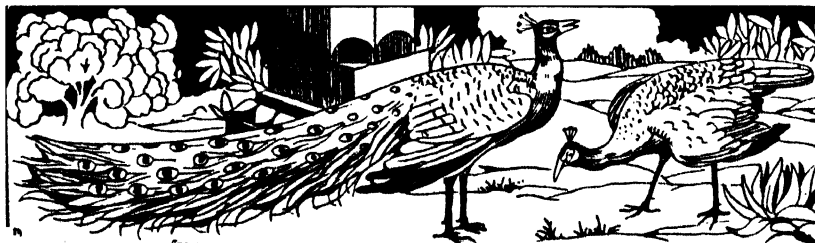
An army of ghosts arose in mute appeal, the serried ghosts of the ravished women and murdered babes, pleading to the nation, the whole nation, for avenging retribution. And a miracle happened ! Lin Yutang's *crie-du-coeur* was answered. In the darkest hour of her history, China found her Man of Destiny—Chiang Kai-shek. Under his masterly leadership, astute, far-sighted and determined, all the forces and resources of the country were mobilized, coalesced and hurled into resistance of Japan. What a resistance it has been ! The watching world marvels today at the strength, suppleness, endurance, resilience and unperturbed courage of this re-awakened giant. The fight goes on. The struggle spells doom to Japan. "It is inevitable," says Lin Yutang, "that Japan will lose in this war." He particularizes the grounds for his assurance; they are clear and cogent. Not the least of them is the sterling contribution in "blood, tears, toil, sweat" and brains made by the Communist element in China to the grand common cause. And,

> "When the hurly-burly's done
> When the battle's lost and won"

—what then ? Lin Yutang envisages a radiant prospect in which, under the combined auspices of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek on the one hand and of such leaders as Chu Teh and Mao Tseh-tung on the other, China will have reached forward to a new dispensation, a fair and gracious equalitarian way of living. Communism in Future China promises to be, not a sickly exotic, potted in a system of imprisoning theories, but a free, happy, healthy, abundant growth, native to the land, racy of her soil.

As one puts down this book, one murmurs again : "What a country and what a people !"

Such portions of the above article as have been taken from the writer's broadcast talk on *Lin Yutang's My Country and My People* are published here by the courtesy of A. I. R., Calcutta.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review.* But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

## ENGLISH

FESTSCHRIFT PROFESSOR P. V. KANE: *A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Professor P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. Edited by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode. Pp. xvi+551. Oriental Book Agency, Poona. 1941.*

This work consists of over seventy papers from the pen of scholars, both Indian and foreign, presented to the renowned Sanskritist on his sixtieth birthday on May 7, 1941. It opens, appropriately enough, with a presentation letter to Professor Kane, followed by his biography and a select list of his publications, English and Marathi. Of the different branches of Indology represented in this scholarly volume, literature, naturally enough claims the largest space. In the domain of Vedic literature we may specially mention *Rigveda Citations in the Mahabharata* by V. M. Apte (containing a list of parallel texts with valuable notes), *Visnu in the Veda* by R. N. Dandekar (an exhaustive study of the Vedic references to this deity), *the Development of the Figure of Speech in the Rigveda Hymnology* by D. R. Bhandarkar (noticing *Atisayokti, Upama* and other figures), *Abhimsthana* or *Abhinistana* by Surya Kanta (discussion of a reading in Grhyasutras) and the *Story of Saptavadhri and Vadhrimati* by H. D. Velankar (critical study of Rigveda v. 78). Classical Sanskrit literature is adequately represented by *Epic Studies,* VIII, by V. S. Sukthankar (discussion of relation between the Rama episode of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana), *Notes on some Mahabharata Commentaries* by V. Raghavan (noticing a number of less known commentators like Varada and Yajna-narayana), *the Prose Kavyas of Dandin, Subandhu and Bana* by S. K. De (critical studies of these works with prefatory discussion of origin and early history of *Kavyas*) and the *Problem of the Bala-carita* by A. D. Pusalkar. Valuable contributions to the study of Smrti literature are presented by *Additional Verses of Katyayana on Vyavahara* by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (containing a list of 121 verses found in Varadaraja South Indian Digest and supplementing Professor Kane's *Katyayana Smrtisaroddhara*), *the Position of Smritis as a source of Dharma* by A. S. Altekar (on the origin and nature of Smrti authority), *Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of the Smrti Texts* by K. B. Gajendragadkar, *the Text of Sulapani's Dolayatra-viveka* by Suresh Chandra Banerji, and *Tirtha-yatra in the Aranyakaparvan and the Padmapurana* by M. V. Vaidya. Of great interest for literary history and biography are *Some Poets of the Dindima Family* by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar (genealogy and chronology of a distinguished family of South Indian Pandits), *Bhargu and Avantivarman* by S. K. Dikshit (on Bana's preceptor and his Maukhari admirer), *Kalandika-prakasa of Somanatha Vyasa* by N. V. Athaley (analysis of an 18th-century unpublished encyclopædic work and its commentary), *Varadaraja and his Works* by P. K. Gode (chronological and biographical notice of the grammarian), *Subandhu's Home* by R. G. Harshe (suggesting that Subandhu was an inhabitant of Central India and not of Bengal). In the branch of general history, we may refer particularly to *an unknown but daring project of King Sambhaji* by G. S. Sardesai (based on two unpublished Sanskrit letters in the Jaipur archives), *the Exact Date of the Arrival of the Parsis in India* by I. J. S. Taraporewala (supporting Hodivala's date of 936 A.D. and his identification of the Indian protector of the immigrants with the Silahara Prince Vijjadadeva), *Is the Ajnapatra of Ramchandrapant Spurious?* by T. S. Shejwalkar (criticising the view of Sir Jadunath Sarkar about its genuineness), *the Andhras in Ancient India* by B. C. Law and *the Marhatta Occupation of Gingee* by C. S. Shrinivasachari. Archæology is represented by *Tritasaurya* by V. V. Mirashi (correcting an error in Kielhorn's reading and translation of a Kalacuri inscription), *Mukuta, Mauli and Kirita* by N. V. Mallia (discussing the precise meaning of these types of head-dress), *Varieties of Visnu Image* by G. H. Khare (suggesting that the 24 varieties of Visnu image came into existence not before the end of the 9th century). In the division of Philology, we have to mention *Notes on a Vartika (?),* etc. by S. P. Chaturvedi, *Authorship of the Unadi-sutras* by K. Mahadeva Krishna Sharma (suggesting that the author was most probably a Vararuci flourishing some time after Patanjali), *Sanskrit ardham as a Preposition in the Language of the Brahmanas* by Siddheswar Varma, *Prakrit uccidima and uccudai* by S. M. Katre. Under the head Philosophy, we have a number of interesting papers like *Logical System of Madhvacarya* by S. Srikantha Sastri. Among other branches we may notice under the head Rhetoric *Artha-guna Slesa* by C. R. Devadhar, under the head Astronomy, *Test of the Vedic Eclipse-Cycle* by R. Shama Sastri, and *Some Observations on Kautilya's measures of Time* by G. D. Tamaskar. The important branch of Vernacular literature is represented by a few papers such as *the Existence of 'Prose Works' in the Oldest Tamil* by C. R. Sankaran, *New Light on the Sangam Age* by K. G. Sankar, and *Devotional Lyrics in Kannada Literature* by K. G. Kundangar. Under the head Religious History, we may particularly mention the *Digambara and Svetambara Sects of Jainism* by Kanta Prasad Jain (contradicting certain views of C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*), *Vaishnavism of Assam and Southern India* by B. Kakati (pointing out some interesting parallels), and *Basis and Ideal in Buddhism* by Mrs.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids. Avestan is represented by a solitary paper *Hahokt Nask* by E. M. F. Kanga.

While so many papers reach a high degree of merit, there are one or two exceptions, *e.g., Materials for the History of Gujarat of the Pre-Valabhi Period.* We have noticed a few slips, *e.g., Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature* stated as the title of a book by Max Muller (p. 70), not to speak of a number of errors in the paper last-named.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM : *By Bakar Ali Mirza, B.A. (Oxon.). Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 92. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The Hindu-Muslim problem, one of the most prominent questions of the day, was the subject of Patna University Extension lectures in 1938 when Mr. Mirza, author of the book under review, delivered two lectures, examining and diagnosing the problem from the nationalist's and communalist's viewpoint. The third chapter has been added, suggesting possible solutions by which India can get out of the tangle.

The author has shown much ingenuity in presenting the problem, and his shrewd observations, though not always correct, are interesting reading. He describes the Muslim's as a shepherd's creed, and the Hindu's, as an agriculturist's. But the Muslim is no longer a nomad, and Indian agriculture is closely associated with the question of livestock. It is high time that distinctions without difference were placed in their proper perspective. There are distinctions, and there will be, but none of them need or should present an effective obstacle to national solidarity or " Indianism."

Let us examine the solutions suggested : (A) re-orientation of our views so that we may have freedom for our goal, not non-violence as a creed. But the Congress standpoint has always been that; only the freedom for which the Congress stands has been sought to be defined with regard to what is the best way to attain it; and, by the way, the Congress has tried to present the Indian opinion, to be representative of India's millions. Having no axe of its own to grind, it has tried faithfully and, of course, according to its own lights, not ignoring the objective conditions but after a careful study of them, to speak on behalf of India. Another point in this connection requires a little clearing up; *satyagraha* is not a mere general strike, as the writer seems to think; there is a world of difference between the two (pp. 74-75). (B) Efficiency should be the sole criterion in making appointments and conferring promotions in the public services. The writer's statement bears reproduction *in extenso*. " Hindus being more educated, it is possible for them to dominate most departments on the basis of efficiency. Muslims, as Indians, must be prepared to take that risk. If they don't, then for Muslims there is the risk of deterioration under protection; and for Indians in general, there is the danger of neglecting the real problem; for it must be definitely realised, that if proportional representation in the services becomes the objective, then the desire to secure a larger proportion of employment for the community will act as a blind to the real problem, that is, of unemployment of the middle classes. [But is that the real problem ? Not the unemployment of all classes ?—Reviewer.] India is far too backward compared to other countries of the world, and therefore when there is a choice between adequate representation of communities on the one hand and efficiency on the other, then every true Indian must in the interest of his country choose efficiency. If he does not, then his communal gain also remains of doubtful value." These words should be brought prominently before the public again and again so that sectional squabbles might cease. (C) Justice, abolition of private interest and usury, and releasing the masses from the clutches of the *mahajan*. Here the Congress does not advocate the drastic use of force, but a patient educative process which would root out the evil. (D) Directing the people's minds to subjects of common interest, *e.g.*, condition of Indians outside India. (E) Adoption of the Roman script. The nationalist or Congress solution has not been in each learning the other's script but in adopting words in common use, so that the speech in Hindi or Hindusthani may be understood by all. The Roman script may do well in China, Malay and Turkey, but the Devanagari script has been pronounced by competent judges to be scientific, and the unwillingness to adopt is, seems to be another (maybe, only a passing) phase of communalism—which would prefer an imported commodity even when the home product is quite satisfactory.

The writer has treated the whole question in a fresh manner. He writes in a humorous, critical, graphic way, and he is optimistic in his outlook. He asks : " Why is there this insistence on Hindu-Muslim unity as essential for the attainment of Swaraj when it will automatically disappear with the attainment of freedom ? Why follow this shadow and eternally attempt compromises ? " Mahatma Gandhi had taken up this attitude as is now well-known through his public utterances during 1941-42.

P. R. SEN

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE EUROPEAN LITERATURE : *By Principal Brojo Sundar Roy, M.A., B.L. of Lady Keane Girls' College, Shillong. Published by A. Roy & Co., 2A, Radha Proshad Lane, Calcutta. Pp. xvii+ii+vi+ii+164+xi. Price Indian Rs. 1-12, Foreign 4s. or $1.*

The pagination of the book is rather cumbrous. And we are not sure if there is such a thing as *The* European Literature. Europe has produced so many literatures that the use of the definite article here must at least be considered misleading, if not a mistake.

The book consists of some twenty essays and are, according to the author himself, " mainly intended for the students of the B. A. Honours and M.A. classes in English." They are expected to supply the historical background necessary for a proper appreciation of English literature. But the author has another purpose. " European writers," he says in his Preface, " have a certain superiority-complex and we being a conquered race an inferiority-complex. These two factors have been working on our intellectual outlook during the last hundred years and are seriously interfering with the development of the Hindu intellect." The author intends " to undo this hypnotism " by pointing out the " limitations of the European ideals." Many will welcome it as a perfectly laudable endeavour. It is undoubtedly patriotic. But some may ask if it is literature.

In the *Introduction*, the author gives a summary of the main currents in European literature. These are Hellenisation, Romanisation, Christianisation, Orientalisation, Moralisation, Renaissance, Secularisation, Reformation, Rationalisation and Democratisation. He also speaks of Europeanisation of human life. " It means the mechanisation of industries and the administration of affairs on democratical principles."

This Europeanisation includes democratisation and uses science " more for destructive work and for the enslavement of the weaker races by the stronger." " Hence the Europeanisation amounts to a sort of ani-

malization instead of divinisation of man." But "our old civilisation was developed for the purpose of divinisation of human nature."

In this enumeration of the currents of *the* European literature, Fascism or Nazism and Bolshevism find no place. We wonder why. They also are powerful tendencies and have already produced literature of a type.

In trying to combat the inferiority complex of his students, the author has interspersed his essays with frequent references to and quotations from Sanskrit literature. But it is not Sanskrit literature proper but the Sanskrit scriptures upon which he so often draws. In his *Appendix* on *Soliloquy,* we expected some reference to Sanskrit drama.

Some of the author's statements may appear to many as over-patriotic and therefore less critical than they should be. "In the European system of thought there has been an eternal divergence between reasoning and religion." "In India, on the contrary, since the earliest time, as we see in the Rigveda, reasoning has been the basis of belief and thinking" (p. 123). "The Purans are nothing but the illustrations of the deeper truths of the Vedanta" (p. 124). "In India there have been many philosophies, but all devoted to the interpretation of the *Vaidik* truths" (p. 126). "Even in most modern times philosophy has not dared in Europe to regulate religion" (p. 128). These and similar statements betray what might almost be called a partisan spirit. It should be the first endeavour of a historian and a critic to rise above it.

But the author has read extensively and the information that he has stocked in his book will be of use to our college students. Even those readers who have passed out of college will perhaps be provoked to think again their conclusions on literature, religion and philosophy.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

WITH NO REGRETS: *By Krishna Hatheesing. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pp. 198+xviii. Price Rs. 6-8.*

Krishna Hatheesing, Jawaharlal's youngest sister, records in this narrative of personal reminiscences the pilgrimage of an ardent soul to the sacred precincts of life lived as an inner adventure with all its idealism and courage, its doubts and questionings, its joys and sorrows. She tells us the story of this adventure with the freedom and freshness of a mountain torrent, with the simplicity and grandeur of truth itself, and in words unmatched for their expressive quality. The story is naturally woven into the fabric of the domestic history of the Nehru family and the popular legends that have grown around the *Anand Bhawan* during the last quarter of a century. But the emphasis is more on the human aspect of the drama than on the political. The authoress gently lifts the veil of awe and mystery surrounding the historic *Anand Bhawan* with its world-renowned inmates, and leads us on to its courtyards and gardens, to its corridors and dining rooms at all possible hours of the day and night where the destinies of this family and this country are being shaped. Through the enchanting pages of this book, we live again, with the authoress, great moments which are well worth an eternity—moments of unconquerable faith and poignant despair, of suppressed tears and supreme courage, of unbounded love and graceful dedication. There are wonderful pen-pictures of the patriarchal Motilal, the passionate and intrepid Jawahar, the delicate and brave mother, the fragile and heroic Kamala with all their charms and frailties, and that unforgettable self-effacing aunt dedicated to the service of the Nehru household. Across the landscape of this family history fall the bright lights and the half-lights, the dimmer and the deeper shadows inseparable from human destiny. Krishna Hatheesing confides in us some of her secrets as well—her romantic escapades, her unconventional courtship sublimating in marriage, and her reactions to new modes of living in new cities and unfamiliar environments. And above all, her portrayal of convict "Bachuli" whom she met as a fellow prisoner in the Lucknow Central Jail will remain unsurpassed in tenderness and sublimity of expression.

The personal and the national mingle wonderfully in the rythmic current of living lines all throughout Krishna Hatheesing's reminiscent reflection, and indeed, "with no regrets" she weaves a unique pattern of autobiographical art. Her work belongs as much to the history of contemporary India as to the visions of a new India and a new humanity yet to emerge from the ashes of a soulless and spent-up civilization.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SYSTEM OF FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA: *By P. J. J. Pinto. Published by New Book Company, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 435. Price Rs. 15.*

With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, Mr. Wattal and Dr. Gyan Chand's admirable books on the subject became out of date and the need for a new book was keenly felt. Prof. Pinto's book now removes that longfelt want. The present volume is divided into three parts. The first part is theoretical, comparative and constitutional, and deals with the general principles of Financial Administration, the Budget procedure, the Indian Constitutional background and the financial organisation in India. Constitutional provisions affecting personnel and organisation have been discussed here. The second part deals with the Central and Provincial Budgets. It gives a descriptive and critical study of the preparation, submission, voting and execution of the Budget in detail. This part is "intended to provide a continuous account of the different processes of the budget system in India." The third part deals with the relations between the Centre, the Provinces and the Indian States, the Government and the Reserve Bank, and gives a graphic critical account of the Public Debt of India. Railway Board, the Railway Budget, the Defence Services, Post and Telegraphs, etc., have also been discussed.

The outstanding feature of the book is that both the theoretical and practical aspects of financial administration have been treated in it. This work is based on the assumption that the financial system of a democratic State is being dealt with. "Hence the criticisms and suggestions made take into account, first, the existing constitutional limitations and secondly, the changes that may be required when full self-government is achieved." It has also been assumed that the future Government of India will be federal.

The broad outlook with which Prof. Pinto has approached the subject is noteworthy. In the course of his examination of this vast and intricate subject, he has not hesitated to point out the drawbacks and in many cases has offered valuable suggestions. He has drawn attention to the chief defect of the Indian financial administration, namely, the combined system of audit and accounts. But he has gone to the root of the evil when he suggests that "the public must be educated in matters pertaining to financial administration by due publicity of the various stages. . . . The importance of public opinion in matters pertaining to economy can never be exaggerated. It is perhaps the best of controls,

for under the urge of public criticism both members of the legislature and the executive will be constrained to be more careful about their financial programmes." Prof. Vakil has rightly said in his Preface that a proper understanding of the system by which control over the public purse is exercised will assume great importance in connection with the reconstruction problems which countries will have to face after the War. This need is the greatest in India where exploitation has been easy, and is likely in future to be easier, for lack of the citizen's, particularly the legislator, the politician and the journalist's lack of knowledge in public finance. Prof. Pinto's book has proved that Indian public finance is not a dreadful subject even for a man of average intelligence.

HINDUSTAN YEAR BOOK, 1944 : *Edited by S. C. Sarkar. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., 14, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 480. Price Rs. 2-8 (paper), Rs. 2-12 (bound).*

This is the twelfth annual issue of the Hindustan Year Book which has built up its own reputation all over India. In spite of great difficulties mainly due to the scarcity of paper, new chapters on Post-war Reconstruction in India and the World, Inflation in India, India's War Burden, New Schemes and Committees, Currency and Finance, etc., have been added. Valuable information have been collected in the newly added section on the Famine. The War Section of the book has been made exhaustive and up-to-date. All other sections of the book have been fully revised and brought up-to-date mainly relying on data supplied by the Government. This nicely edited handy Year Book has been a valuable storehouse of information for everybody. It has earned great popularity and is still going strong.

D. Burman

### SANSKRIT-BENGALI

GITASARASAMGRAHA : *Editor Swami Premesananda. Assam Bengal Library, Dacca. Double Crown, 16mo. Pp. 1-120. Price annas eight.*

This contains a selection of one hundred verses from the *Bhagavadgita* arranged into ten chapters of ten verses each. The text is followed by Bengali translation of and elaborate notes, exegetical as well as grammatical, also in Bengali, on every verse. These will be of immense use to the general reader. This is a good small book which may be read with profit by any one who has not the time or energy to go through the much bigger original. Moreover, the present booklet will serve as a good introduction to the vast literature of the Gita. An English or even a Hindi version, which would reach a wider public, would be welcome.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

### BENGALI

YOGE DIKSHA : *Initiation into Yoga. Sri Aurobindo's letters on the subject of Yoga. Compiled by Sri Anilbaran Ray. The Culture Publishers, 25A, Bakulbagan Row, Calcutta. 1942. Pp. 79. Price Re. 1 only.*

Sri Anilbaran Ray, a political prisoner in 1924, wrote a letter to Sri Nalini Kanta Gupta in which he asked some questions on Sri Aurobindo's yoga and sought for his guidance. Correspondence followed, and the difference between the Karmayoga of the Gita and the *Sadhana* of Sri Aurobindo was explained. A life of action, specially a political life in which there would be ample give-and-take with all sorts of people, would be likely to disturb the mind and could not therefore be recommended to those who would follow the way of yoga. So Anil Babu gave up politics and devoted himself to yoga. The book will be a useful and interesting preliminary to the study of the subject, and it may be followed by Nalini Kanta Gupta's *The Yoga of Sri Aurobindo* published in 1939.

P. R. Sen

### HINDI

MATRITVA-KI-OR : *By Raghunath Prasad Pathak. Sharada Mandir Ld., Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 146. Price Re. 1-4.*

In twelve short chapters, under the "camouflage" of stories, the author has dealt with the problem of preparation for motherhood with its corollary of care of children. The style is simple, while the subject has been handled with a delicate sense of idealism. As such, the book will appeal to those for whom it is intended and add to their understanding of the miracle of birth and the magic and mission of the upbringing of the child. Thus will the young woman become a good mother who, as they say, "is worth a hundred schoolmasters."

G. M.

### ORIYA

KACHATATAPA : *By Dr. K. C. Pal, L.M.P. With a Foreword by Major B. P. Pande, Dewan, Mayurbhanj State. Double Crown. Pp. 33. Price annas six only.*

Medieval Oriya literature abounds in rhetorical composition. The poets of this period had a particular love for a peculiar type of alliteration which consisted of several lines with several words having the same letter as their initial. Such melodious style had not hitherto been adopted by modern Oriya writers. In the booklet under review the author has attempted to write in this old style about opium, tea, ganja, tobacco and betel. The essays have been humourous as well as informative. The printing and get-up are very nice.

B. Misra

### TELUGU

SRI SIVABHARATAM : *By Vidwan G. Venkatasesha Sastry. Printed at Sri Janaki Press. Poddutur. Pp. 488. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The book under review is a scholarly representation of the life of Shivaji, the well-known historical personage, in verse. As a biography it serves its purpose.

MATTER AND ENERGY, Vol. II : *By V. Venkatarao, M.Sc., Maharaja's College, Vizianagram. Published by the Author. Pp. 89. Price annas eight only.*

In this volume the writer has given in outline the principles of Modern Physics in relation with the later developments of science. The glossary at the end is very helpful. Students of science would welcome this edition.

K. V. Subba Rao

### GUJARATI

NAVAN VIVECHANO : *By Navat Ram J. Trivedi, M.A. Printed at the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Cloth Bound. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 2-4.*

Mr. Trivedi has already established his position as a fair and competent reviewer and writer. In the present book he has reviewed several important and growing elements of Gujarati literature with ability and circumspection. His views on Novel, Literature and Humour are weighty and the other reviews maintain his reputation at the same high level found in his previous work.

K. M. J.

# IN A QUANDARY

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

BELOW the apparent calm in the economic, and also political, situation in Bengal there runs an undercurrent that do not inspire great hopes regarding the future of this unfortunate province. The muzzled cry of distress reaches the ears of all who care to probe a little deeper than what is visible on the surface. The actual state of affairs is, "we cannot afford to go in Bengal as we have been going" in the middle of March 1944.

The problem is, how can the Government be roused to the gravity of the situation and be made responsible for their many acts of omission and commission, if not for the past but for the present and the future. The principle of holding officers responsible for negligence of duty will import seriousness into the business in every step. The person immediately concerned in meeting a local situation will bring pressure on the next higher officer, till it reaches the top, for supply of food and other necessaries. It will be able to keep the whole machinery alert and efficient in its working. A sense of levity is noticeable, where sobriety, brought about by a sense of being found guilty of gross negligence and adequately punished, should prevail. A simple expression of regret is never sufficient where thousands of lives and welfare of millions of others are involved.

The case of Munshiganj, in the Dacca district, is typical of hundreds of other cases and may be taken into consideration. As early as September 16, 1943, the *United Press* reported death of about 50 persons in the sub-division. On September 19, the same news agency reported :

"In rural areas the number of deaths from starvation has increased considerable. As no wood fuel is available, the dead bodies cannot be cremated and are thrown into the water."

On September 21, according to the local correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard*, figures "for death in rural areas would, up-to-date, exceed 1,000." On September 30, the *United Press* reported three deaths on the 26th and two more on the 27th morning. On October 1, 'a serious scarcity of rice' in the locality was declared. On October 23 (published in Calcutta on October 25) a correspondent wrote :

"In spite of the relief measures, the death-rate is appalling and it is reported that out of 7 lakhs of population in the sub-division the total number of deaths either directly from starvation or from after-effects of starvation has already exceeded 5,000."

An appeal, in the form of an advertisement, by the Munshiganj (Dacca) Central Relief Committee, measuring $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$, appeared in the Calcutta newspapers on October 24, with heading in very bold types stating :

"The inhabitants of Munshiganj Sub-division are amongst the worst sufferers. They are now extremely in distress for want of food and clothing. Starvation is taking toll of men, women and children by thousands. The situation is being aggravated very quickly by the outbreak of epidemic as these famished people have lost all power of resistance. The unfortunate people have sold all their belongings, their homestead, but have not been able to solve their acute distress."

This appeal was signed by the Patron, President and Secretary, respectively, of the Committee. The diary of events for November, based on the reports of the *United Press* runs thus :

Nov. 1 : "Cholera, malaria, dysentery and small-pox have broken out throughout the sub-division. Owing to inadequate supply of medicine, it is difficult to cope with the situation. During the last four days, 25th to 28th Oct., there had been nine cases of deaths in the town area alone due to starvation."

Nov. 4 : "There were four deaths, on Nov. 2, among destitutes in the Munshiganj town.

*A dying man was seen in front of the local Muktear's Library being devoured by jackals and dogs. The man died shortly after.*

Arrangements have been made to bury the dead bodies, irrespective of caste or creed. Reports from the interior rural areas indicate that the people there are dying in large numbers without any care and treatment." —(Italics mine).

Nov. 13 : During Nov. 8 and 9, there were eight deaths among the distitutes in Munshiganj town. . . . In the rural areas in the sub-division it is reported that a large number of people are dying daily due to continued starvation, malnutrition and malaria and the death-rate has increased in November. *According to unofficial reports, about 15,000 people have died in Munshiganj sub-division so far due to starvation and allied causes.*"—(Italics mine).

Nov. 28 : The Sub-Divisional Officer told the *United Press* representative that his *estimate of starvation deaths in the sub-division, so far, would be fifteen thousand. Deaths due to starvation, malaria and other diseases might be over forty thousand. . . .* He further observed that the people had been so much devitalised that most of the cases removed to hospital were proving fatal."—(Italics mine).

After all this press notices, on December 2, 1943, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Civil Supplies Minister, Bengal, during a tour of Munshiganj, "was *shocked* to see the distress of the people of Munshiganj sub-division, but he *regretted report of the acute condition did not reach Government in time. He did not know that the real situation was so serious.*" —(Italics mine).

Where is that Commission who will find out the guilty person in the whole affair. We know that Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Cuttack Division, was degraded for mis-handling the famine situation in 1866. Several other high officials were punished departmentally. In Bengal the same Minister is in charge of the self-same department and going on merrily repeating the same old slogans in the same light-hearted manner with a new weapon in his hand,—a weapon that would not feed and clothe people more efficiently but would gag the leaders and the press from ventilating genuine public grievances! In my view, if the departmental rules regarding negligence in duty in spheres high and low be tightened up, the results would be both salutary and immediate in effect.

It is deplorable that the Government of Bengal and the Central Government should fail to find out among themselves as to their responsibility in supplying bad food to the consumers of Bengal.

The controversy has become a scandal of the first magnitude. On October 28, 1943, Mr. Suhrawardy said at Dacca that he had "to import that bad rice from other provinces and I had nothing to choose." On January 25, 1944, he asked the press representatives "to realise that they were getting their stuff from the Government of India." On March 1, Mr. Suhrawardy said in the Bengal Council that

> "The bad rice which had been received from other Governments did not do credit either to their provinces or to the honesty of those gentlemen who had been entrusted with the task of procuring and sending rice to the Bengal Government."

Why are not those dishonest gentlemen referred to above are forthwith prosecuted ?

Asked by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Legislative Assembly as 'to what did they think about the charge' preferred by Mr. Suhrawardy against them, the Food Member said, on February 7, that they 'did not know what to think of the charge'; and added :

> "The fact of the matter is, that this was not brought to our notice when rice actually reached Bengal. It has been lying there for some time and it is difficult to determine where it came from at this stage."

On March 1, Sir Azizul Huque said that regarding action taken by the Government of India in this matter :

> "The foodstuffs at the point of despatch was the responsibility of the Bengal Government itself. As complaints were not made to the Government of India, at the time supply was received, it was not possible now to trace the source of supply."

On March 24, the Government of Orissa in a Press Note contradicted "the allegation made on the floor of the Bengal Assembly regarding supply of bad rice to Bengal from Orissa" and stated :

> "It is alleged in particular that rice was mixed with stone dusts. . . . The Government wish to make it clear that so far as they were aware there is no foundation for such allegation. . . . Vague and verbal complaint was made by representatives of the Bengal Government . . . but no specific complaints backed by samples of the alleged bad quality of rice and other details . . . were made to this Government. . . . Moreover under the arrangement with the Bengal Government, it is their responsibility to satisfy themselves as to the quality of rice before despatch."

Again, on February 1, in the Bengal Assembly "referring to the stacks of paddy that were lying on the Jessore railway platforms," Mr. Suhrawardy said that they had been trying to move them but they did not succeed because they could not get wagons." If wagons or other means of transport are not available, it is worse than useless to secure grains from the villages to go into waste on station platforms. But there is something more serious than what is known to the public. Sir Edward Benthall said on February 28, in the Central Assembly that

> "Movements of foodgrains in Bengal are arranged in accordance with programmes prepared by the Bengal Government and this paddy was not included in these programmes."

It now remains to be seen if the Bengal Minister has got anything further to say on this. It reminds me of an old story of a controversy between the Railway and the Bengal Civil Supplies Minister in the last week of September 1943, when the Railway authorities through advertisement showed that they had done their part in moving grains to Bengal, while the Bengal Minister failed to do their duty subsequent to that. There is a further charge made against the Central Government on March 6, that they failed to send the Bengal Government their promised quota of salt for two successive months from the West Coast of India and the scarcity of salt in Bengal was due to the negligence of the Centre. It is not known if the Central Government will refute this charge in good time.

The Government of Bengal is busy in imparting lessons to the people in their charge, excepting those associated with the Secretariat and their supporters, to live happily and in health without clothing, kerosene, sugar, atta and flour, medicine, fuel and a few other trifles of the like. The Government may not know in their omniscience that there is difficulty in getting regular, or even the most irregular supplies of these articles in the moffusil districts and the people have been suffering immeasurably on this account. And this is possible when the war will be entering the sixth year in the next few months.

The Bengal of today is a proper land for study in contrasts. There has been a famine in 1943 and during the first months of 1944, severe scarcity prevails. The figures in the Budget for 1944-45 is an interesting study in this respect. If there is famine, the Land Revenue of the Province is bound to suffer. But it has increased from Rs. 3·61 crores to Rs. 3·80 crores in 1944-45.

Collective Fines will yield Rs. 1,00,000. The total receipts will be Rs. 21·41 crores against Rs. 15·88 crores in 1942-43. He will be deceived who will think that this increased revenue will give him respite from further taxation during this time of great distress and scarcity. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister, Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, has "come to believe" in the motto: "Heaven helps those that help themselves" and told the House in his budget speech, for 1944-45:

> "During the course of the two years with which the estimates now in the hands of the honourable members are concerned, apart altogether from our larger receipts under Income-Tax, I *hope to raise 10 crores more revenue* than was raised in the two preceding years. . ."—(Italics mine).

and he did not "wish to convey the impression that we have exhausted our own resources or that I shall not be *called upon to make further demands on the tax-payer before the end of the year.*" This gentleman has refused to exempt 'poor man's chaddar' from the purview of enhanced Sales Tax on the ground that it is not a necessity with him.

Against this picture of mounting taxation and gradual impoverishment of the middle classes, because the poor are already dead or cannot think of any other resources than living on government doles, a spectacle of horrible waste of public exchequer is visible everywhere. It is time that the ministers, after proper enquiry, should be made responsible for their actions.

It is a pity that the people of Bengal had to pay Rs. 16,66,000 for the 'anti-hoarding drive' carried on in June 1943. The Ministers, who have so efficiently managed the affairs of the State costing 25 lakhs of human lives, will receive in 1944-45, Rs. 3,96,000 against Rs. 2,66,000 in 1942-43 and their Parliamentary Secretaries from Rs. 4,800 in 1942-43 to Rs. 1,14,000 in 1944-45. The Jails will get Rs. 1,10,92,000 against Rs. 53 lakhs, the Police Rs. 3,02 lakhs against Rs 2,63 lakhs in 1942-43 and Rs. 2,34 lakhs in 1940-41. All political suspects are in jail and about 10,000 known "criminals" have been put out of activity by detention. Everybody expected that there should be a substantial reduction in expenditure on this head. General Administration will claim a paltry sum of Rs. 25 lakhs over Rs. 1,51 lakhs in 1942-43. Under 'Famine,' the Budget Estimate for 1944-45 is Rs. 2 61 lakhs and out of this, 'Salaries and Establishments' will require a modest sum of Rs. 1,11 lakhs and 'Miscellaneous' Rs. 50 lakhs. I have searched the pages (pp. 395-96) of the *Civil Budget Estimate* to find out the details of such expenditure under Account No. 54A (1) and 54A (5) but in vain. Only the 'totals' have been given there and the readers have been allowed to draw their own conclusions from such a study. The 'Extraordinary Charges' in India will require Rs. 8,51 lakhs from the Provincial Revenue. Considering the peculiar condition of Bengal due to shortage of food and allied causes, it is a wonder why the Centre should not come forward to meet these "Extraordinary Charges" absolutely connected with the war. The other item (85A) 'Capital outlay on Provincial Schemes connected with the War, 1939' including such items as Grain Purchase Scheme, Purchase and Distribution of Standard Cloth, etc., will entail a loss, it is estimated, of Rs. 5 crores, and these are "attributable to such factors as shortages, damaged or unsaleable stock, etc.," and the Hon'ble the Finance Member thinks,

> "In fact to a great extent Government's loss will be the measure of success of the operations."

Then why don't you make it Rs. 25 crores or more? There has been much adverse comment on such transactions in the past and the above direction will encourage larger 'losses' in the future. The public demand a closer supervision over the whole affair. Somebody should be placed in charge of the Department who will not indirectly encourage waste or loss in such a fashion. The Finance Minister has asked the

tax-payers not "to look askance at a loss of 5 crores." It is worthy of Mr. Goswami alone.

In dealing with other heads of expenditure, it is better to think of the rehabilitation scheme of the Government of Bengal. They have been able to rehabilitate their own position by spending Rs. 95 lakhs on the 'Rationing Scheme,' and under 'Extraordinary Charges' Rs. 1,45 lakhs on 'Direction and Organisation,' Rs. 86·5 lakhs on Fire Fighting Organisation and few other crores under A. R. P., Civic Guard, Rural Reconstruction Scheme, etc., etc. About the public, the Finance Minister said in his Budget speech that "no separate provision is included in these estimates for the rehabilitation of people who have been ruined as a result of the famine" but on March 1, 1944, in the Bengal Council he said "that his budget for the coming year... sought to lay down the basis for a permanent rehabilitation of Bengal, for an economic regeneration of the people..." (catching votes !) Everything is a paradox with the people of Bengal.

If rehabilitation means health, education, industry, agriculture, improvement of the cattle, etc., then grants under these heads would reveal that rehabilitation has been contemplated without taking any notice of these branches of the Government. Industry, Medical, Public Health, Scientific Department, Co-operation, Veterinary—all combined would not be receiving Rs. 2 crores in all and most of these would be required for the maintenance of the staff in the respective department. With regard to education, it will *require Rs. 1,10 lakhs less than police* and agriculture will spend Rs. 50 lakhs on "agricultural demonstration propaganda" etc., and Rs. 58 lakhs for 'other charges' including Rs. 45 lakhs as 'contingencies' and 'establishment.' Nobody knows what these 'contingencies' are; there is no detail. When Jute Regulation has been abandoned, it is deplorable that the staff should be maintained at Rs. 2½ lakhs per year. There is the 'Grow More Food' campaign, while each day more than 200 plough cattle are slaughtered in Calcutta alone.

There is no plan on which to proceed. The indebtedness of the middle class, due to high prices of goods, has increased by Rs. 25 per head and for four million of such people it is now Rs 100 crores. They are the next victim of the coming economic crisis. A 'rehabilitation scheme' is awaiting publication but there is no provision in the Budget for carrying it out into action. All the resources have been tapped and a new taxation of ten crores is impending. His Excellency, Mr. Casey wants to make Bengal a 'contented base.' Would he think of curtailing the annual expenditure that relates to his staff, specially band (Rs. 50 000), bodyguard (Rs. 1,04,000), *renewal of furniture and carpets* (Rs. 20,000), over and above Rs. 12 400 for the purchase of new, purchase and upkeep of motor cars and motor lorries (Rs. 26,900), *tour expenses (Rs. 90,000)*, and a host of others, which is bound to set a good example to other members of the Government. I am sure His Excellency will deem all these expenses as extremely heavy in a country whose people die of starvation in millions. If 'base' is what it is in military strategy, then it is all right; because everybody concerned with the war, including the soldiers, contractors, etc., is 'contented.' If His Excellency means a 'contented' civil population, then we would like him to go into the affairs of the Province a little deeper and take such measures as will rescue the affairs of Bengal from the present quandary and bring order out of chaos.

# MATA KASTUR BA IN NATAL

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

We are mourning the death of one who was virtually a mother to our nation and who was beloved and revered by all of us. Mata Kastur Ba has cast off her mortal frame, leaving behind her the immortal memory of an exemplary character. Possessed of a frail body as she was, she had an iron will. She feared no man, for she was God-fearing. In her life-time her grand personality indelibly engraved itself on the hearts of everyone with whom she came into contact. She was a shining example of service and sacrifice. So undaunted, so noble, so tender, so stern to evil, so simple, so generous, so heroic and yet so modest. How grand, how glorious a divine mother she was ! Never did I see another lady so divinely gifted nor do I expect to do so.

More than thirty-one years ago, the very day of my arrival in the Union of South Africa, I saw Mata Kastur Ba for the first time at Phoenix, about fourteen miles from the famous

city of Durban, on the north coast of Natal, in an Ashram, the abode of Mahatma Gandhi. In this Ashram life would flow placidly and with a regularity broken only by an event of national upheaval. Every day was alike; the inmates of the Ashram were engaged in the morning in the work of the press to bring out a weekly journal for ventilating the grievances of Indian community domiciled in South Africa and in the afternoon worked hard to cultivate the soil and grow vegetables and fruit-trees of many varieties. When it was evening the settlers would meet for thanksgiving and prayer that one day more had come to an end; and after the night's rest, another day of human duties would begin.

The leader of this congregation was a spare figure—the hardest worker as well as the strongest man of the Ashram. Where the strength of youth failed he was called to the rescue! Verily he bore the brunt of the whole settlement. Dressed in shorts and a shirt made of Australian flour-sacks, having discarded the barrister's gown and a practice worth about £3,000 a year, Bapu was living the peasant's life.

The Phoenix Ashram was one might call a laboratory in which Bapu made his experiments in truth along with his life-partner Ba, who saw nothing beneath her position in playing second fiddle to Bapu for the accomplishment of his ideals. Living under such ascetical conditions and amid the aesthetical surroundings which have given Natal the name of the Garden Colony, Bapu and Ba strove hard to live a simple and natural life, realizing the theories of Ruskin and Tolstoy.

In this Phoenix Ashram I lived for a few months in 1914, after my release from prison, as the Hindi editor of the *Indian Opinion*, a weekly journal founded by Bapu in 1903. Here I saw a good deal of Ba, and the more I saw the more I liked her. Though, owing to her early marriage, she did not have the benefit of school education, she was more than a match to any educated person in respect of her capacity of understanding, power of reasoning and national spirit in fighting for our human rights in South Africa. I am proud indeed to have known Ba so intimately at the outset of her public career in Natal. My wife, the late Jagrani Devi, had an opportunity to enjoy her company as a co-prisoner in the Central Jail of Petermaritzburg. It was the first time in the history of our nation that our brave women courted and suffered imprisonment in the interest of the down-trodden indentured Indians, who were forced to pay an annual tax of £3 per head.

After her release from prison, my wife Jag-rani fell seriously ill in Durban and the doctors who attended her were unable to effect a cure. Bapu kindly invited her to Phoenix. To meet her at the station waited Bapu himself with a hand-cart. He very tenderly helped her into it, pushing the cart alone, having refused all assistance, a distance of two and a half miles back to the Ashram. Ba was entrusted with the work of looking after her and she actually saved her life by tireless nursing, even though the health of Ba herself was almost shattered in prison and I can still remember what a distressing sight it was. After a week's treatment in which only mud plasters had been applied, Jag-rani was able to walk about. In addition to his multifarious duties Bapu was also the 'medical officer' and Ba gladly helped him as a 'matron' of the Ashram.

Ba always kept herself regularly busy in the kitchen. She made the bread according to Bapu's recipe. She found the ordinary mill flour unsuitable for the purpose and tried hand-ground flour, which she thought would insure greater simplicity, health and economy. In the preparation of other dishes too she was able to make use of her knowledge of dietetics. She would eliminate the condiments which made up the curries so much loved by Indians and substitute boiled vegetables. Plain living and high thinking was to be the test. Once some of the young settlers became so tired of Ba's simple dishes that they sent for sweetmeats and spiced food from Durban. After the feast Devadas Gandhi, who himself had a share in it, made a confession to Bapu. At the time of the evening prayers, Bapu questioned them about it. All at first denied the charge, at which Bapu began beating his cheeks, saying, "It is not your fault but mine, because I am not a real *Satyagrahi*, the truth recedes from me." He continued striking himself, instead of punishing others. This proved too much for them, and one by one they came forward and confessed. A few of those gathered round Bapu and Ba provided occasionally "cases" of human weakness. A moral lapse on the part of two of the young settlers at Phoenix led to Bapu's first fast.

The memory of those days will ever remain fixed and fresh in my mind. My close association with Bapu and Ba in Natal has changed the course of my life. I went there with an ambition to amass wealth and lead a comfortable life, but the day I saw Bapu and Ba at Phoenix, a divine inspiration forced me instantly to dedicate my life to the cause of my countrymen abroad according to my own lights.

Ba was Bapu's staunch and indefatigable life-partner whom she served spiritually and materially up to the time of her death. Who could follow Bapu more faithfully and tenaciously than Ba ! Her death is a great national misfortune as it is a personal loss to Bapu. She was a divine soul, as godly as I ever saw in the shape of a lady. She was verily the incarnation of Sita, Savitri and Damayanti of yore. She has died a martyr's death in the cause of India's freedom and she will live for ever in the hearts of Indian people.

To me it is almost a personal loss, my grief is inexpressible particularly as she died in detention in tragic circumstances which have left behind a bitter memory both for India and Britain. May her example be a source of inspiration to the daughters of India and may the cause she held so dear to her heart gather strength even greater in her death than in her life.

## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### "Indian Philosophy and Religion"

In the March issue of your esteemed journal Mm. Dr. Umesh Misra, in his article, "Indian Philosophy and Religion," makes against me a personal attack to which I feel obliged to reply, lest readers may be misguided by his gross and deliberate misrepresentation of me.

While pleading for progress in Indian philosophy I observed that such progress requires that Indian philosophers now should be well acquainted with both Indian and Western thought. I wrote: "Apart from the question of producing new systems, even in interpreting our ancient thought a good knowledge of Western philosophy is necessary." I am surprised to find Dr. Misra conclude from this that, according to me, all the great ancient *acharyas* like Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva and Nagarjuna were not philosophers as they had no knowledge of Western philosophy ! I do not mind what an elderly person like Dr. Misra says about me, but it pains me much that he falsely attributes to me such a view. It is for the impartial reader to judge whether the conclusion Dr. Misra draws follows logically from my statement.

Another conclusion he draws from my assertion is that, according to me, one should study Western philosophy in order to understand Sanscrit texts ! Here again I leave it to the reader to judge whether my meaning is rightly represented or wrongly, and whether the conclusion follows from the premises.

Further, Dr. Misra tries to prove my ignorance of Indian philosophy from the fact that I believe in philosophical progress ! He writes: "One fails to understand how a philosophy which deals with ultimate Truth can change with the change of cultural surroundings." Dr. Misra may fail to understand it, yet in the history of the world the search for Truth has been changing with the changing cultural surroundings. And I wonder how his conclusion follows from his failure to understand this change. The search for ultimate Truth can be consistent with changes in the form of the search, and the history of philosophy is a history of these changes.

I am still unable even to guess why Dr. Misra is so laboriously using these *nigrahasthanas* or fallacies for making a personal attack against me. In another place he maintains that the study of Western thought produces prejudices against the Indian, as if ignorance of Western thought is a special qualification for the study of the Indian. I wonder whether Dr. Misra finds any progress in Buddhist philosophy and whether he admits that that progress has effected a corresponding progress in the orthodox schools. Have not the speculations of the schools progressed through mutual criticisms and the constructions which they necessitated ? Is it not necessary that philosophical progress at present should be the result of mutual and critical understanding of Indian and Western thought ? There are many other points on which it is not possible for me to write in a note like this.

By all means one may study Indian texts, scrupulously shunning Western thought. But if one proposes to be an interpreter of Indian philosophy in English according to Western methods—in fact almost every writer on Indian thought now does so by dividing his subject into topics like logic, metaphysics, cosmology, psychology, ethics, religion and so forth—will it not be better that one understands Western philosophy ? And how can one use Western terminology without understanding its philosophy ?

I, therefore, request the reader not to be misled by Dr. Misra's insinuations but compare what he says about my views with what I have written in the article concerned and form his own opinions.

I take this occasion to say, in reply to the reviewer of *The Progress of Indic Studies*, that Dr. B. N. Seal's work, *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, was not mentioned, not because I do not value it, but because it was published in 1915, whereas my article reviewed the work done in Indian philosophy during 1917-42.

Andhra University, Guntur. P. T. Raju



# A NEST OF ARTISTS

By "AN ONLOOKER"

The story is told of a village grand-mother who, when asked to bring forth her best possession for the inspection of the ruler of her province, presented her array of children and grand-children saying, "These are my life's most precious treasure."

Likewise, might the grand old man of modern Indian Art, Abanindranath Tagore, say to Mother India, pointing to his disciple like Nandalal Bose and the latter's disciples like Benode Bihari Mukherji and Vinayak Masoji of Santiniketan,—that nest and nursery of artists,—"Mother mine, here are my jewels that I lay at your lotus feet."

It is a pity, indeed, that though a majority of the people have heard, or even seen some of the pictures of the illustrious founder of the school of Indian painting and his pre-eminent pupil, yet only a microscopic minority among them, including those who take interest in art, have any appreciable familiarity with the persons or paintings of the rising artists in the present-day group of their colleagues in the Kala-Bhavan of the Visva-Bharati :—Benode Behari Mukherji, Vinayak Masoji and Ramkinkar Baij, Gouri Devi and Bisvarup Bose.

Those who have been to Santiniketan, however, would be able to envisage easily these young, mostly middle-aged, artists. A bare-footed, bare-headed, bespectacled, fair-looking young man, with a close-cropped head, clean-shaven, a little over five feet in height, lean in body, going about wrapped up in his thoughts and fancies is Benode Bihari. His constant companion is Lady Nicotine, though other ladies he always tries to keep at an arm's length. His two anathemas are marriage and music. So far as his dislike of singing is concerned, he is the obverse of his teacher, Nandalal Bose.

He is a rare combination of the artist and the art-critic. His technique is not a slavish imitation of any set tradition, ancient or modern —though his tastes in certain things and in trends in thought are quite modern—be they eastern or western. It has grown with his life. His recent handiwork betrays, at least to a layman, more the spirit of Asian art. Maybe, this is a result of his silent reaction to the art of the Chinese and the Japanese among whom he lived for some time three or four years ago. He paints, further, more by insight than by sight. His pictures, therefore, are more suggestive than realistic. His knowledge of the various schools and styles of art-criticism in the world is ency-encyclopaedic. That is why his appraisal of artistic achievement or ideology is invariably marked by breadth of vision and keenness of judgment.

But his range of study extends as well to the frontiers of some of the other allied arts and literature, indigenous as well as foreign. He is, consequently, a charming conversationalist, once you have succeeded in breaking down the barriers of his reserve and reticence.

One will not be far from being right if he were to hazard the opinion that Benode Bihari believes in the truth of "art for art's sake." For, so self-sufficient and soul-satisfying is his joy in painting and sketching, etching and making lino-cuts that once the picture is finished or the job accomplished his interest in its future is at an end. Whether it should be sent to some exhibition or sold to an aesthete or art-connoisseur or preserved carefully as a milestone in the march of his own genius is no concern of his. So no one can tell correctly how many pictures he has painted, nor have the public had any opportunities of having a ready access to them.

Benode Bihari is more of an atmosphere than of an institution. It is said that whoever works in his house, even before he has been there for a few weeks, picks up the rudiments of his art and craft. The servant may hail from the village nearby and be steeped in abysmal illiteracy, yet, under the fostering companionship and considerateness of his master, he develops with surprising swiftness both an aesthetic attitude and an artistic urge.

In several respects Benode Bihari is an ascetic not only in life, but also in art. For "the one thing needful," namely, his dedication to his vocation, he has sacrificed many a comfort as well as convenience. And yet he has not that austerity, amounting to cynicism, which often characterizes a confirmed bachelor. For his being such a jolly good fellow, however, the credit goes to his inborn spirit of fun.

Then there is Vinayak Masoji. To see him is to be reminded of Goldsmith's dictum, "Handsome is that handsome does." For, not only has he an attractive appearance, but also everything that he does,—from painting to preparing tea and from organising excursions to arranging knick-knacks in his bachelor's house, which will cause a blush even on the face of the most efficient daughter-in-law,—has the touch of the genuine aesthete.

He has in him the wander-lust of the Westerner. He has trekked to the snowy regions of the Himalayas as also through the frowning forests. He has the courage and confidence of

the South Pole expeditionist. This has led him to keep himself always in trim. His physique has about it the beauty and the strength of the ancient Athenian.

Unlike Benode Bihari he has a passion for music. He plays on a variety of instruments as he does a number of games and that too with praiseworthy proficiency. But like him his ambit of interest in life and literature is also wide.

One has seldom seen Vinayak Masoji lose his temper. He has a statuesque silence and serenity which his smile, however, often thaws down into a delightful invitation to the stranger to make his acquaintance. But his equanimity has a touch of that maturity of mind which some great secret sorrow in life confers on a person.

He avoids smoking as much as scandal-mongering. He has a deep religious sense, though usually he keeps away from the church. For, he believes like most of those whom the modern expression of Christianity has disillusioned: "Nearer the church further from God"!

Parodying the well-known proverb, "know a good craftsman or artist by one fact," namely, whether he sings while he stitches or sketches, one feels sure of the inherent excellence of the art of Ramkinkar Baij. For, his studio rings almost all the time he is there with his song, sung in a sky-rending pitch. Once a psychologist, passing by his studio, remarked that, perhaps, Ramkinkar was trying to cover up some sort of emptiness in his life in that manner. His other "camouflage" for this secret vacuum within is his search, ceaseless and self-revolving, for originality. Looking at his pictures or at his models (he is also a sculptor with a striking stroke of his own), one does not readily perceive in them the effect of any particular tradition or teaching. He evidently believes in giving a free rein to his imagination so that his brush or chisel may have the swiftness of an equestrian. In short, he would not like to be a pedestrian in his sphere of creative activity.

Like Benode Bihari he, too, has a self-forgetting devotion to his art. To see him at work is to be reminded of the Master's words, "Man does not live by bread alone." For his poor boy-cook (who also has caught the art-infection of his master and become a little wielder of the brush) has to wait and wait for his master to come and take his freezing food. Not long ago a wag observed that it would be a very much needed discipline for Ramkinkar as well as Benode Bihari to get married, so that they may learn the art of living together, to the tune of morning-tea and mid-day meal!

Ramkinkar is a great experimenter in figures and forms. And so they are of all sorts, shapes, sizes and suggestiveness. "I am like the stream always moving"—that is a part of the message and meaning of his pictures and models. Every inch of him he is a heterodox, in art, in ethics, in environment and in outlook on life. He may be a futurist in art, but he has certainly a future.

He is, however, in the midst of a constant struggle, so it would seem between the sculptor in him and the artist in him (the artist in him works in various mediums, including stage direction and acting). Now he wrests the secret from the heart of the stone and now from the fathomless mind of Nature, animate as well as inanimate. If there is anything which appears to be most fixed in him, it is his self-consecration to the cigarette!

Then there are Nandalal Bose's eldest daughter, Gouri Devi (now Mrs. Bhanja) and son, Biswarup. They have inherited, to a considerable degree, the fine aesthetic sensibilities of the father. Wherever they go, and in whatever they do, they carry with them the atmosphere of an art-studio. Mrs. Bhanja's garden, house, kitchen and children all bear on them the stamp of her "skill" (using the word in the *Bhagavad-Gita* spirit) as artist, housewife and mother. She is, like her artist-husband, an artist to her very finger-tips. She is at home both on the stage as well as in the studio. But what gives her an outstanding personality is her humility, behind which like her father, she hides her rhythm-suffused genius.

Biswarup has added to his study of art under his illustrious father, study also under some Japanese masters, with and among whom he lived for a number of years. One of his several specialities is litho-printing. His pictures have something of the 'economy' and angle of the Chinese artist, inasmuch as their "centrality" is quite obvious.

Such is the nest of young artists in the sylvan surroundings of Santiniketan. They are now fully fledged and so they have developed the spiritual appetite to adventure forth in the limitless sky without any parental prop. In them, rather in their art, is the spirit of the freedom of the experimenter, the adventurer of the infinite. So their artistic or aesthetic vitality has attained vigour and versatility.

With such a group of workers the future of Indian art is as far above the 'anxiety limit,' as the young artists themselves are above the average run of artists in the country.

## IRON MEDICAMENTS

Iron is now the accepted remedy for all anaemias in which there is primarily a deficient formation of hæmoglobin, the so-called 'hypochromic' anaemia. This deficiency is due to (*a*) deficient intake of iron or iron-containing foods either for economic consideration or due to ignorance, (*b*) increased demands in infancy and pregnancy, (*c*) defective absorption and retention due to various pathological conditions; and (*d*) a combination of any two or more of the above factors. Naturally the persons who suffer most, are the poor people, growing infants, girls after puberty, pregnant and nursing mothers and those who have been infected with Malaria, Kala-azar, Hook worm, etc. It is admitted that at least 12 gms. of food iron per day is a satisfactory standard. But seldom this amount of iron is even present in our average foodstuffs and the iron is but partly absorbed in the system.

Infants suffer from a type of anaemia primarily caused by deficient formation of hæmoglobin. An administration of a little iron cures the disease. In the treatment of infants the possible deficiency of gastric acidity might make the iron form non-available. A stable and palatable *ferrous iron* in the form of a suitable elixir would be a useful preparation. Further, milk which mainly constitutes the diet in infancy, though deficient in iron, might be easily supplemented with an elixir containing iron.

In women the iron deficiency may occur due to two causes, (1) defective intake and (2) increased loss of iron during menstrual period, during pregnancy and during lactation. Recent dietic survey has revealed that it is difficult to compensate by dietary iron the iron loss suffered by women during child-birth. All these suggest an iron therapy for women at different ages. There are again other factors which are responsible for the proper utilisation of iron. Thus copper, manganese, certain amino-acids, the secondary anaemia factor of the Liver Extract of Whipple and even the nature of carbohydrate in our food help the iron therapy.

Circumstances have so arisen that most of the infants are being half-fed or artificially fed, and these infants invariably suffer from an anaemia in which there is primarily a deficient formation of hæmoglobin. This appears more or less manifest in almost all infants and is generally found during the latter half of the first year and early second year of life. The health of the mothers who are also prone to suffer, is really of utmost importance. If the mother is ill-fed and anaemic, the store of iron in the liver would surely be poorer in the mother during her pregnancy. Infants born of such mothers are certainly liable to develop anaemia. All these again suggest an extra need of iron for mothers. Our food cannot supply the necessary assimilable iron. The elixir of iron from the various HÆMOGENS assists in the removal of the nutritional deficiency of the mothers and their babies. This is of *national importance* as the health of the population depends largely on materials available for infant nutrition.

The premier national concern 'BENGAL IMMUNITY' is always on the alert to the necessities of our people and has placed in the market various iron preparations in a most palatable and assimilable form under the name of "Hæmogen."



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Western War-Time Thinking

*The Aryan Path* observes editorially :

Sir Norman Angell, under the title, *Let the People Know* (The Viking Press, New York), plausibly presents the thesis that this is the best of all possible wars, and that all is well with the world. Between the lines, the now conservative Angell reveals his "practical" philosophy. War is inevitable, but not all war. An enlightened Russo-Anglo-American balance of power, enforced by superior military as well as economic strength, can give maximum democratic security and the minimum of armed conflict. Angell first considers the Russo-Anglo-American power bloc and indicates that world conditions may be successfully regulated by practical political agreements between these three nations. World federation is to be dominated by these three powers.

Angell's central thesis is that enlightened self-interest demands a "world federation" to prevent the upsetting of a "good" balance of power. The basic motive of every nation, however, he says, is its individual security.

"The first and last claim of every nation is to be able to do injustice to defend its right to existence." It is rather difficult to see precisely how a world federation could permanently succeed if each contributory government felt that its only uniting bond was in terms of whatever national advantage persuaded acceptance of a federative bargain. What is going to happen when any one nation decides that its own advantage can be best served without honest co-operation? Angell's argument for world federation is weak because he believes such a consummation to be possible only when recognised as a measure of national expediency. This is basically what he "lets the people know," although his principal emphasis is upon the inevitability of the war and the necessity for the participation in it of each one of the United Nations when their economic or political security was threatened.

Such attempts to be "realistic" need improvement. Not only is Angell's world federation something far short of the humanitarian dream of many sincere internationalists, but it also raises serious questions as to its practicability.

Angell talks often of the need for protection against aggression from the "outside." What is this "outside"? By definition, who is "outside" *world* federation? Is it possible to have democratic vigilance to protect "world federation" of the majority from the minority without putting minority nations outside the world democracy? How can this be world federation in anything but name? Angell further suggests that the Western nations prove themselves capable of unity for protection against the Asiatics. After this disarming statement of trust in and respect for Asia, he continues to deplore the possibility that Asia should fail to co-operate with "us." We do not think that this sort of directly racial counsel, inspired by purely Anglo-American considerations, can ever condition China or any other Eastern country to respond other than deplorably.

Sir Normal Angell was once awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He has made a lasting contribution to much of the factual enlightenment necessary for peace education. (See his *The Great Illusion*). He is a sincere man, but his particular brand of sincerity at this juncture of history is rather discouraging. No hope of the "new world" that so many long for can be derived from the logical extension of his basic theses. No matter how delicately sugar-coated the pill, he still is recommending the perpetuation of the balance-of-power theory in a new and improved form. And, though this might mean a lesser number of difficulties before the next war, it can never achieve the cessation of war altogether.

## No Justice Yet in Sight

It is the fashion today to indulge in expressions of sympathy with the political aspirations of weaker peoples. But unless these expressions are accompanied by the adoption of a policy which alone can ensure the fruition of those aspirations, they will not be taken seriously. *The Indian Thinker* observes :

The Norwegian writer, Dr. Arne Ord'gn, discussing the future relations of the Powers in the *Observer* of London, says that national feelings are strong in Norway and that "even the best-intentioned attempt to force our people into a mould shaped by external forces would arouse the most intense opposition." He also refers to the danger that federation between nations may become part of their policy of dividing the world into spheres of influence around the *Big Four* meaning America, Britain, Russia and possibly China. And Senator E. C. Johnson, writing in the *Rocky Mountain News*, has given details of this projected division.

"Russia would dominate the Baltic States, Northern Balkan States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany and France. Britain would dominate Norway, Holland and Belgium, including the latter's colonies; and it would also dominate the Dark Continent and the Mediterranean States of Spain, Italy and Greece. Britain would have the unique task of fighting communism within her sphere of influence and at the same time co-operating closely with M. Stalin !

"Japan would be reduced to her original islands, and nationalistic China would be encouraged, and expected, to favour the white nations by granting valuable trade concessions. Britain, Russia, and the United States would exercise a sort of joint over-lordship in the Orient."

Anyhow, such a division of the world, however inevitable, will not be in the interests of the smaller nations, or for that matter, for the stronger nations themselves in the long run. This is exactly what India would and should say when it comes to it.

The Four Freedoms, of which we have been hearing so much, must, if they are worth the name, confer on every nation, strong or weak, colourless or coloured, and on every individual within each nation, the right to live in its own home without the smallest fear of economic or other penetration in the name of free-trade or colonial expansion. If, on the other hand, freedom is only freedom to encroach on another's lands and markets, it is nothing more than the freedom of the licensed robber to take what does not belong to him—if a strong expression would be permitted. In both cases, it is a case of *Might*—physical, mental or both—overriding *Right*. Should this be allowed? *Can* this be allowed, and yet "peace on earth and goodwill among men" be looked for? That is the question.

---

## Organisation of Scientific Research in the U.S.S.R.

Scientific Research in the U.S.S.R. is organised on the principle of 'Unity of Theory and Practice.' K. G. Naik writes in *Science and Culture*:

All the sciences grew out of practice. Theoretical problems are raised and solved in connection with general practical problems and *vice-versa*, *viz.*, the solution of practical problems are illuminated by theory. Hence in the U. S. S. R., all the Scientific Research establishments are brought close to industry and art utilized to work out a plan of activity answering the needs of industry. Economic growth and economic independence, it was realised in the U. S. S. R., demanded the solution of a number of technical problems, which in turn raised the whole series of important theoretical scientific problems. "Great practice calls for great theory."

The planning of scientific work according to a clear perspective of technical and economical developments, results in a 'Social Synthesis' of Science and Practice.

The main groups of national problems would embrace (*i*) prospecting for natural wealth (deposits), (*ii*) finding the best methods and means (machines, etc.) of utilization, (*iii*) devising the best forms or organization for such utilization, (*iv*) rationalizing production and (*v*) problems of labour (study of the working man as the subject of the process of labour). All these presuppose the development of all branches of both *natural* and *social* sciences. In the U. S. S. R. "The Academic Studio" has thus been supplanted by the huge laboratories and the lone scientists by huge scientific organisations. Planning no doubt implies a certain amount of restriction, but a planned attack from various aspects brings the solution of problems quicker than by unorganised individual grappling. Consequently, the Soviet Government came to the decision that if they must overtake and even surpass, both technically and economically, the advanced capitalist countries, the net-work of scientific research institutions must grow at a colossal speed. In planning, the themes should embrace current economic problems as well as problems of to-morrow, even simultaneously. This is carried out through the system of *Head* and *Branch* institutions and factory laboratories, and by rational apportionment of these themes, among different research establishments. Mutual competition and secrecy had to be replaced by mutual information and joint elaboration of plans—the planning of *Construction* and *Means* had to become the product of the planning of thematics. The planning of scientific forces followed immediately. Vast reconstruction needed hundreds of thousands of qualified workers who had to be trained and distributed according to different branches of themes of scientific research work; and this was followed by the porblem of securing a sufficient influx of reinforcements of all degrees of scientific qualifications. Naturally, all the problems enumerated above are inter-connected forming an organic whole—a functional part of the general *National Plan*.

Experience led to the necessity of establishing three basic types of institutes for research in the U.S.S.R. *viz.*, (*a*) Subsidiary points, (*b*) Branch Institutes, (*c*) Head Institutes.

(*a*) The Subsidiary points serve industrial enterprises such as factories, mills, mines, farms, hospitals, etc. Besides fulfilling the elementary technical tasks, they include the elaboration of new methods, improvement of old methods, and so on. The subsidiary points, form an integral part of (*b*) the Branch Institutes which latter serve the interests of entire branches of industry, agriculture, etc., and carry out direct tasks given to them by the industrial organisations. Further, on their part, they raise a series of prospective problems of more general and profound importance, growing into the theoretical problems of a fundamental character, and thereby maintain contact with (*c*) the Head Institutes. The Head Institutes solve the moral general scientific questions arising from the whole complexity of the techno-economic plans. They also raise and elaborate the great fundamental problems of science—"problems of to-morrow." Such is the line of connections, traced from bottom up. The return road is also perfectly

clear. The Head Institutes advise the Branch Institutions and help them in solving problems. The technical results of problems handled by the Head Institutes are passed on to the Branch Institutes for detailed technological treatment. The Branch Institutes in their return, advise the subsidiary points and through these latter, they carry out the adoption of new technical methods and improved models in industry. Thus a rational form of subdivision of labour, between different categories of research institutes, is created, assuring *certain* unity between the theoretical and applied problems of scientific work. Experience has shown that such a form of organisation has proved wholly successful. The gigantic growth of the scientific institutions in the Soviet Union, both qualitatively and quantitatively, irrefutably demonstrates that the fear of the debasing of science, to result from deliberate association of Science with Industry, is utterly unfounded.

—

### Russia

*The New Review* observes :

General February was kind to the Red Army which scored gratifying victories. The whole front was set moving. In the north, a three-prong attack snipped off the bulge below Leningrad and the snippets were annihilated. The line was pushed back into Estonia and strightened from Novgorod to Narva. After a pause of a fortnight, the Russians, who had encircled Luga, developed a gigantic sweep southwards, forced the Nazis out of Staraya Russa and pushed them on the road to Pskov, whilst a east-west manœuvre pressed them back towards the Latvian frontier.

A less spectacular but possibly a more important victory was won in Dnieper bend; the ten divisions cornered between Nikopol and Krivoirog were badly mauled and thrown back in disorder; the five divisions surrounded in the Konev salient were decimated.

In the meantime, Rovno and Lutsk were captured. This move carried the Russians further into Poland and put them in a favourable position from which they will make a south-west assault on the vital sector of the front to push it against the Carpathians and the Black Sea; once the railway Odessa-Lwow is cut, the whole German position will be threatened with disaster.

It is impossible now to make out what was forced retreat, and what was cautious evacuation in the Nazi movements.

But whichever was the case locally, the general movement was due to acknowledged defeat. The relative advantage of the Red Army lay in its far superior artillery and a recovery in relative air strength, both of which are largely due to the air offensive of Britain and America on the western front.

If Russian strategy on the battlefield was up to traditional standard, the change in the Soviet constitution was a masterful stroke of moral strategy. It was so worded as to rouse sympathy all over the world and prepare future developments; democrats salute the dawn of red democracy, communists the dawn of national communism.

A paper amendment is not final; the spirit in which it is carried out is more decisive. How far will each federated republic have its national army? How far will each shape its foreign policy?

Shall we see a Red *bloc* at the Peace Conference, alongside of the American and the British *blocs* ?

Or was the measure passed only with a view to reinforce Red influence in the Border States ? Now that the war is brought into Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and may spread to the Balkans, was it not the time to rally nationalist movements to the Red Flag ? A promise of autonomy was badly needed to counteract the national reaction in lands which were occupied by Russia as well as by Germany.

What was significant was that the first foreign commissar to be appointed was Ukraine's and that the choice fell on the Polish-born Comrade, Wanda Wasilewska. When circumstances will permit, the Ukrainians in Poland will clamour for union with Soviet Ukraine and the matter will have become an internal problem into which no foreign nation will be allowed to interfere.

## Modern Novels

Vincent Brome writes in *The Twentieth Century* :

Novels, today, have not departed so widely from the old traditions. Of course, they are far more realistic and less verbose, but there are still writers of the first rank producing novels on the grand scale, like R. C. Hutchinson's "Testament," one of the most vivid stories of Russia ever written, with a flood of rich and living characters, and that undertone of compassion which has always marked out the best minds. It has no smart phrases. It does not experiment with form. But its total effect is overwhelming.

Hutchinson, however, is not nearly so well-known as Aldous Huxley, the high priest of the novel today. Huxley wrote "Point and Counter-point," "Brave New World," "Eyeless in Gaza," and many books all giving glimpses of new attitudes to people and things : fresh valuations.

Occasionally, he experimented with form, but generally, he was concerned with ideas more than with forms. His essays, too, explored some striking new lines of thought which tumbled many a cherished belief in the dust. "Do What You Will" is a good example of the essays. The title comes from Blake :

> Do what you will
> This world is but a fiction,
> And is made up
> Of contradiction.

It has several times happened that Huxley's attitudes to this or that matter, once considered novel, arresting, even perhaps revolutionary, have, years afterwards, become common attitudes for the majority of people. There is no question of his importance in modern English literature, and he has yet to reach the height of his powers.

Huxley's "Brave New World" was one of many books, giving an imaginative picture of the future, which together make up another important trend of modern literature. H. G. Wells began the vogue with stories like "The Time Machine." Olaf Stapledon took it up in "Last and First Men." Stapledon's book is a giant picture of the destiny of mankind, worked out with all the accuracy which physics, biology and philosophy can give, and yet touched with high imagination and very considerable art.

Wells does not only foretell and prophesy today. He continues to throw off overnight books which fall into that rapidly swelling type of literature best designated political-*cum*-sociological. English literature has an enormous field today, given over to analysing anything from the origin of a smile to possible world states. Today, first-class books on world affairs are being written in greater quantities than ever before. This development naturally follows the disturbance of international relations.

## The Meaning of Responsible Government

The following is an extract from an article by Professor Rene Capitant as translated from the French by Diane Sen in *The Patiala Post* :

Responsible Government is something different from government by responsible Ministries. It can be summed up in two rules : the Government governs; the Parliament controls. Nothing more simple, nothing more commonplace apparently than this summing up. Nothing more useful, in fact, nothing more fruitful if one grasps its true sense. In reality, this means that responsible government is the reverse of separation of powers. No doubt it is derived therefrom through long and continuous evolution, so continuous that it disregards for the most part the conscience of the public and even that of the jurists or parliamentarians. When speaking of the separation of powers, both legislative and executive, one is still speaking in the language of constitutional monarchy.

An English Liberal, Ramsay Muir, writes that the main characteristic of the British Government is the concentration of powers in the hands of the Prime Minister.

He governs and he legislates. Supported by his majority, it is he who draws up and places before the House of Commons the legislative programme for the session. Parliamentary initiative is no longer exercised and the vote of the Commons is confined to edorsing the Cabinet's programme. Legislative as well as executive power has become a governmental power. Deformation, usurpation ? Not so. These prescripts interpret the idea, the very essence of modern responsible government as it must and such as it should function today. Mirabeau visualised it in one of his speeches to the Constituent Assembly; and John Stuart Mill has said in his "Representative Government" that to govern is to legislate.

J. J. Rousseau assumes laws to be in the form of certain general and lasting principles such as an inspired Lycurgus suggested for the cohesion of the people.

Law is the frame of justice and equality wherein a simple and virtuous society unfolds itself. Law, as a general rule, equal for all, emanating from the common will and hence the reflection of justice, dominates the sphere of government. But legislation in a modern State is the very instrument of the Government. It is by means of legislation that the economy of a country is directed, industry is protected, customs duties are raised or lowered, the statute of the army is modified, provident or social institutions are encouraged or enforced.

To govern no longer means to work within the existing laws; to govern is to direct the course of legislation itself; to govern, in short, is to legislate.

The two ideas are henceforth closely linked up and responsible government can only be justified if this truth is borne in mind and the powers are concentrated in the hands of the Government.

Hence a powerful Government with a Prime Minister as powerful as a dictator holding in his hands and at his will all the prerogatives and machinery of the Government. That is the first rule of Responsible Government. But it is a Government, which is nothing more than a delegation, nothing more than an emanation of the legislatures and is responsible to them. That is what democracy requires; that is what constitutes parliamentary prerogatives.

### The Ministers, in the first place, are issues of the Parliament.

The Cabinet is nothing but a kind of parliamentary commission; as Bagehot says, a selection from the heart of Parliament; as Max Weber says, a homogeneous parliamentary team selected from amongst the leaders of the majority.

### The Ministers, in the second place, are responsible.

Responsible Government is a Government which one questions, which one forces to explain itself, which one subjects to a constant fire of criticism and which is plunged into limelight and publicity. Again, whose political doctrine is often so harsh, so absolutely negative, so hostile to the very idea of government has, at least, pointed out with praiseworthy emphasis and feeling the necessity for such control and for permanent adjustment of power.

This control, however, it must be clearly stated, implies the right of overthrowing the Ministry. The responsibility of the Ministry is the keystone of Responsible Government, and since we have agreed to remain faithful to it, there is no question of sacrificing it but only of examining under what conditions its working may be normal and healthy. The great problem is to combine responsibility with stability of the Ministry.

---

## Bernard Shaw on Peace and War

### An Interview With A Mexican Journalist

*The Indian Readers' Digest* quotes from the *World Review*:

*Q.—When this War is over, will it have been useless?*

*A.*—Until a war has produced its final results, no one can tell whether it has been worth while or not. War is always wasteful, cruel, mischievous, destructive, demoralising, and detestable to every humane instinct, yet it is not always avoidable, and often it effects social changes that occur only under its terrible pressure. The War of 1914-18 made an end of four empires which might have endured for four centuries more at peace. Whether it was worth the bloodshed and devastation it cost, depends on whether the new republics make their citizens better than the old empires did. But if they do, it still remains true that it would have been wiser to make the change reasonably rather than violently.

*Q.—Will social revolution come in England, or in all countries, at the end of this war?*

*A.*—Not necessarily. If the ruling and propertied classes give way to the proletariat sufficiently to offer an acceptable ransom for their privileges, then there will be no disturbance big enough to be called a revolution.

*Q.—Is Communism now the only door open to mankind?*

*A.*—Communism has a hundred doors; and they do not all open and close at the same moment. Everywhere already we have communism in roads, bridges, street lighting, water supply, police protection, military, naval and air services. These can be added to item by item without communising everything at one blow. In the U. S. S. R. Communism is the official policy; yet there is more personal property and private enterprise in Russia today than there was under the Tsars.

*Q.—Is Mr. H. G. Wells right when he says as he did some days ago to another Mexican journalist, that if people do not understand his message, this war will rapidly be succeeded by another one?*

*A.*—Ask Mr. Wells himself. Whatever he says is worth hearing by people with brains enough to understand him.

*Q.—Will the Beveridge plan, the Keynes', the Morgenthau, the Etcetera plan have practical effects on the future of society?*

*A.*—The Beveridge plan is a very moderate ransom assessed by a man who knows fifty times better than his critics what a wise government should do and can do under existing circumstances. Capitalism will be very lucky if it gets off as cheaply as Mr. Beveridge proposes. The other plans are incidental and technical: they will not become political issues.

*Q.—Is there not a 'Shaw Plan' of social reconstruction?*

*A.*—No. Social reconstruction is not a One Man Job. I can only lay a brick! I cannot build a house.

*Q.—Are the Vansittart ideas on the re-education of the German people foolish or not?*

*A.*—Ask Lord Vansittart. He is no fool: read what he has written not what others have written about him.

*Q.—Ought the Germans to disappear as a Nation?*

*A.*—Perhaps. Perhaps also the human race ought to disappear as a species. But as there is no likelihood of their doing anything so sensible, the question is an idle one.

---

# INDIA'S GREATEST TANTRIK-YOGI

# ASTROLOGER & PALMIST

*HIGHLY APPRECIATED BY HIS MAJESTY THE KING GEORGE THE SIXTH.*



**RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (LONDON)** of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society is now at Calcutta.

It is well-known that the astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases **(Phthisis, Asthma, Piles, Diabetes, Seminal diseases, Insanity, Hysteria, Epilepsy and all kinds of Female Diseases — Sterility, Painful Menstruation, Menorrhagia, etc.)** are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc. and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan, etc.**) have given many spontaneous testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

**A few names of eminent personalities are given below who have tested his wonderful attainments in Astrology, Palmistry and Tantric rites, etc. :** His Highness the Maharaja of Atgar, Her Highness the Dowager Sixth Maharani Saheba of Tripura, the Raja Bahadur of Barkimedi, an Hon'ble Member of the Orissa Assembly, Maharaj Kumar of Hindol, Maharaja Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury, Kt. of Sontosh, Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir Manmotha Nath Mukherjee, Kt. of Calcutta High Court, Hon'ble Justice Sir C. Madhavam Nair, Kt., Privy-Council, Kumar Ramendra Narayan Roy of famous Bhawal Case, Hon'ble Mr. S. C. Mitra, M.A., B.L., President of Bengal Legislative Council, Hon'ble Mr. P. D. Raikot, Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Khan Sahib Mr. Motahar Hossain Khan, B.A., Suptd. of Excise, Rangpur, Mr. E. A. Araki, M.A. (Cantab), J.P., Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, Chaudhury Moazem Hossain (Lal Mea) M.L.C., Lieut. Mr. P. N. P. Unawalla, R. I. N. R. Calcutta, Khan Bahadur K. M. Hassan, C.I.E., Dy.-General Manager, E. I. Rly., Kumar C. Singh Rai of Loisingha, Patna State, Mr. B. J. Farnando, Proctor, S. C. & Notary Public, Ceylon, Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan, Mr. Andre Tempe, Illionis, America, Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China, Mr. Isac Mumi Etia, of Africa, Mr. R. L. Dutt, Solicitor, Calcutta, Mr. P. K. Mitra, Solicitor, Maharaj Kumar P. N. Roy Choudhury, B.A., of Santosh, Vice-Consul of Spain, Mr. B. K. Roy, Advocate-General of Orissa, Rai Saheb S. M. Das, a Judge of the Keonjhar State High Court, Sreemati Sarala Devi, M.L.A., the reputed Congress Leader of Orissa, Rai Saheb Hridoy Ballav De, D.S.P., of Cuttack Police, Mr. M. Azam, M.A., Inspector of Schools, Cuttack, Choudhury Srijut Harekrishna Samanta Roy, Zaminder, Cuttack, have personal experience of his wonderful predictions and mysterious powers.

**Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.**

## *WONDERFUL TALISMANS (Guaranteed). In case of failure, Money refunded.*

**DHANADA KAVACHA OR THE ROTHSCHILD TALISMAN.**—Its wearer earns immense wealth with little struggling and it fulfills the desires without fail. Lakshmi resides at his house and gives him son, vast wealth, long life, all round prosperity and fame. It will give even a beggar the wealth of a king (as written in Tantra). **Price Rs. 7-10.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 29-11.**

**BAGALAMUKHI KAVACHA.**—It will help you to overcome your enemies. The wearer gets promotion in services and succeeds in pleasing higher officials. In winning in civil or criminal suits it is unique. This is also a preventive to accident or any danger. **Price Rs. 9-2.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2. (The Bhowal Kumar, winner of the Sensational Bhowal Case, wore this Kavacha).**

**BASHIKARAN (MOHINI) KAVACHA.**—It brings the desired persons man or woman under absolute control or subjection through whom any object may be fulfilled. **Rs. 11-8.** Special and capable of giving immediate effects **Rs. 34-2.**

## ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd.)

( ESTD. 1907 A.D. )

**( The biggest and most reliable & oldest Astrological Society with magnificent Library in India and the Far East. )**

**Head Office :**—105 (M.R.), Grey Street, "Basanta Nivas" (Sri Sri Nabagraha & Kali Temple) Calcutta. Phone : B. B. 3685.

**Branch Office :**—47, Dharamtola Street, (Wellesley Junction), Calcutta. . . . . Phone : Cal. 5742.

LONDON OFFICE :—**Mr. M. A. CURTIS**, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

**Consultation Hours :**—HEAD OFFICE—8-30 A.M.—11-30 A.M. Branch Office—5 P.M.—7-30 P.M.

**N.B.**—All correspondence & remittances to be made direct to the Head Office.



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS



## India in 1943

In *The International Review of Missions* in January 1944, M. S. describes in brief the various activities of different Christian Missions in all parts of the world during the last year and while doing so gives a yearly survey of the political background of each country, from which we reproduce below the survey of the situation of India in 1943 :

The year 1942 came to its end with a situation in which the Government and the people of India were ranged opposite to each other in conflict. It is true, as was said in the Survey a year ago, that the outbreak that followed upon the arrest and internment of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders was not 'an effective national movement, but it brought conciliation to an end and opened between the contending parties a chasm which a year later was not bridged. The deadlock continues, and every aspect of the public life of India, including the Christian movement, is deeply affected by that governing fact. Throughout the past year there has been little relaxation of the tension and only faint gleams of hope that a solution may be achieved. There are, however, some developments for evil or for good that may be noted.

There were and still are two conflicts creating the present impasse—the one a conflict that may be said in the main to be between Mr. Gandhi and the British Government, the other a conflict between the Congress and the Muslim League. If we take the second of these first, as that which most vitally affects India's future, we find no improvement in the position but rather a sharpening of the antagonism. Thus in April the Muslim League formally declared that any Federal solution of the constitutional problem would be rejected by Muslim India and 'would inevitably lead to bloodshed.' Mr. Jinnah in his address as President claimed that the League had 'formed ministries in Assam, Bengal, Sind and the Punjab,' and while this is not the actual position in these Provinces, the League appears now to be able to dominate the ministries. Mr. Jinnah reiterated in September his demand for Pakistan as 'an indispensable condition of any settlement in India.'

Similarly the position of the Viceroy *vis-a-vis* Mr. Gandhi remained unchanged up to the date of Lord Linlithgow's departure from India in October. Just as Mr. Jinnah calls repeatedly on Mr. Gandhi to come to an agreement with him, so with these other two antagonists. There is no yielding of any ground on either side. Mr. Gandhi's fast which formed the climax of this controversy was preceded by a correspondence between him and the Viceroy which was published immediately before the fast began on February 10th. That correspondence gives clear evidence on the part of the Viceroy of what he calls 'my anxiety to follow your mind and to do full justice to your argument.' Only in the final letter is there any evidence that his patience is giving way and there are similar indications on Mr. Gandhi's part as well. It might have been expected that Mr. Gandhi would have publicly denounced the violence and bloodshed which followed upon his arrest, but he does not go beyond a general condemnation of violence. He refers in one letter to his having on previous occasions 'done public penance' for such violence, but he does not suggest that that is the significance of his fast on this occasion.

Of the profound emotion stirred among all sections of the Indian public by Mr. Gandhi's fast there can be no question, and in that respect it had an influence upon India that still remains. But with the conclusion of the fast without the tragic result that was so greatly feared its purely political significance ends. Its main political consequence, apart from the widespread exacerbation of feeling, was the resignation of two Indian members of the Viceroy's Council. Their action seems to have been taken purely on personal grounds and their political views remain unaltered. There would be general agreement with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's opinion that if Mr. Gandhi had died 'the task of reconciliation between Britain and the Hindus—nay, the Indian nation—would have become extremely difficult.'

That danger having been surmounted, the Government remained resolute in maintaining its policy. Again and again representations were made to the Government of India by various sections of the community outside the Congress Party—such as the Liberals, the Indian Christians and groups of influential missionaries—for a fresh approach with a view to ending the deadlock. Thus an appeal was made by twenty-five British missionaries for a resumption of negotiations. A more significant movement, taking its origin in the United Provinces and supported by some of the more moderate Congress leaders, proposed to consider the whole situation afresh. A pre-condition, however, of these attempts at reconciliation was that the Government should release the *detenus* and that the Congress should rescind its resolution of August 8th, 1942, and on neither side was there any indication that such action would be taken.

And yet by the close of the year the situation had greatly altered. The new aspect of the war that had come about when Lord Linlithgow's successor, Lord Wavell, took charge, gives some reason for hope that the stubborn attitude on both sides may be modified and that application of a fresh mind to the problem may make a new approach possible. Lord Wavell himself has declared that we should not suppose 'that there can be no political progress before the end of the war.'

Throughout the year Mr. Rajagopalachari has continued his efforts to reopen negotiations with the Government. In October he made an appeal for 'the organizing of a national acceptance of Sir Stafford Cripps' scheme of April, 1942.' He gave us one reason for this the change in the war situation, so that what was impracticable in 1942 is no longer so. An additional source of resentment has been the legislation in South Africa placing restrictions on the acquisition of land by Indians in Natal. Strong protests have been made against this proposal, which, it is declared, is a flagrant violation of undertakings of the Union Government. Great Britain too is charged with unwillingness to protect Indian interests.

These political agitations have been tragically overcast by the emergence early in the year of a serious condition of food scarcity, spreading throughout the country and causing great hardship. As the year

advanced the situation in some parts of India seriously deteriorated, till famine with all its calamitous accompaniments had established itself. This was especially the case in Bengal and in Calcutta, into which many thousands of the starving village people crowded day after day and week after week. The number of people in Bengal who had to be fed had risen by the beginning of November to 2,100,000 and the number of 'free kitchens' to 5,500. In spite of this, from sixty to ninety famine patients were reported as dying every day in Calcutta hospitals. The causes of this calamity cannot yet be determined, but undoubtedly the situation has been aggravated by war conditions and by the disorganization and the fears that the events of the time have created. The Friends Ambulance Unit is among those who are engaged in relief work in co-operation with the Government in this area.

In all the agony and turmoil of the time the Indian Christian community has felt itself to be deeply concerned. The All-India Conference of Indian Christians in March passed a resolution calling upon the British Government to declare that India shall attain full freedom within two years from the cessation of hostilities. At the same time it 'earnestly appeals' for an agreed solution of the constitutional problem.

### Aviation is 40 Years Old

Friday, December 17, 1943, is the 40th anniversary of aviation. It was on this day in 1903, on a sandy beach at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, on the eastern coast of North America, that the two bicycle mechanics, Wilbur and Orville Wright, achieved the goal of inventors and dreamers throughout the ages of flying like a bird. Other inventors in other countries had experimented with balloons filled with heated air or with motorless gliders. The Wright Brothers are generally believed to have been the first, or one of the first, to fly in a motor-driven, heavier-than-air-craft. As such they are in a sense the Fathers of Flight.

Commenting upon the significance of this anniversary, the American historian Carl Van Doren said in a broadcast :

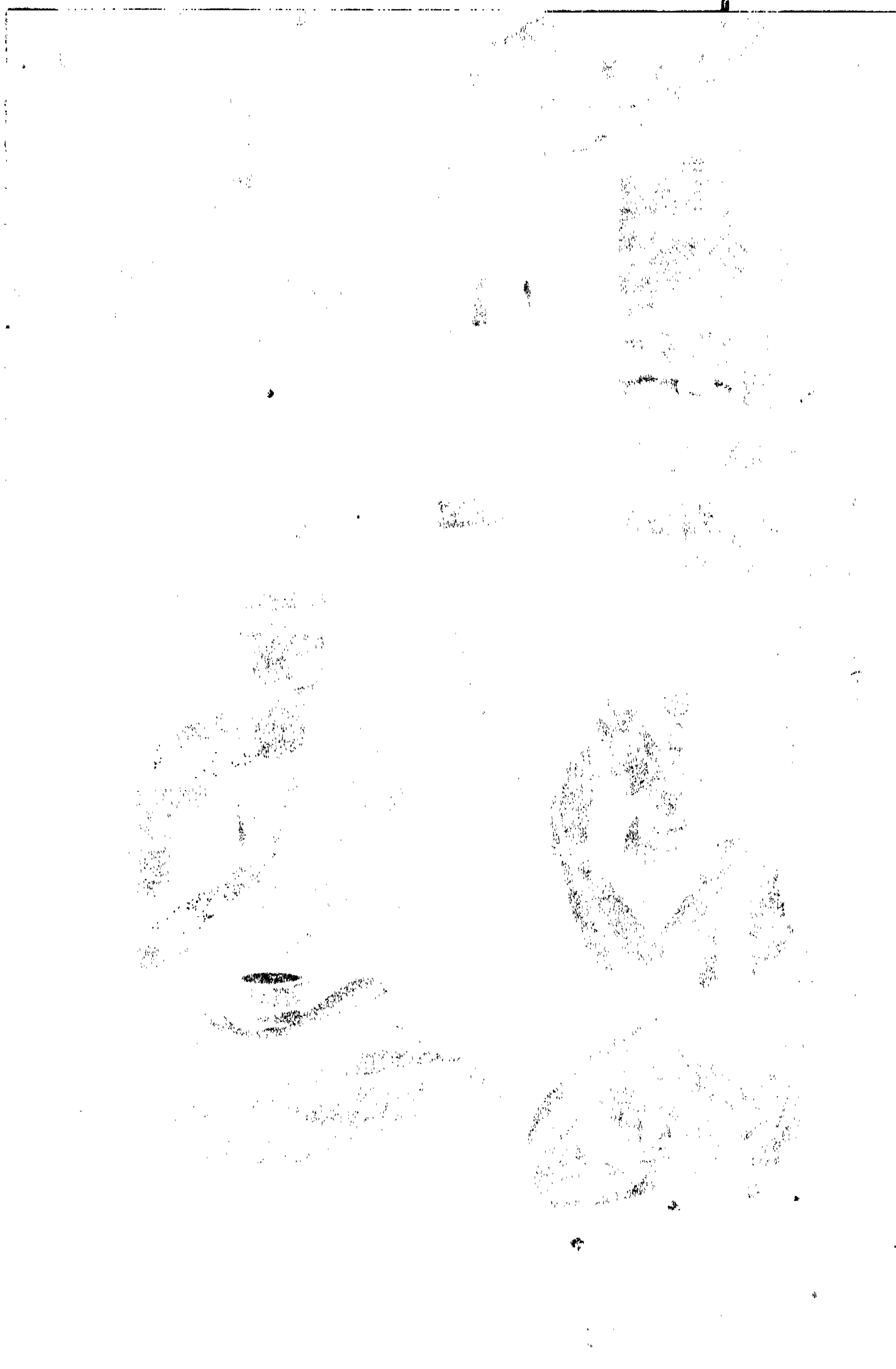
"There were only five spectators on the lonely beach when the Wright Brothers got their clumsy machine into the air, and the newspapers barely mentioned the great achievement.

"To-day, just 40 years later, men use the skies as readily as their fathers used the seas. Germany and other aggressor nations set out to conquer the earth by lightning blows from the air. Their planes struck brutally at the defenceless men, women and children in a hundred cities. But the aggressors themselves are now being overwhelmed by the very forces which they turned loose so ruthlessly. The armoured eagles of the United Nations, which developed from that fragile machine which the Wrights flew at Kitty Hawk four decades ago, now pour ruin on the strongholds of our enemies by day and night."—*USOWI.*

### Enough Penicillin for All in Six Months, Manufacturers Say

U. S. and Canadian firms manufacturing penicillin told U. S. war production officials that production of penicillin is increasing so rapidly that they will be able to meet all military and civilian needs within six months. This extract of green mould culture is credited by medical men with having saved lives when all other treatments failed, and the demand for the drug has constantly exceeded the supply.—*USOWI.*

Printed and Published by NIBARAN CHANDRA DAS, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



BUDDHA AND SUJATA

By Manindrabhusan Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY



1944

VOL. LXXV, No. 5

WHOLE No. 449

# NOTES

*The Present-day Condition of the Indian Civilian*

The war has caused death and untold misery to countless millions of inoffensive and innocent people. Most of the sufferers have been the victims of enemy action, either being overwhelmed by invasion or being stricken down through other warlike acts. Many more millions have had to undergo privations due to shortage of essential requirements of life in order that the nation's war effort may be enhanced. But nowhere in this world has there been so much of suffering, misery and privations imposed on civilian life with such utter and absolute disregard for his welfare as has happened in India. If the resultant increase in the war effort had some parity with the tremendous sacrifice made in life, property and money, then this suffering might have had some semblance of justification. But the results show that the war effort today in India is not anywhere near what it should have been in the fifth year of this Great War.

Famine in Bengal, Orissa and Madras, *i.e.*, in the rice-eating parts of India, has taken a tremendous toll of lives. Famine in the modern world is completely preventable. Its prevention was a dire necessity for the enhancement of war effort itself, if not for humanitarian reasons. But this tremendous man-made scourge was permitted to pursue its own course in the thick of a war zone. Army detachments and some army equipments had themselves to be diverted for the prevention of famine. The same story was repeated in the handling of epidemics following the famine. Cholera, smallpox and such other preventable diseases took another heavy toll of some more millions where again the Army Medical men and medicine had to be drafted. An uncoordinated, unplanned and flimsy attempt was made by the Surgeon-General of Bengal to render medical aid to rural areas in imitation of the Army activities. Trained medical men could not be secured, and in their place, junior students of the Calcutta Medical College were tempted to join what was called a "Cadder Scheme." We do not know what achievements of this scheme have been recorded in the Secretariat, but we are in possession of definite facts which enable us to say that not more than 6000 patients received daily treatment by mobile units for a total period of two months in a province inhabited by 60 million people. The students were sent mostly alone to interior villages with instructions to draw money and medicine from headquarters dozens of miles away from the places where they had been sent. No arrangement had been made to safeguard their life and health in the midst of epidemic-stricken villages.

Equally callous negligence is visible in the matter of providing food and nutrition. Prices have been allowed to rise four times over the pre-war level. Cost of living has increased by leaps and bounds while income lagged behind. The purse of the average man can hardly meet his primary demands for keeping the body and soul together and he has to go without amenities. His reserves have been exhausted and no wonder he falls an easy prey to disease and death.

Rationing has been introduced but in the rice-eating areas it is not an unqualified boon. Prices are four times the normal level, choice has been completely denied and on occasions the food-stuffs supplied are so bad that no father can hand it over to his sons without apprehension of impending illness in the family. Already worn down human constitutions are rapidly disintegrating, resulting in disease and death by a forced feeding of unaccustomed qualities of rice with a weekly change in its variety and description. This evil could easily have been remedied by the provision of coarse, medium and fine qualities of rice and fixing different prices for them. The present Government works, but works without foresight, without sincerity and without sympthy for the people who provide its luxurious existence out of their own blood and toil.

The same is the case with travelling. The people are asked not to travel for pleasure. It is a deliberate falsehood to say that anybody in India except the fat salaried officials and the fatter war princes undertake railway travel for mere pleasure. The railway authorities have themselves put on permanent record the difficulties of travel by publicly advertising the tremendous hardships passengers have to undergo during a trip. The much advertised efficiency of the railway, the telegraph, the telephone and the post office have all broken down to a ridiculous and painful level at the stress of the war, and every one of them is being utilised as an engine of exploitation, not as machinery of public service. Normal channels of trade and industry have been stifled out of existence. Viciously selfish moves of every sort by foreign vested interests with a handful of Indian hangers-on, infest the entire national life today. People have been goaded into exasperation, have been compelled to lose all confidence in the Government with the inevitable result of remaining apathetic to war effort. Nothing beyond a thorough reconstruction of the entire constitutional and administrative machinery on a solid foundation of honesty, efficiency and foresight can bring back the lost confidence in the Government and promote war effort.

## *Stamping Out of Indian Concerns*

Most of the Indian industrialists and businessmen who are today flourishing with war-work do not seem to realise that they are being led through a blind alley into a hopeless morass of beautifully shining quicksand. The joy of amassing fabulous amounts of paper money has made them blissfully ignorant about the future. The internal market has been completely neglected by them. Indian products for civilian requirement are practically out of the market. and foreign manufactures are slowly and surely taking their place. It does not require much intelligence to realise that war orders will not provide them with future employment to any appreciable extent. The manner in which customers have been treated will leave a permanent stamp on them. At the conclusion of the war, such concerns will be at the end of their tether, for all their regular customers by then will have lost all sympathy for the concern and would surely turn with pleasure to the imported article which would be cheaper and probably much better finished than the home-made product. The British Agency houses here have accepted Indian products only as substitutes pending the arrival of foreign imports. Really good Indian products have never been placed on the market by them as they are unwilling to create a competition between British and Indian products after the war. The customers have this time been so shabbily treated by bountified and protected Industries that it will be wellnigh impossible for them to patronise the local markets again.

Those that are struggling on without war-work with a view to providing civilian needs have arrived almost to the point of a breakdown. Complete closure threatens them in the face due to the absolute stoppage of all supplies of machinery parts, replacements, etc., which are stringently denied to all except those who know how and where to apply the lubricants. If this war lasts another two years—and just now it looks as if it would last for four more—then the British exporter and his American cousin will have their dream fulfilled, the dream of an Asia of hewers of wood and drawers of water, without a single industry in all these millions of square miles, outside Soviet Asia, capable of standing on its own legs. The Western democracies are to be congratulated on the work of their henchmen and their satellites, along this truly (Western) democratic ideal !

## *Mr. Jinnah and Punjab Politics*

Mr. K. M. Munshi writes in the *Social Welfare* :

Mr. Jinnah came to the Punjab to conquer it. He wanted to break the Unionist Ministry and to establish a Muslim League Ministry pledged to Pakistan.

The Unionist Party, which is in power in the Punjab for many years, was founded by Sir Fazl-i-Husain. Sir Chhotu Ram is its Hindu bulwark now. A Jat by birth he agreed to the policy of what is termed in the Punjab "Agriculturists." It is based on

two bonds. First, of an economic programme of enriching what in the Punjab are called Agriculturists, a statute-defined group or caste of land-owners and agriculturists or their descendants whether they till land or not; secondly, as a tribal bond of Jat-brotherhood, irrespective of whether the Jat is by religion a Hindu, a Muslim or a Sikh. In a predominantly Muslim province, the basis of the party is a curious admixture of economic class war and changeless tribal spirit. This policy has alienated the cities, and the middle class Hindus and Sikhs.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan carried forward this tradition, ably supported by Sir Chhotu Ram who, temperamentally, is a fighter. Sir Sikander, when Mr. Jinnah started his All-India movement of Pakistan, entered into an astute pact known as Sikander-Jinnah Pact. By virtue of this Pact, the Muslim members of the Unionist Party in the Punjab became members of the Muslim League on the curious understanding that they would be Leaguers in All-India politics, but Punjabees for Punjab politics. So Sir Sikander became a Jinnahite outside the Punjab, but remained a Unionist inside it. Sir Sikander died; Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana became the Premier. The President of the League descended upon the Punjab to wipe out the Pact, destroy the Unionist Party and attach the Muslim members of the Unionist Party to the cult of Pakistan. The martial airs were played. A local gentleman declared a total war for Pakistan. Polite receptions were treated as ceremonials of triumph. Mr. Jinnah indicated that Sir Chhotu Ram was his *bete-noir*. Premier Tiwana lost his father and left Lahore for his native village. Sir Chhotu Ram was summoned twice but was adamant. He was Unionist, will remain one, and will have to truck with Pakistan. Sardar Baldev Singh, the Sikh Minister, declined to have anything to do with Pakistan and immediately in a public meeting announced his intention to stand by Akhand Hindustan. Sir Manohar Lal, the other Hindu Minister stood aloof, so did other Hindu and Sikh leaders.

The Muslim members, to quote Mr. Jinnah, talked about the Punjab for the Punjabees. The war bugles bleated a plaintive note: "The Punjab Mussalman is as good as any other Mussalman in other provinces of India, but what he lacks is character.

"I have been told that the Punjab is with the League and in an All-India issue it is prepared to support the League, but so far as the Punjab is concerned the Punjab is for the Punjabees.

"It is a queer position. The League is not fighting for establishing Pakistan in Bombay. The Punjab is the very foundation of Pakistan. It is strange that while the Muslims in the minority provinces are ready to die for the achievement of Pakistan, I am told in the Punjab that so far as Punjab is concerned it must be left alone. Without the Punjab, Pakistan will be nothing.

"The Muslim M.L.As. were returned by votes. Now they are sitting there tight, even though they have outlived the term for which they were elected. They are now the support of the Ministers. I, therefore, ask you to make preparations from right now and, by God's grace, we will see that when we return our new representatives, they are true and honest men, ready to serve the community and are not selfish."

Mr. Jinnah then made his exit.

Mr. Jinnah left the Punjab with a parting threat to come again. So he did, but this time also he has failed to achieve his object. He had succeeded in rallying a handful of younger M.L.A.'s led by Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan, son of the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, who was credited in the League Circles with the intention of resigning over this issue and crossing the floor of the House. Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan has however been dismissed by the Governor following a lengthy meeting of the Ministry presided over by him, by reason of a "very serious case of injustice, which had come to light, in the exercise of Capt. Hyat Khan's powers as a Minister." Mr. Jinnah's moves have been denounced not only by the Jats and Sikhs, but also by a large number of Muslims in the Province. With the refusal of the Punjab to become "the very foundation of Pakistan," it now remains to be seen what other "foundation" is sought by Mr. Jinnah to build up his house on sands.

### *Cause of Capt. Hyat Khan's Dismissal*

The Lahore Correspondent of the *Statesman* has revealed the cause of Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan's dismissal:

Details on which the Governor's order dismissing Capt. Hyat Khan was based have not been officially disclosed. It is, however, understood that the "serious case of injustice" relates to the dismissal by the Minister of Mrs. Durga Pershad, Lady Superintendent of the Lahore Corporation Girls' School.

Interviewed, Mrs. Durga Pershad told me: "As I heard the news on the radio last night the idea flashed across my mind that the young Minister had been dismissed for doing a grave injustice to me. My final appeal was submitted to the Governor as recently as the 19th of this month."

Asked to state her case, Mrs. Durga Pershad said: "Briefly my case is this:

Early in April last year I was asked by the Chief Officer of the Lahore Corporation to investigate a case against a Muslim lady teacher. The date was fixed for April 9 but strangely enough only a day before, the Chief Officer told me orally that I had been suspended by the Punjab Government. No reason had been given. The Chief Officer himself admitted that my suspension was a great surprise to him. After a lapse of four months a charge-sheet was handed to me detailing many charges of illegal gratification. An inquiry was held, which lasted five months.

"In January, this year, I was dismissed by the Chief Officer on the basis of an order of the Punjab Government. I filed an appeal before the Commissioner of the Lahore Division who pointed out that I had been exonerated as a result of a departmental inquiry of all the charges against me. The Commissioner, however, did not reverse the Government order on technical grounds. He advised me to file an appeal to the Governor."

### *Inner History of Jute Price Fixation*

From the following interpellations in the Central Legislative Assembly, the inner history of the fixation of jute prices will become clear.

On July 28, 1943, Mr. K. C. Neogy asked the Commerce Member whether influence was

exercised by the Government of India on the Bengal Government for the cultivation of jute *in excess of the desire of the representatives of cultivators* on the Advisory Board on Jute Regulation. Sir Azizul Huq replied in the affirmative. The same question had been put by Mr. Neogy on February 11, 1943 to which Mr. N. R. Sarkar had also returned an affirmative reply. The second part of Mr. Neogy's question on July 28, was :

(*b*) Has the attention of the Honourable Member been drawn to a Press statement issued by the Chief Whip of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party in the first week of this month, alleging—

(*i*) That an agreement has been entered into by the Indian Jute Mills Association for fixing certain maxima prices of jute for the coming season.

(*ii*) That this has been done with the full knowledge of the Provincial Government and "possibly of the Central Government as well."

(*iii*) That the prices have been fixed in view of the expectation that the Government of the United States of America would place a large order for the supply of hessian, provided its prices do not exceed a particular figure.

(*iv*) That there has been a tripartite understanding between the interest concerned in the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Indian Jute Mills Association in this connection.

(*v*) That the prices fixed are lower than what could be legitimately expected by the cultivator in view of the War orders from different parts of the world, coupled with the internal demand.

(*c*) Does the Honourable Member propose to lay on the table a full statement on the above allegations, and to explain what part, if any, has been played by the Government of India in this transaction ?

Sir Azizul Huq evaded by asking Mr. Neogy to put this question to the Supply Member.

On November 8 following, Mr. Neogy put the same questions to the Supply Member. To clause (iii) of the question, Sir A. R. Mudaliar replied that the fixation of maximum prices for raw jute by the Committee was the outcome of the acceptance by the mills of an order for hessian for export to the U. S. A. He categorically denied the allegations contained in clauses (iv) and (v). Following this denial, Mr. Neogy asked : "Have the Government satisfied themselves that the interests of the jute-growers have not been adversely affected by this agreement among the Capitalists ?" Sir Ramaswami replied : "I can say that I have personally satisfied myself that up-to now it has not been affected because when the maximum price is about 17, I understand the present prices are very much below that."

Mr. Neogy pursued the matter and on February 21 last, the following interpellation took place :

*Mr. K. C. Neogy* : Will the Honourable the Supply Member be pleased to refer to starred question No. 17 of the 8th November, 1943, and his answer thereto, and state :

(*a*) Whether it is a fact that on the 14th June 1943, the Adviser on Jute Supplies on behalf of the Government of the United States of America placed an order in India for 70 crores of yards of hessian at rates below the then market price.

(*b*) Whether it is a fact that the Washington representative of Economic Warfare in India on behalf of the Government of the United States of America refused to pay any price for the said hessian above the domestic ceiling price in the United States of America and that the Government of India supported him in this attitude.

(*c*) Whether it is a fact that the above order was classed as a war order and, as such, given priority over others.

(*d*) Whether the Government of India satisfied themselves that this was really an order exclusively for the purposes of war effort, and was not intended to supply the domestic civilian needs in the United States of America to any extent whatsoever.

(*e*) The price of hessian at which these orders were executed, and the price of hessian ruling in the market in the country then.

(*f*) Whether it is a fact that the Members of the Indian Jute Mills' Association entered into an agreement amongst themselves not to purchase raw jute for the execution of these orders at more than Rs. 14, Rs. 17 and Rs. 19 per maund for Bottoms, Middles and Tops, respectively.

(*g*) Whether it is a fact that the Government of the United Kingdom agreed not to purchase jute in the Indian market at that time, in order to keep the prices at the level agreed to amongst the Members of the Indian Jute Mills Association.

(*h*) Whether it is a fact that the prices of jute ruling about the time when the American order for hessian was placed, were higher than those fixed by the Indian Jute Mills' Association.

(*i*) How the prices offered by the Indian Jute Mills' Association for jute compared with the average prices of other agricultural commodities, particularly food-grains, month by month, since June, 1943, in the principal jute producing areas ?

*The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar* : (*a*) No. The negotiations leading up to the placing of contract were conducted by Mr. Swerling, U. S. A. Representative with the Committee of Indian Jute Mills' Association.

(*b*) The price paid was the result of free negotiations between the U. S. A. Representative and the Committee of the Indian Jute Mills' Association and the question, therefore, of support by the Government of India does not arise.

(*c*) and (*d*). Yes.

(*e*) Basis Rs. 19-8 per 100 yards for 9 porters and Rs. 26 per 100 yards for 11 porters against ruling market prices of Rs. 21-10 and Rs. 28-8, respectively.

(*f*), (*g*) and (*h*). Yes.

(*i*) Information regarding prices of agricultural produce in Bengal is being collected and a statement will be laid on the table of the House. I may, however, state from such information as is readily available that the normal parity between jute and paddy did not prevail during the period, the price of paddy far outdistancing the price of jute.

After the definite assertion in the affirmative by the Supply Member of the Government

of India to Mr. Neogy's pointed query, "Whether the Government of India had satisfied themselves that this was really an order exclusively for the purposes of war effort, and was not intended to supply the domestic civilian needs in the U. S. A. to any extent whatsoever," the following *Reuters* message was published which showed that the matter was worse. The message, which is an announcement of the U. S. War Production Board, states that jute from Calcutta was purchased for trading purposes, *i.e.*, for reselling them to Cuba and Puerto Rico to be used as sugar sacks. The message perhaps relates to a subsequent agreement but it is difficult to avoid the impression that it may bear some relation to the transaction referred to by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. The message runs :

WASHINGTON, March 24.

"The United States War Production Board tonight (Friday) announced the conclusion of negotiations for the purchase of jute from Calcutta for reselling to Cuba and Puerto Rico to be used as sugar sacks. Fifty per cent. of the supply needed will be bought now and the rest after the sugar crop in May or June at which time the amount needed for the next year can be estimated. Efforts have been made to grow Sisal in the United States and Latin America to provide fibre for sacks but so far insufficient quantity has been produced to meet the demands.—*Reuter*.

## *Jute Prices Unremunerative*

The jute-growers have literally been swindled of their legitimate profits by the fixation of prices at Rs. 19, 17 and 14 respectively for tops, middles and bottoms. We have given an idea about the reason and process for this price fixation. That the prices have been clearly unremunerative has been admitted even by the *Capital*, the organ of the British commercial interests in Bengal. The following comment made by the *Capital* in its issue for March 16, is self-explanatory :

In a recent article we commented on the lack of encouragement to sow jute which was offered by the proposed maximum prices for raw jute which the Government of India intend to make statutory. Our argument was that the current maximum prices of jute and paddy would encourage the growing of paddy and discourage the growing of jute and that not all the propaganda that the Government of Bengal could bring to bear would induce the ryots to put down sowings which would be equal to eight annas of the recorded acreage.

According to a table submitted by our correspondent, the average yield of jute per acre in the districts taken is 15 mds. 35 srs., which is higher than the official reports of outturn for these districts. On the basis of man-hours for employed labour, the average cost of cultivation per acre is Rs. 159, or Rs. 10 per maund. If, on the other hand, the crop is cultivated by the ryot's own family, the cost is given as Rs. 113 per acre, or Rs. 7-1-9 per maund. This gives a profit per acre of Rs. 31-7-8 where labour is hired and Rs. 77-9-6 where the work is done by the family, *assuming that the ryots get Rs. 12 per maund for their jute crop.* As we showed in a previous article, *this rate of Rs. 12 per maund is not likely to be obtained by the cultivators. If it is, there will not be sufficient margin between the prices paid to the ryots and the maximum prices in Calcutta to cover the costs of handling, grading, transporting, etc.*

The advantage of the mills is that they are now the only purchasers in the field, the shipping of raw jute bales being practically suspended. It is easier therefore for the British and American Governments to use the I.J.M.A. for their own purposes. Jute goods were so long being supplied to the U. K. and U. S. A. at cheap rates to the detriment of Indian interests, but now this country has been compelled to supply jute products to South American States at unreasonably cheap prices thus enabling the U.S.A. to make substantial profits. From the reply of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar it is not unreasonable to think that an unholy alliance had taken place between the U. K. and the U. S. A. as a result of which the U. K. agreed not to purchase jute in the Indian market at the time when the American purchase was being made. The American order was placed below the then market price and the agreement seems to have been made with a view to depress prices by stifling the market.

## *Bengal Food Situation*

The *Bombay Sentinel*, in its issue for April 12, has made a comment on the Bengal food situation under the caption *Danger Signal in Bengal*, an extract from which is given below :

Officialdom in this country is notorious for its complacency. Its policy and pronouncements with regard even to a catastrophic situation often betray a flippant unconcern for public interests. It has reason to be so. Independent of popular suffrage, its cosy situation in the guarded secretariats and council houses blinds it to such eventualities.

This explains the irresponsible statement of Sir Firoz Khan Noon in London that the food situation in India is improving. Though he admitted the situation in Bengal is a difficulty, he assured his listeners in the imperial metropolis that the Government of India has taken adequate measures to feed the people in that unfortunate province.

Only an official representative of India could indulge in such a blatant misrepresentation of actual conditions in India, particularly, Bengal where the faulty procurement policy of the provincial government and threatened failure of the *Aus* crop are creating a situation which has all the aspects of another famine.

Sir Firoz's irresponsibility outweighs Mr. Amery's obduracy. Even the stony-hearted Secretary of State for India had not the effrontery to draw such a complacent picture when he replied to Mr. Sorensen on the food scarcity in this country a few days ago.

He admitted that the total amount of food-grains produced this year does not guarantee a whole year's

sustenance of the people. In face of that the newly appointed Indian representative on War Cabinet finds the situation improving !

Official complacency must not be allowed to breed popular unconcern for the unfortunate victims of famine areas. The food situation is yet far from improving. In fact it is deteriorating, particularly in Bengal.

With a savage enemy trying to infiltrate into the heart of the province the people there are again faced with the prospect of a second famine.

Already the price of rice has gone higher than what it was this time last year. According to available reports the price varies between Rs. 18 to Rs. 22 per maund in each of the 12 deficit districts. In these districts there is a population of roughly two crores and a half of whom over one crore require supply.

But the procurement policy of the Government has failed to acquire sufficient store to provide these people with the needed quantity of grains. Though the last *Aman* crop yielded 27 crores maunds of rice, hoarders and black-marketeers have left very little for the famished people.

To add to the difficulty is the scarcity of seeds for *Aus* crop. Hungry peasants last year were forced to eat up even the small amount of paddy which they save otherwise for the coming year's sowing.

That is not end of the tale. Death, disease and under-nourishment have created an acute shortage of agricultural labour throughout the province.

A typical example of this new development is provided by the report that in the district of Noakhali the population consists of 75 per cent. of women, most of whom are widowed or forsaken. In a village called Bagna 95 per cent. of the inhabitants are now women. This will speak for the scarcity of agricultural labour.

Bengal villages, like those in any other parts of the country, are populated by agricultural workers and if the villages are deserted by the men who will till the soil ? From this it is apparent that there is grave danger ahead in Bengal. It will materialise unless concerted action is taken by all concerned, official and non-official to alleviate the situation.

Some mofussil news items published in Calcutta papers unmistakably point out that there is persistent tendency for the price of rice to rise above Rs. 20. It has been admitted even by the *Capital* that it is practically impossible to purchase rice at the statutory prices. We feel it our duty to draw attention of the people and the Government to the comments of the *Sentinel* which deserve serious study.

### *Citizenship Rights for Indians in America*

Writing in the *Asia*, Mr. Anup Singh, of the India League of America, has pointed out that there are only about 3000 native Indians in the U. S. A. It may be recalled that Indians were entitled to become citizens until the Supreme Court ruled in 1923 that Hindus were not white persons, thereby depriving the Indian people of the right they once possessed in the United States. Thousands of Americans have always been accorded equal rights and privileges in India, and the least America can do is to reciprocate this treatment.

### *Lahore Judgment on Court Martial*

A full bench of the Lahore High Court consisting of the Chief Justice Sir Trevor Harries and Rahaman and Mahajan JJ., in the course of their judgment in the Meads Case, observed : "Section 270 of the Government of India Act is not applicable to a Court Martial held under the Army Act in respect of a British Officer attached to the Indian army." This question of law was referred to the full bench in a petition submitted by Capt. A. D. Meads of the Royal Engineers. The Captain was tried by a Court Martial held in Lahore Cantonment on October 12, 1942, and was convicted under Section 17 of the Army Act for alleged misapplication of public funds and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and cashiered. The petitioner urged that the act complained of was committed by him in the execution of his duty or in the purported execution of such duty. That being so it was urged that no criminal proceedings could be taken against him without the consent of the Governor-General in his discretion as the officer was employed in connection with the affairs of the Government of India. It was contended that as no such consent had been obtained the Court Martial had no jurisdiction to hear the case and therefore the conviction and the sentence were wholly illegal.

Delivering judgment the Chief Justice observed : "In my view, if the provisions of Section 270 of the Government of India Act applied to Court Martials, the whole object of a Court Martial, namely, to bring the offender to a more exemplary and speedy punishment than the usual forms of law will allow would be completely defeated."

The same point of law was raised in two other petitions which were dismissed. One petitioner was a civil assistant store-keeper in an Ordnance Depot and was sentenced to 2 years R. I. by a Court Martial and dismissed from service. The second was also a civilian store-keeper in an Army Depot and was sentenced to 5 years' R. I. (later reduced to 3 years) for alleged negligence in performing his duties as a store-keeper as to be unable to account for stores to the value of Rs. 29,000. It was contended on behalf of the petitioners that they being ordinary civil servants could not be tried by a Court Martial. The Chief Justice held that they were clearly amenable to military law and their trial by Court Martial was legal. The petitioners were persons attached to or employed with military forces raised in British India and that being so they must be deemed to be on

active service for the purposes of the Indian Army Act.

### *No Shortage of Cloth Stock*

A press note issued by the Textile Commissioner from Bombay says :

> The returns of stocks so far received have revealed the fact that the difficulty experienced by the smaller dealers in obtaining cloth and yarn has not been due to any great shortage of stock.
>
> Out of the stocks which have been frozen by the Textile Commissioner he is now prepared to direct deliveries at controlled prices of reasonable quantities which will be fixed by him in each case to dealers in Bombay and upcountry. Complete information regarding the stocks is available in the office of the Textile Commissioner, Hararwala Building, Wittet Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay, and enquiries may be directed to this address. Dealers who want cloth from the above stocks should forward along with their application a certificate from the appropriate Government authority dealing with cloth of their place testifying to the applicant having been in cloth business before 1943.
>
> It may be added that the Textile Commissioner has been recently vested with powers to compel both manufacturers and dealers to sell their stock to any party nominated by him.

But how is it that in spite of sufficient stock, price of cloth does not tend to come down to a reasonable level ? Price of cloth rose five or six times the pre-war level and has come down not more than by something like 40 per cent. The present ruling prices are too high and beyond the reach even of the average middle class.

### *Bengal Secondary Education Bill*

The Bengal Ministry have made their third bid to get the Secondary Education Bill passed. This Bill has always been a favourite with the reactionary Muslims of the Province and on the two previous occasions the Bill was supported by Ministries dominated by reactionaries and supported by the Europeans. On only one occasion, Bengal had something like a progressive Ministry independent of European votes and this Ministry did not proceed with the Bill.

The Bill provides for the creation of a Secondary Education Board under whom all the High Schools of the Province will be placed. This Board will conduct the Matriculation Examination, appoint examiners, approve text-books, grant affiliation to new schools, provide grants-in-aid and appoint Inspectors. The Calcutta University will have nothing to do with the Matriculation Examination.

The Board will consist of 53 members of whom 21 will be Hindus and 21 Muslims. Of the 21 Hindu members, 6 will be from among the scheduled castes. The remaining 11 seats will consist of the D. P. I., the Director of Physical Instruction, representative of European Education, etc. Election to the Board will be on communal basis. The President will be a nominee of the Government. For the conduct of day-to-day affairs, the Board will have an Executive Council consisting of 21 members including the President, of whom 9 will be Hindu (of whom 2 will be scheduled castes) and 9 Muslims, the D. P. I. and the Assistant Director of Muslim Education.

The constitution of the Board and the Executive Council shows that the Government will have a comfortable majority in both, the Muslim members being backed by the Government officials. Whatever progress has there been in Bengal during the British rule, has been almost exclusively due to the energy and sacrifice of the Hindus. Not unoften the progress had to be maintained despite Governmental apathy and opposition. Even now out of the 1500 High Schools in Bengal, about 1400 have been established by the Hindus and are conducted with money from them.

The most sinister thing underlying the principle of the Bill is its communal character. The present Bill is nothing but an attempt to arrogate all the benefits arising out of Hindu sacrifice by people who never made any material contribution towards the educational advancement of the country. Educational interests can never be promoted by a Board composed of members elected with a qualification other than educational and dominated by reactionary and communal groups and individuals. The present Bengal Legislature has outlived its tenure by more than two years. An artificial majority in such a body cannot be permitted to proceed with a highly controversial measure of this type and supported in their attempt to do so without a complete sacrifice of all principles of equity and justice.

### *Postal "Efficiency"*

A post card addressed to the editor of a Calcutta periodical has been returned to the sender after 18 years on the ground that the addressee could not be traced. Every periodical is allowed to be published under a license and there must be some department within the administrative machinery where the addresses of these may be traced. We believe one week should have been sufficient for the Post Office to trace the addressee through proper channels, if their desire to deliver the post card were

genuine. Eighteen years for this simple work does not speak highly of postal efficiency.

Two cases of gross inefficiency in the Postal Department resulting in loss and harassment of the public have been reported to us. In one case, a money order for Rs. 150 (No. 3347) was sent from the Park Street Post Office on January 5 last to Janakpur Road P.O., Dt. Muzaffarpur till after three weeks it was not delivered. On January 27, the matter was brought to the notice of the Presidency Post Master. Waiting for another three weeks, a reminder was sent to the authorities on February 17. On February 28 a reply was received that the case was being attended to. The man waited till March 15, *i.e.*, for two months and ten days, for the delivery of an M. O. to a place some three days' journey from Calcutta. Next day, a pleader's notice was served. This had some effect. The M. O. was delivered about a fortnight after the service of the pleader's notice. The second case, in respect of an M. O. for Rs. 30 is exactly similar and is undergoing the same process but upto now without any result.

Losses in transit of postal packets and parcels are also mounting up alarmingly. Ordinary packets such as those containing monthly magazines sent through the post are being pilfered at an increasing rate. Packets sent under certificate of posting, about which there can be no doubt regarding the actual delivery at the post office of despatch, are also being stolen and there does not seem to be any effort on the part of the authorities to remedy matters. Complaints bring stereotyped replies that the "matter is receiving attention" and that seems to be the sumtotal of the activities of the persons in charge of the Postal department. In some extremely rare instances some extraordinarily energetic persons seem to be able to call up hidden stocks of energy. On such occasions a second letter arrives, bearing the news that no trace of the article lost could be found and that of course ends the matter !

Telegrams have now become most uncertain, whether "Express" or "Ordinary." India is fast approaching the Golden Age in the matter of communications.

### *Satish Chandra Mukherjee*

Death occurred on April 26 of Sj. Satish Chandra Mukherjee, proprietor of the *Basumati* concerns, at the age of 53. For some time past, Mr. Mukherjee was keeping indifferent health which was aggravated by the sad untimely death of his only son. His father, the late Upendranath Mukherjee had started the weekly *Basumati*. Satish Babu, who had joined his father's concern at an early age, converted it into a daily. The *Basumati* was the first daily to be printed in a rotary machine and the first to subscribe the *Reuter's* service for a Bengali newspaper. These improvements were due to the untiring energies of Satish Babu. For some time he conducted the English *Basumati*, and published its monthly edition. Apart from these journalistic ventures, he built up a very popular publishing concern. He published cheap editions of well-known Sanskrit classics with their Bengali translations and also the collected works of great Bengali poets and novelists. It was thus due to his enterprise that the works of the greatest litterateurs of Bengal came within easy reach of the masses. At the time of the last Bengal famine the *Basumati* earned the people's admiration for fearlessly stirring the Government into action during a period of complacency, inaction and bungling.

### *Prafulla Kumar Sarkar*

Mr. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, editor of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, passed away in Calcutta at the age of 61 on April 13 last. Mr. Sarkar was one of the founders of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, the *Hindustan Standard*, and the Bengali weekly *Desh*. He was a litterateur of high repute and wrote several books. Some of his novels had earned great popularity. His charming manners and unassuming character endeared him to all who came in contact with him. He was for some time the President of the Indian Journalists' Association, and was one of the founders of this body formed 22 years ago. In the pioneering efforts made by the first group of journalists of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* to make newspaper reading popular through the medium of Bengali, they had no progressive tradition to fall back upon, and most of what the Journalists of the Bengali dailies of Calcutta were using as technical terms for their day-to-day work were perhaps first introduced by these pioneers. In a meeting summoned by the Indian Journalists' Association for mourning the death of Mr. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, Mr. Satyendranath Majumdar, the former editor of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* who worked with Mr. Sarkar for about 20 years, pointed out that in this pioneering attempt of coining Bengali synonyms for English technical terms, the contribution of Mr. Sarkar was unique.

### *Ban on Bombay Sentinel*

Following the Bombay fire, the D.I.R. was invoked to impose a ban on the publication of *Bombay Sentinel*. No reason was given for the promulgation of this drastic order. The City did not take it lying down. The Bombay editors lodged an emphatic protest against this executive action which was definitely asserted as unwarranted and arbitrary. The *Bombay Chronicle* wrote :

> The first thing that we feel constrained to say today about the aftermath of the fire which broke out in the city on Friday is to register an emphatic protest against the ban imposed by the Bombay Government on the *Bombay Sentinel*. That Government "is pleased to prohibit the publication of the *Bombay Sentinel*." And why ? Because, forsooth, 'it is necessary for the purpose of securing the defence of British India and the efficient prosecution of the war' to impose the ban ! No specific offence is alleged against the paper, though even a show of justice demands some specific charge. One can only presume that the paper's offence was that it left some columns blank as a protest against certain restrictions. But though opinions may differ about the expediency of this method of protest, it is one of the commonest and recognised methods and it is certainly not an offence. It is ridiculous to regard non-publication as a prejudicial act. Nor did the caption to the blank columns suggest anything beyond what had been already stated by Government themselves and published by the Press. The ban is unwarranted from every point of view. It is arbitrary and against the spirit of the Gentlemen's Agreement between the Government of India and the Editors' Conference.

Good sense has dawned at last on the Colville Government and the ban has been lifted.

### "*War Effort Plea is Rank Hypocrisy*"

The application of the anti-Indian Pegging Act in Durban is to be withdrawn, and a Board is to be set up to control Indian occupation by licensing of dwellings in certain areas—these important decisions affecting the Pegging Act have been taken as the result of discussions between the South African Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior on the one hand and a deputation from Natal, which included members of the Natal Indian Congress.

The following official statement has been issued by the South African Minister of Interior, Mr. Clarkson :

> "Discussions took place as the result of representations made by the Indian Congress to find an alternative method of controlling occupation of dwellings in towns and boroughs in Natal to that adopted under the Act mentioned.
>
> "It was agreed that the situation would best be met by the introduction of an Ordinance into the Natal Provincial Council. This Ordinance would provide for the creation of a board consisting of two Europeans, and two Indian members under the chairmanship of a third European who would be a man with legal training.
>
> "The object of the legislation would be to create a machinery for a board to control occupation by licensing of dwellings in certain areas and the application of the Pegging Act in Durban to be withdrawn by a Proclamation on the passing of this Ordinance."

According to this decision, some modification in the application of the Pegging Act may in future be made; the Act itself has not been withdrawn. The Board set up for controlling the application will consist of 3 Europeans and 2 Indians. Considering the attitude of the South African Whites, the result is not difficult to anticipate. The views of the Indian people in respect of the Pegging Act were unmistakably voiced inside and outside the Indian Legislative Assembly, although the Indian Government's attitude had never been strong. The demand for retaliatory measures against South Africa was made, and the Madras Corporation adopted it. The threat of retaliation appears to have gone home and brought about at least a slight climb down. A pamphlet urging the enforcement of economic sanctions against South Africa, circulated by Swami Bhabani Dayal, Mr. Mahammad Ahmed Jadwat and Dr. Lanka Sundaram, examined the character and extent of trade between the two countries. The pamphlet states :

> According to official Union statistics, in 1939, India exported to South Africa goods valued at Rs. 35 lakhs and imported from South Africa, goods valued at Rs. 56 lakhs, while in 1942-43 our exports to South Africa were roughly Rs. 1,050 lakhs and imports from that country Rs. 250 lakhs. Any possible loss of this favourable balance even on the high basis disclosed in 1942-43 cannot be an argument against the enforcement of sanctions. When Europe fell to Germany, we lost some Rs. 200 crores worth of annual export trade to that continent, and that the declaration of war by Japan has led to a similar colossal loss of our trade with various countries to the East of the Bay of Bengal.
>
> A quarter of a million Indians in the Union, all of whom are rice eaters, have gone without rice from this country during the past year at least and thus the theory that a ban on rice exports to South Africa would hit the Indian nationals there does not hold water. The authors are convinced that the stoppage of textile supplies to South Africa would not mean that South Africa would be able to replace them in the quantities required from other countries for at least the next 3 years. They understand that *considerable quantities of Indian yarn are being recently exported to keep South African factories going and any interruption of these supplies is bound to make the requisite impression on the Union Government and the white people of South Africa.* The authors' enquiries show, that several tanneries in India have never so far used wattle bark and that babul and other indigenous materials containing the requisite tannic acid are being extensively used. Indigenous substitutes for South African wattle bark can be found in this country in quantities which will ultimately relieve our dependence upon the Union, even though they agree that the forthright prohibition of the import of this substance would create a short-term problem for the tanning industry.

The export of jute and jute manufacturers is handled by Europeans at both ends. The imposition of trade sanctions against South Africa must be accompanied by guarantees that countries which are contiguous to the Union, would not obtain goods from this country and pass them on to the Union.

*The "war effort" plea* declares the pamphlet, *is rank hypocrisy used by South Africa or by die-hards in Britain.* It concludes by asserting that trade and economic sanctions are the best and surest measure which India can adopt against South Africa.

## *How Australia Vindicates Freedom of the Press*

The following news gives an idea of how Australia a British Dominion, vindicates the freedom of her Press against executive encroachments on its rights and liberties :

SYDNEY, April 18

There were extraordinary street scenes in Sydney today after police officers had stopped the publication of two evening newspapers, *The Sun* and *The Mirror*. Crowds blocked traffic outside the newspaper offices while papers were thrown to them from windows. The newspapers succeeded in getting many copies on to the streets, and sellers were besieged.

Sydney University students headed a procession of 2,000 people which marched through the city streets. They sang "Freedom of press lies mouldering in the grave" and shouted "we want a free press—democracy must prevail."

There were many clashes with the police. Three young men were taken to the police station, but released after an-hour-long questions.

The High Court having granted an injunction to the *Sydney Morning Herald* on similar terms to that granted to the *Sydney Daily Telegraphs,* both papers are tomorrow publishing the previous day's issue also. Meanwhile the Federal Government has instituted proceedings against the *Herald* and *Telegraph* for alleged breaches of censorship regulations. The cases will be heard on April 27.—*Reuter.*

Comments can be made only after the High Court judgments have been delivered.

## *"Within Five Years India Will Quit Empire"—Acland*

Discussing Empire relations in the company of several Dominion correspondents, Sir Richard Acland, Parliamentary Leader of the Commonwealth Party prophesied that within five years India will walk out of the British Empire. As reported by the *National Call,* Delhi, Sir Richard said that nothing can stop India quitting the Empire.

Conservatives and other British capitalists knew it. That is why they are attempting even in the midst of war to strengthen their hold on India. But history repeats itself, and just what happened to America and Ireland is bound to happen to India—with this difference that we will have a better India than America and Ireland because unlike America and Ireland, India will come under the influence whether you like it or not, under Soviet philosophy and life and also at any rate under the Chinese way of thinking."

Simultaneously with this report, the same paper has published the following cable which reflects progressive opinion in America about India :

The newspaper "P.M." in an article on India entitled "When India Finds Her Voice" points out that unquestionably one day India will achieve Dominion Status, giving her freedom to quit the Empire.

The author Max Lerner says : "I do not say that the path of freedom will be smooth and eventless. I do say, as Pandit Nehru does, even the problems of religion, poverty, class power and caste rigidity will be solved when there is the will to solve them. That will must extend beyond India, for she can find herself domestically happy only within the framework of world peace. She must have the aid of American investment and technology and if she gets that the living standards of hundreds of millions of Indians can be raised. But she must also become part of the Far East federation so that it can develop without any serious military threats. That Indians are ready for partnership with China was made abundantly clear by historical interchange of visits between Pandit Nehru and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Are these mere dreams? I do not think. They are the great realities of the future—as we shall rapidly find out if we try to ignore them."

## *Sir Richard Acland on Revolution in Britain*

In the same company of Dominion correspondents, Sir Richard Acland discussed post-war Britain and the British Empire. He said :

He and his party were convinced that within 15 years there will be a social revolution without the shedding of blood in Britain, which will result in the complete transfer of control to the people. There will be no company directors, no gilt-edged securities and even stock exchanges. There will be complete common ownership of everything even to the brass tack. This may happen under the leadership of a revitalised dynamic Labour Party with the Commonwealth Party playing the role of junior partner.

The commercial rivalry between Britain and America is becoming more and more pronounced, and at the same time British public opinion is gradually drifting closer to the U. S. S. R. A series of sharp questions, many of which were aimed at British policies, recently embroiled the House of Representatives in a several hours' argument over the continuation of Lend-Lease for another year. Pressure was put on the Government by the Republican Party, and information was demanded from the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee as to whether it was true that Lend-Lease had been mishandled to the benefit of Britain and disadvantage of the U. S. A. Power of the President was sought to be restricted by moving amendments to the legislation. There is no doubt that an element of distrust in British promises underlies the demand for making the 99 year leases of the bases perpetual.

The recent Gallup poll in England gives another indication of which way the wind is blowing. Mr. Eden has headed the list of the public's choice of Prime Minister if for any reason Mr. Churchill should have to leave office. He has scored 55% votes, while the amateur socialists Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin have received 5%, 4% and 3% respectively, and the rank diehard Beaverbrook only 2 per cent.

### *Dr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar*

Dr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, a former President of the Indian National Congress, who had been ailing for some time past passed away on April 19 at the age of 94. He was closely associated with the Congress from its very inception in 1885. He was one of the members of the committee formed at the third session in Madras to draw up a constitution of the Congress. He was a member of the Madras Legislative Council during 1895-1901 and of the Imperial Legislative Council for the years 1913-16. His profound knowledge of constitutional law earned for him the special place as an authority and his expositions and comments were always received with respect. In 1920, he presided over the Congress Session at Nagpur where Mahatma Gandhi emerged as the leader of a new line of action in the Congress policy and approach to the issue of freedom. In him, India has lost one of the oldest leaders of the Indian national movement.

### *"Worst Crime of Congress Leaders is they are Supreme Patriots"—Sorensen.*

Mr. Reginald Sorensen, in an interview to the *United Press* of India, on the statement made by Mr. Amery in the House of Commons in the course of discussions on the continuance of Governor's Rule in India, said: "The statement made by Mr. Amery was both provocative and contentious to some of us. When he says that the Congress has instigated the disturbances I entirely disagree." Mr. Sorensen's comment has been cabled by the special correspondent of the *Tribune*, Lahore:

...."*The proposals now made for continuation of these proclamations are in themselves a tragic confession of failure.* It is continuing the deadlock which cannot remain as it is. The only one other word I would say is that the sooner we move away from the standpoint of a censorious judgment on those detained in prison and internment camps in India and be realists, the better it will be for our future and the future of India.

"We may have our judgments regarding Indian leaders. We may think them wise or unwise, but *the worst crime they have committed is that of being, according to their lights, the supreme Indian patriots.* Even non-Congressmen have pleaded again and again for some little step to be taken at least to ease the atmosphere.

"We have this proposal in an almost perfunctory way that we should accept criticism and censure of the *Indian leaders without giving them on the other hand* a chance to answer back."

Mr. Amery, in his usual style, accuses the Congress for responsibility in the 1942 disturbances and demands that withdrawal of the Quit India resolution as the condition precedent for reopening negotiations with the Congress. Too much has been made, and is still being made of these disturbances *about which the Congress responsibility has not yet been proved.* Greater disturbances, amounting to armed revolution had however occurred in Canada and Ireland and South-Africa. But was any apology for those disturbances ever demanded from them at the time of accepting them as Dominions?

### *Congress League Settlement Talk*

The Political Correspondent of the *Leader* Allahabad, reports that developments in India have made the Congress and the League to consider their positions afresh and come to some settlement during the war. Important discussions during and after the recent session of the Central Assembly were held at Delhi between the leaders of the Muslim League and the Congress. The League, the correspondent reliably understands, has agreed to drop the demand for Pakistan if the Congress agrees to a fifty-fifty arrangement at the Centre. The report, dated April 21, runs:

Prominent Congressmen made another offer also. They told the League leaders that the Congress would not offer opposition, if the League formed government at the Centre along with other parties. Mr. Jinnah, it is stated, does not like this idea because any settlement without the Congress will not be safe, and the League's prestige will also be undermined, if it lines up with other political parties and not the Congress.

Recently at Lucknow I was told by responsible persons that the hitch was over the "prize-post" of the premier and the attitude towards "Pakistan propaganda" during the coalition government at the Centre. The Congress presses for a plebiscite amongst the Muslims on the Pakistan issue, while the League is reluctant to accept it. Those who are in touch with political circles at Delhi go even so far as to assert that the question of premiership and the League's attitude towards Pakistan will also be settled after some more discussions which are going on between the spokesmen of the Congrss and the League.

It is stated that the Home department has also been acquainted with these talks.

We prefer Hindu-Muslim Unity as a collaboration between the two great communities in the service of humanity. A Congress-League Pact concluded on the basis of political conces

sions, however useful for the time being, cannot to our mind, provide a lasting foundation for a Hindu-Muslim unity. We quote below the portion of a speech made by Sir Syed Ahmed who, contrary to facts, has been described by some Muslim leaders as the founder of the Pakistan idea and the 'two nations' theory. Sir Syed said at Gurdaspur on January 27, 1884 :

In old historical books and traditions you will have read and heard, and we see it even now, that all the people inhabiting one country are designated by the term one nation. . . . So that from the oldest times the word nation is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Mahomedan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burned and buried on the same soil? Do you not tread the same ground and live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mahomedan are only meant for religious distinction—otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation. Then all these different sects can only be described as one nation; they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all.

Speaking at Lahore some time later, he again said :

In the word nation I include both Hindus and Mahomedans because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it. . . . We inhabit the same land, are subject to the rule of the same governors, the fountains of benefits for all are the same, and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both those races which inhabit India by one word, *i.e.*, Hindus, meaning to say that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan.

## *Need for a Free Press during War*

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes :

A free press is never more valuable than in these days of war. "*We need a free informed people to fight a war of freedom*," said Governor Thomas E. Dewey in a recent broadcast on the role of the free press.

Mr. Cordell Hull disclosed last week that he had protested to the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, as far back as in November, 1942, against British political censorship. At the same time he had written to the Chief U. S. Censor—that "fundamentally long-range interests of international friendship are best served by permitting the people of any country to know what the people in friendly countries are thinking and saying about them, however unpleasant some of these opinions may be." We do not know what response Mr. Hull obtained from British censors but it appears that, however, free and fully informed the press in U. S. A. and Britain may be, it seems certain that rigorous censorship is enforced with regard to both the incoming and outgoing news concerning nationalist politics in India. Nor does the U. S. A. seem to have made any attempt to be helpful to India in this respect.

Yet it is only when the press is free everywhere that it can be a beneficent world force to safeguard world peace. In the course of an article written for "Journalism in War Time" symposium, Mr. Kent Cooper, the Executive Director of the *Associated Press* of America, rightly remarks : "*If universal dissemination of truth could be guaranteed in the post-war world, the chances of new wars occurring will be remote.* The cause of the wars is perverted presentation of international news. It is the truth that makes men free." Accordingly, he proposes that international freedom of news exchange be made a cardinal principle of any future treaties. He had made a similar suggestion to the Allied peace-makers after the last war. But he got only very limited support. We trust he will succeed better now. We cordially commend his suggestion and his appeal to journalists to "unite and demand a peace treaty clause on Press Freedom."

No comment, but a comparison of Executive opinion in this country with that in the U. S. A. is needed.

## *University of Music for Allahabad*

The plans appear to have matured for the establishment of a University of Music at Allahabad, to be associated with the name of the late Pandit Vishnudigambar, a great exponent of the art of Indian classical music. It is likely that the Vishnudigambar University of Music will be inaugurated some time in the middle of October on the occasion of the annual convocation and music conference of the Prayag Sangit Samiti, the sponsors of the University scheme.

## *Wagon Allotment Scheme*

In reply to a letter from the Secretary of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce regarding a meeting of the representatives of the Chamber with Sir Edward Benthall, an Indian Company dealing in Tea, Provisions, Fertilisers and Tea Garden Stores has made the following representation which deserves serious attention :

I. That extreme difficulty is being felt by us in despatching our goods and that it is always *difficult to obtain correct information as to the place where to enquire and when certain classes of foods may be booked.*

II. That very often, it has been found that *after sending the goods to the station as per their date of permission, goods were refused booking* causing loss and inconvenience.

III. That tea chest and tea garden stores were so long difficult to transport but now the same has been taken up by the Indian Tea Association, which body has appointed Messrs. *Williamson, Magor & Co. as distributors of wagons.* But no arrangement has been made for despatching less than one wagon load. Most of the small suppliers and the gardens they serve, cannot take at a time one wagon load. The *Railway refuses to accept smaller consignments* on the plea that wagons have been allotted to the Industry. This causes hardship to the smaller gardens and suppliers, with consequent congestion in storage arrangement, etc.

IV. That fertilisers for tea estates are most difficult to transport. In this item also Messrs. *Atlas Fertilisers Ltd., a firm dealing in this line* and supplying to the industry, *has been appointed distributors for wagons* and arranging river transport. But this fact was not made known to other suppliers either by the transport

company or by the distributors. When after repeated enquiries and many months' labour, we ascertained the above fact, we approached the controller of wagons, who after preliminary enquiries ordered wagons to be allotted to us. But unfortunately uptill now no wagon or river transport has been allotted to us. We sent our representative many times to the above distributors only to get hopes which were never fulfilled. But ultimately we had to refrain from useless persuits. The season for manuring tea estates being over, we had to sell our stock at a heavy loss after five months.

The transport of goods, such as tea chests, garden requisites, fertilisers, tea, etc., has been arranged in a manner *so as to put maximum obstacle in the way of small suppliers* and if this continues, many small firms doing honest and steady business will soon be out of the market. We do not know if this is pursued as a policy.

Many other defects such as short delivery, theft in transit, etc., may be pointed out.

A copy of this letter has been forwarded to us. It reveals a startling state of affairs which merits severest condemnation. The public has a right to know what led the Transport Authorities to abdicate their function of allotting wagons in favour of the British vested interests who are rivals of the Indian industries and would only be too willing to kill them whenever there was an opportunity to do so. The letter categorically states that (1) it was difficult to ascertain correct information about booking, (2) harassment by refusal of booking even where previous permission was secured is frequent, (3) no facility is given for small consignments either by rail or by river, (4) false hopes were given causing loss to the company and that (5) maximum obstacles have been placed in the way of small suppliers. Para IV of the letter shows that the controller of wagons is himself helpless against these companies and that no heed was paid to his orders by the Atlas Fertilisers.

These are very serious allegations which should be taken up not only by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, but also by all other Indian Chambers of Commerce jointly. We hope some member of the Indian Legislature will pursue the matter there with a view to stop this practice of favouring foreign industry and trade. By arming British companies with the power of allocating wagons to the same trade, the deadliest weapon for crushing Indian firms in these days of transport difficulties, has been handed over to them under an ostensibly innocent garb.

## *Agricultural Education in Great Britain*

The British Government's plans concerning the future of agricultural education have been announced by the British Minister of Agriculture. The *Nature* reports that the reactions to the recommendations contained in the Luxmore Report were varied but two matters have been determined. The first concerns the future of the provincial and county advisory services, which are to be unified into one national service for the whole country directly under the Minister of Agriculture, and financed entirely by the Exchequer. It is the same system that has governed county advisory work during the war. War Agricultural Executive Committees have assumed the full responsibility for this work, and the majority of County Council Staffs have been seconded to these committees, while considerable additions to technical staffs have been made direct. The provincial advisory service has always been financed by the Exchequer, but the new proposals will remove this work from the control of the provincial colleges and university departments of agriculture. In India, the exchequer has provided money for the departments of Agriculture in the provinces which remained completely out of touch with one another without the slightest attempt to forge anything like a centralised link among them, although England has been tending more and more towards centralisation in this vital national department. At the first touch of a real test during the last famine, the whole structure of Governmental machinery in the Central and Provincial fields of agriculture crumbled to pieces. It was nature, and not the Government, which saved Bengal after her terrible ordeal of 1943. In England exactly the reverse is the case. The U-boat war in the Atlantic which threatened starvation for her, was partially overcome through a well-planned agricultural policy. Supplies were obtained long ahead at great risks, large stocks were built up and a thorough system of equitable distribution was developed. Within a short time the entire system worked well, the people were supplied with food, sufficient and nutritious. In India, the Government virtually limited itself to the publication of advertisements.

## *Withdrawal of Madras Prohibition*

Mr. Frederick Grubb of the Anglo-Indian Temperence Association, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* says that opinions may differ as to the practicability of prohibition in the West but in India it commands almost universal approval. Mr. Grubb writes :

"Since administrations favourable to this reform resigned in 1939 for political reasons, the policy of restriction had been suspended in one district after another by official order, regardless of public opinion to the country and without any appeal to the electorate.

The climax was reached in Madras. Prohibition was withdrawn in four populous districts where it had been in successful operation for several years."

Mr. Grubb adds, "The deplorable example of the Madras Government has unhappily been followed in other parts of India, where official influence predominates, but apparently no effective action can be taken in this country in support of Indian opinion.

It was laid down in Parliament some years ago that as excise policy and administration had been transferred to Indian control no questions could be raised in the House of Commons.

But Friends of India can at least show their sympathy with every practicable effort to secure re-establishment of Responsible Government and permanence of measures designed only to promote the highest interest of Indian people."

The withdrawal of prohibition in four populous districts of Madras after it had been in operation for a number of years had been challenged by the people of that Province as a gross betrayal of constitutional principle. The champions of democracy in the British Cabinet had not a word to utter against this disgraceful action of the Madras Executive.

### *Frontier Congress Leader's Challenge*

Mr. Bhanjuram Gandhi, a Frontier Congress Leader, has challenged the League Ministry to produce the signature of 25 out of 49 M.L.A.'s in its support or resign. In a statement to the Press, Mr. Malik-ur Rahaman in behalf of the League Ministry had claimed that the ministerial party commands a majority in the Frontier Assembly. Challenging this claim Mr. Gandhi said, on April 15 :

"Anyhow let us now be bold and frank. Let Mr. Malik come forward with 25 signatures from among the 49 members constituting the House and I undertake to persuade successfully my leader to issue a whip to his party to cease in future to talk about the unconstitutional nature of the League Ministry, or let his leader agree, of course, with a heavy heart, to vacate the office, if Dr. Khan Sahib comes out with more than 25 signatures (including the 10 M.L.As. who are in jail) expressing no confidence in the Ministry. I am sure the gallant and chivalrous Malik would accept the offer and make no attempts at evading the issue."

No reply seems to have come forward from the Ministry blessed as a 'democratic provincial government' by Mr. Amery.

### *Terrible Food Situation in Malabar*

The *Free Press* reports :

CALICUT, April 14.

The warning recently issued by Mr. V. R. Narayanan of the Servants of India Society against complacency in the matter of the serious food situation in Malabar, is reinforced by events reported from various parts of the district. The *Mathrubhumi* publishes a sad story from its Chokli Correspondent, about a mail runner going on his round, despite extreme weakness on account of having had to go without a grain of rice or even rice-water continuously for five days—he was afraid that he might lose his job. He falls unconscious on the road with his bag of tapals. Some kindly folk take him to the post office.

Chokli is in Kottayam taluk. Villages round Chokli are very short of rice and whole families have gone without rice for 5 or 6 days. Peralarsi, in Chirakkal taluk, fares no better and rice was not offered for sale over a week in both these places. Small-pox is on the increase.

Chokghat in Ponani taluk (south Malabar) reports that on Easter Sunday, several Christian families waited on the Deputy Tahsildar for rice. But he was helpless, as there was no stock. Even in Calicut rice is on short supply and ration depots are selling partly raw rice to card-holders.

In the meanwhile the Tellicherry police are reported to have prevented a public meeting proposed to be held there on April 9 to consider the acute food situation. An order under D.I.R. 56 (3) was served on Mr. T. Narayanan Nambiar, who was to have presided over the meeting and on persons who were expected to take part in it. The meeting had therefore to be abandoned.

As in Bengal, so in other parts of the country, the Government have utterly failed to stabilise the food situation. But everywhere prompt attempts have been made to stop publicity of the Government's failure to discharge their primary responsibility of feeding the people. In Bengal, the gagging failed; in Malabar it seems to have met with success.

### *Srimati Kamala Devi's Address*

In her presidential address to the All-India Women's Conference at Bombay, Srimati Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya discussed the food problem with special reference to children. She said :

"As long as India's economy continues to be throttled and perverted by foreign interests, hunger and starvation must stalk this land of plenty. Only a careful development of its vast untapped wealth based on an economy designed to meet the needs of the people by a free Indian people's government, can aspire to overcome this dreadful scourge of perpetual famines. The worst sufferers in this tragic drama are the children. In every responsible society they have the first claim on the available resources, particularly milk. But today in our country the man who pays the price gets the milk. So, while adults who are not wholly dependant on this article are able to get large supplies and sometimes even thoughtlessly waste it, children who solely subsist on it are forced to go without it if they do not have sufficient means. Ways and methods must be sought by us to alter this and see that our children are not hopelessly undermined. We shall be guilty of a grave crime if we do not get this righted immediately.

No action whatsoever has yet been taken to ensure the supply of pure milk for children.

### *Profit-making by Government*

Seth Sakarlal Balabhai, President of the Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association, said at the Association's annual general meeting : "I would like to know why the Government should make or endeavour to make profits from the purchases and sale of foodgrains. I venture to suggest

that even if for the purpose of control purchases by the Government are necessary, a periodical note should be published for each district indicating the stocks, purchases, sales and balance."

The best result from Governmental transactions can be expected only where these are performed under the widest possible publicity. If the people know the actual stock position and its location, it helps in maintaining confidence. Where the Government's purchase prices are widely advertised, it would have the best soothing effect on the market. But unfortunately the Government have so far followed a completely hush hush policy in regard to their dealings in foodgrains which has served only to open up the royal road to misery and suffering and death. Only the total amount of losses, amounting to several crores of rupees, have been communicated to the people. And that again has to be realised from the innocent sufferers themselves! People believe that overhead costs on account of rationing have been enormous and out of all proportion, but no remedy is possible.

### *All-India Library Conference*

Inaugurating the All-India Library Conference at Jaipur, Sir Mirza Ismail said:

> A librarian's prime duty was the actual service of his readers in two ways: making the right book as readily accessible as possible, and giving each reader the kind of friendly encouragement and guidance of which he stood in need. There was no genuine librarian, high or low, who could not attain this ambition and no librarian who neglected this was worthy of recognition.

Most of our libraries need the right type of librarian as envisaged by Sir Mirza Ismail. Helping the reader with the right kind of books is rather an exception than a rule in our libraries, small or big. In big libraries the librarians are inaccessible figureheads with a number of clerks under them whose duty it is to find out just the book requisitioned. This is the case even with the Imperial library of Calcutta. The case of smaller libraries is even worse. In one Calcutta public library, Rolland's *I will not Rest* was classified as 'economics'; when a reader pointed out that it was wrong to classify the book like that, the librarian replied, "In our library it is economics."

### *National War Fronts' Grow More Food Campaign*

The *Bihar Herald* points out:

> Bengal, Madras, Assam and Orissa National War Front advertisements are asking people to grow carrots and onions. Those who frame these advertisements have no notion of the sowing time of these two vegetables. What is the sense of telling people in mid-March to grow something that is to be sown seven to eight months hence? Why can't they print a sowing calendar of vegetables month by month if they want to be really helpful?
>
> After the above was written we have discovered that our National War Front is also telling people in March to grow sweet potatoes, beans, peas, tomatoes, carrots, potatoes and onions,—all winter vegetables that are sown in October-November.

In the official world, this is known as "grow more food" campaign and not wastage of public money.

### *Indore's Lead in Food Rationing*

The authorities of the Indore State has proved that the food problem of the country can easily be solved and poor consumers helped successfully to tide over their difficulties caused by shortage of food supply if a proper plan of rationing and procurement of foodgrains is carried out. The Indore plan of rationing envisages a good scheme of procurement and a solution of the price problem. Capt. H. C. Dhanda, Commerce Member, Indore, writes about rationing in his State:

> "There is complete control of food-grains from the threshing floor to the consumer. We ensure as correct estimates of the yield of each cultivator as possible by assessment of the produce at the *khala* and lately by checking such estimates by means of crop experiments. Each village has a simple register showing the yield of each cultivator, the details of all his requirements and figures of surpluses in token of the correctness of which the cultivator, appends his thumb impression or signature. The cultivator is allowed and expected to sell his surplus at the *mandies* and some other purchasing centres have been added and here all transactions take place under the eye of a Government officer and are recorded. From the Patel of the village the cultivator takes a chit when he goes to his market and from there he brings back the receipt of the *Mandi* officer to be deposited back with the Patel. This ensures a complete check against the cultivator passing his surplus to unauthorised purchasers. We have not eliminated the trade and whoever amongst them desires can purchase, stock and sell grain. He can, however, purchase only at the approved *Mandies* stock and sell under an approved procedure. Government supervision at all purchasing centres ensures in all cases a fair deal to the cultivator in respect not only of prompt payment but also freedom from the usual complaints of underweighment and unauthorised deductions."
>
> With regard to the question of prices the Commerce Minister writes: "We pay to our cultivator generally such prices at least as he can command in the neighbouring and outside markets and subject always to a minimum generally considered to be fair. The State has always pleaded for an all-India solution and we believe that there can be no all-India approach to the price problem unless a common policy in essentials is not merely advised but actually enforced in the whole country in respect of procurement. And the control over procurement cannot be effective unless it is a thorough-going control from the initial to the last stage. . . . The need is to eliminate effectively and everywhere private control over the custody of all surpluses and substitute it by that of Government. Price control without this is not possible."

"Rationing and a procurement plan on the above basis is costing the State only 5·4 annas per head whereas in Bombay it is costing Government Re. 1 per head."

The Minister concludes: "An appeal was made to the rich of the State to subsidise cheap food for the poor. They produced Rs. 25 lacs for one year. With the help of this, people with an income up to Rs. 60 p.m. get wheat in Indore at 4½ seers to the rupee and *jwar* at 6½ seers; those whose incomes range between Rs. 60 and Rs. 120 get wheat at 4¼ seers and *jwar* at 6 seers per rupee. The rest get it at cost.'"

This plan shows that the surplus foodgrains are procured and distributed under the eye of the Government with the willing co-operation of cultivators and without destroying normal trade. Sufficient food has been ensured to everybody with a minimum of wastage, and at a very low overhead cost. The Mysore rationing plan is also working smoothly and very successfully. But bungling, inefficiency and corruption have been the watchwords in Bengal, India's premier province within the war zone.

## *Supply of Soft Coke*

The recent reply of the Deputy Secretary of the War Transport Department to the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, is misleading and has given rise to the impression that our ills regarding coal and coke are not due to scarcity of wagons but to a fall in the raisings of coal. It states that "unfortunately owing to the unprecedented fall in coal output which set in soon after the introduction of the rationing scheme, the total target set for All-India distribution was not reached with the result that, as Railways and public utilities must at all costs be kept going, quotas for other consumers have been cut by varying amounts in accordance with their stock position and essentialities,........until raisings exceed the target figure for distribution, it will be impossible to give the full 2600 wagons for Bengal. This is unfortunate but is unavoidable in present circumstances." The cool and masterly tone of the concluding sentence seemingly full of an overabundant sense of justice between conflicting claims is worthy of note. At least ten thousand tons of soft coke are lying ready at Mugma and Jharia collieries situated at a distance of 147 and 173 miles respectively from Calcutta where poor and middle class people, much impoverished by the prices of rice at Rs. 40 per maund last year and Rs. 16—nearly four times the 1942 level—at present, are forced to cook food once a day and eat it in the morning and in the evening to the serious detriment of health. If an adequate number of wagons can not be supplied to soft coke producing collieries now, how can the state of things improve when the target figure is exceeded and a larger volume of coal has to be handled?

—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya

## *Agricultural Income Tax in Bengal and Profits of Jute*

The Bengal Ministry proposes to tax agricultural income exceeding Rs. 3500 per annum. This will be laying the axe at the root of the Permanent Settlement which rendered Bengal prosperous in the past. Economists like Romesh Chandra Dutt on this ground advocated the extension of Permanent Settlement to other parts of India where it was not in force. The zemindars of Bengal established schools and colleges and helped to spread English education not only in the province but over the greater part of India as scholars in these institutions became schoolmasters and professors in other provinces for decades. The great Swadeshi movement generating active political consciousness throughout India and paving the path of protection of industries would never have gathered momentum but for the munificence of landlords. With the passage of time the estates have been subdivided and a large, strong and healthy middle class has arisen reducing the rich landlords to a handful. The income of large and small landholders who are all our countrymen is not more than ten crores of rupees. By legalising the disparity between the prices of raw and manufactured jute the Ministry has made a present of nearly 40 crores of rupees to the jute mills which are mostly under British management. From accounts given in the last two issues of this journal the cost of production of 100 yards of hessian can not exceed Rs. 17. Allowing Re. 1 as profit the figure becomes Rs. 18 and presents a striking contrast to Rs. 28 fixed recently by the Government as the price of hessian. 69 lakhs of bales of the last jute crop= 3 crores 45 lakhs maunds=138 crores of seers which divided by 35 and multiplied by 10 give Rs. 394,285,714 as the unearned income of the mills. But for the Excess Profits Tax the whole of this huge amount would have been appropriated by them as during the last War and succeeding years. Sir Jeremy Raisman declared on the 19th February 1943 that if any industry remained content with making standard profits, he would be very glad and base his budget accordingly.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.

# INDIA RULED THE WAVES

DR. M. GANJU, B.A., D.A.C., Ph.D.,
*Research Assistant in Economics, University of Bombay*

SHIP-BUILDING was a prosperous industry of ancient India and was unrivalled by any maritime countries of the past. In spite of a great dearth of literature on the subject we come across many a reference in Rig Veda and classical Sanskrit, Tamil and Pali literature regarding shipping and ship-building in our land. Yakti Kalapatara mentions the building of ships of 27 different types, the measurement of the largest being 276 ft.×36 ft.×27 ft., and of about 2300 tons. Besides the above and innumerable archaeological and numismatical records, evidence of the existence and excellence of the industry in India, before the Christian era, is borne out by a number of foreign writers, such as Pliny, Strabo, Agatharcides, Arrian, the various Greek ambassadors to Indian Empire of the Mauryan and Gupta periods, and later by Chinese and Arab travellers who visited our country at intervals.

Prof. Radhakumud Mukerji talks of Indian shipping in eloquent terms. India was, according to him, one of the foremost maritime countries of the world. She had many colonies far off its own shores, had trade relations with the whole of the then civilized world,

> "and both the East and the West had become the theatre of Indian commercial activity, and had given scope to her naval energy and throbbing international life."

Mrs. Annie Basant gives us the idea of a ship, manned by Indians, on their way to colonise Java, in A.D. 75, and Dr. Buist remarks :

> "The correct forms of ships—only elaborated within the past ten years by the science of Europe—have been familiar to India for ten centuries."

The Pali books, Mahavamsa and Raja Villiya describes vessels that carried 700 passengers. The Indian ships, seen by Marco Polo, carried ten small boats, slung on sides, like modern life boats, with 60 cabins below the main deck for berthed passengers and with 14 water-tight-compartments separated by stout bulkheads. It may be remembered that right up to the 17th century the European ships averaged about 250 tons, and the first convoy of the East India Company to India had five ships, the *Hector* being the largest among them, was only 600 tons. So it proves beyond doubt that the largest ships built before the 17th century were Indian ships, and even a Portuguese vessel of 1500 tons, when brought to Indian waters, was found to be much smaller to *Rehemy*, a Gogha vessel which was described by them as the largest vessel in the Indian seas.

### INDIA'S GREATNESS

During the 16th and 17th centuries when the European nations were fighting amongst themselves for the sovereignty of Hindustan, they were so humble in face of India's greatness in the art of ship-building that "they were more than content to sit at the feet of Indian master ship-wrights as eager pupils." The records of the East India Company mention a vessel, *Deria Dowlet*, which was sound in limb and body after 87 years of strenuous life in deep waters, while "every ship in the Navy of Great Britain had to be renewed every 12 years." The East India Company being primarily a body of traders, found it paying to have their ships built in India to which the British built ships were no match at all. In 1668, therefore, they imported an English ship-builder, Mr. Warrick Pelt, and he built two ships at Surat for them. These ships had a very short life, but he, however, established a yard at Surat which was transferred to Bombay in 1735 where Lowjee Nuserwanjee took its charge, and he and his family held the position of master ship-wrights and ship-builders of the Company for a century and a quarter.

### THE NUMBER OF SHIPS BUILT

At the Bombay Dockyard 300 ships of various sizes were built between the years 1736 and 1863, many of them being for the Royal Navy of England, carrying from 14 to 32 guns. *Asia*, of 2289 tons burden, carrying 84 guns and bored for 96 guns, was launched in 1824. She was the Flag Ship of Admiral Codrigon at the battle of Navarino and played "a glorious part in that long drawn out action." In fact the whole river Flotilla of Indus, Tigris and Euphrates was built in Bombay.

The Company owned many other ship-building centres as well in Hoogly, Sylhet, Chittagong and Dacca. Between 1781 and 1821 no less than 272 ships of a total tonnage of 1,22,693 were launched by the Hoogly dockyard.

### BRITISH OPPOSITION

In the meantime the British opinion about the Indian ship-building industry got divided

into two. A section of the ship-builders of England opposed the scheme of getting ships built in India. Another section consisting of the merchant class people preferred to carry on their trade in Indian built ships because of their durability, longevity and lower rates. Lord Wellesley favoured the development of ship-building in India. He advocated that the ships for the British Navy and the British trade should be built in India. His policy was resented by the Court of Directors which was dominated by British ship-builders and ship-owners whose interests clashed directly with those of the merchant class, and Lord Wellesley was reprimanded by them.

Parliament was, however, pressed to stop the East India Company from building ships in India, but the superiority of Indian ships was so great that the Company could not resist the temptation of building ships in India. Several enquiries were made to see how it affected the British interests. In 1811 Col. Walker wrote officially, giving facts and figures, that it was better and advantageous for them to build ships in India for the British Navy as "enormous saving in building expenditure would accrue to the British Government if ships were built in India."

But the opposition to Indian built ships, built at lower costs and manned by Indian sailors, grew in magnitude, as they offered a crushing competition to English built ships, manned by English sailors. Writes Dr. Taylor:

> "The arrival in the Port of London of Indian produce in Indian built ships created a sensation among monopolists which could never have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames. The ship-builders of Port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm, they declared that their business was on the point of ruin and that the families of all the shipwrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation."

### English Character

The Court of Directors of the E. I. C. who wanted to benefit by cheaper and better built ships of India, opposed the employment of Indian sailors on the ground which excites a laughter of ridicule.

> The Indian sailors, said they, "are, to the disgrace of our National morals, on their arrival here, led into scenes which soon divest them of the respect and awe they had entertained in India for the European character. . . . The contemptuous reports which they disseminate on their return cannot fail to have a very unfavourable influence upon the minds of these Asiatic Subjects, whose reverence for our character, which had hitherto contributed to maintain our supremacy in the East . . . . will be gradually changed for most degrading conceptions . . . . and if an indignant apprehension of having hitherto rated us too highly or respected us too much, should once possess them, the effects of it may prove extremely detrimental."

So the British Parliament set up a select committee with Sir Robert Peel as its Chairman to collect evidence on "issues relating to the East India ship-building." The opinions of the members in the said committee were sharply divided, for and against ships being built in India. In 1814 the report was submitted to the Parliament and an Act was passed whereby Indian sailors would not be deemed "British mariners" and any ship even though British, which had not on board three-fourths of its crew of British mariners, or seven British mariners per 100 registered tons, would be liable to forfeiture, and that "no ship was to enter the Port of London whose master was not a British mariner"... and that "only English built ships should import goods from South and East of Good Hope." But for many reasons these restrictions imposed by the Act were partially ignored, and ships continued to be built in India up to 1863 and even later.

### Strangling Shipping

In India itself acts and laws were promulgated to bring the ship-building industry of the land to an end. Separate rates of import duties on goods carried by British and non-British ships were fixed, and by these they tried to stamp out Indian shipping from its own waters. Writing in this connection, Sir William Digby says:

> "As, again and again, I have wandered through the records of obscurant administration in India during the past century, growing more and more woeful as instance upon instance forced upon me, the unteachability of the Anglo-Indian civilian, scarcely anything has struck me more forcibly than the manner in which the Mistress of the Western world has striken to death the Mistress of the Eastern Sea."

### Misleading Argument

Here we come to the most misleading and mischievous argument put forth by the opponents of Indian interests that the ship-building industry of India perished because "wood and sails" were replaced by "iron and steam." If between the years 1839 and 1857 a score of iron and steam vessels from 240 tons to 1450 tons, and most of them being armed with guns, could be built in Bombay dockyard, was it any difficult for our country to retain its hold on the said industry, especially when she had great abundance of raw materials and efficient labour available in the country? But the question was not of India's ability. It was of British interests which clashed with those of ours. Otherwise "had ship-building been allowed to have its

natural development in India. British ship-building industry would never have prospered, perhaps hardly survived." In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "Indian shipping had to perish so that British shipping might flourish."

### Revival of Ship-building

The history of the modern shipping in India is closely associated with the birth and development of Scindia Steam Navigation Company. No doubt, there were many other shipping concerns in India even before Scindia's came into existence. 102 such companies, with a total nominal capital of about 46 crores were registered in India between 1860 and 1925. But a large number of them could not survive the competition and the opposition of the British interests. Scindias succeeded in fighting their way through the heavy odds and they expanded their business during the last decade, and have come to the rescue of many other dying Indian shipping concerns. In spite of all this, at present only 23 percent of the total tonnage plying on the Indian coast constitutes Indian shipping. It carries only 25 percent of India's coastal traffic, and with the exception of some share in the Haj Pilgrim traffic, and that too for a couple of years, they have no share in long distance overseas trade of the country.

"The Scindia Co. has symbolised, as it were, the endeavours and aspirations, struggles and disappointments, failures and triumphs of India to build up a national mercantile marine adequate for her needs, economic no less than defensive and worthy of her traditions."

In 1919 a steamer, S. S. *Loyalty* of a gross tonnage of 5934, then owned by the Gwalior State, was on the market. Mr. Walchand Hirachand, a well-known industrial magnet thought of purchasing the vessel and forming of an Indian company to run it. Consequently, in co-operation with the late Narotiam Morarjee, the late Sir Lallubhai Samaldas and the late Kilachand Devechand he formed the company. The ship was purchased and a passenger service between England and India was established.

Soon after that six steamers more, belonging to the Palace Shipping Company in England, were purchased by them and were engaged in the trade between India and the Continent, as well as between India and Burma. This sort of Indian enterprise created a great sensation among "British shipping interest who wanted to annhilate this infant enterprise in the initial stage." A rate war broke out. The British shipping companies brought down the rate of Rs. 18 per ton on the rice from Rangoon to Bombay to Rs. 6. To stand this malicious rate war, Scindias began to buy and sell rice on its own account for supplying cargo to its own ships. British shipping interest were handicapped. Therefore through the late Lord Inchcape tempting offers were made in 1922 to the Directors of the Scindia to sell the Company to B.I.S.N. This offer would have enormously benefited the shareholders, yet because of purely patriotic considerations, the offer was rejected outright. Then efforts for a settlement were started, and on March 14, 1923, an agreement between British and Indian shipping companies was signed. By virtue of this "slave-bound" and "humiliating agreement" Scindias could not go out of India, Burma and Ceylon, and could not have any passenger service in spite of the fact that the company had inaugurated its work by a passenger service between Bombay and England. The Company started working with seven steamers of about 30,000 tons. It was prevented from increasing its number beyond fourteen, not more than 64,000 tons in all, even at the end of ten years. All this was tolerated by Scindias simply because of the absolute absence of any Government support, and such an unfavourable agreement was explained by them as the "only alternative to virtual extinction." The agreement, however, admitted for the first time an Indian company to Indian coastal conference which had been till then dominated and controlled by the British shipping concerns.

### India Act of 1935

At about the same time, on the strength of the resolution of Sir Sivaswami Iyer in the Legislative Assembly the Government of India appointed the Indian mercantile marine committee which recommended unanimously the reservation of Indian coastal trade for Indian shipping and the establishment of a training ship for Indian youths. But the Government remained indifferent.

In 1935 some "stringent and unprecedented sections were embodied in the Government of India Act ostensibly to prevent discrimination but really to prohibit any such measure as that of reservation of coastal trade for Indian shipping or the giving of subsidy or bounty to national shipping industry."

### Scindias Struggle On

In March 1933 the first agreement, mentioned elsewhere in this article, expired and the Scindia Company was able to improve its position a little by the new Tripartite agreement with the two British shipping companies. The tonnage of the company was increased to 1,00,000 and it also entered passenger trade in the Bay of Bengal.

Having established its existence, Scindias now began to render help to some other smaller as well as larger (for instance, the Bombay Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., one of the biggest Indian shipping concerns) dying Indian shipping concerns, and gave every moral and financial help to guarantee their success.

In 1937 the Company acceded to the public demand, and began to take part in the Haj traffic. They got two ships, *El-Madina* and *El-Hind*, specially built in the U. K. for the purpose. The standard of comforts in the ships was raised, and the steamer facilities, service and catering provided by the Company made them very popular in the Muslim world. But this was not liked by the British shipping interests who, therefore, put many obstacles in the way of Scindias.

The establishment of the training ship *Dufferin* for training officers and engineers in Bombay was solely due to the efforts of Scindias whose Chairman and General manager have ever since been on the governing body of the training ship. Over 54% of the total number of cadets trained in the *Dufferin* have been absorbed by the Scindias. Scholarships are provided by the Company for students in the *Dufferin* and for training marine engineers abroad. It was due to Scindias that Indians were trained as wireless operators and the personnel of the wireless department in the whole fleet of the Company is entirely Indian. Again, the admission and employment of Indians in the Bengal Pilot service and Port Trust service have been, to a very great extent, the result of the Scindias' efforts.

### Shipping at Vizagapatam

The plan to build ships in Indian yards was first conceived by the Scindias simultaneously with the starting of the Company in 1919. But due to innumerable handicaps nothing could be done till 1935 when negotiations were started for obtaining a suitable site for the proposed yard. No suitable site was available in Bombay. So Calcutta became the next choice. But the scale of rent for the site proposed to be charged by the Port authorities in Calcutta was "unjustifiable" and "unbearable," being about Rs. 1,78,000 per year at the initial start and would have gone beyond Rs. 3,00,000 per year in the course of next 30 years. At last the Company, due to the untiring efforts of its Chairman, Shriyut Walchand Hirachand, succeeded in securing a site for the yard at the port of Vizagapatam.

The Company then immediately started to lay out at least two slips and this would enable them to build at least four ships per year of 8,000 to 10,000 tons each. The project when fully developed would be capable of laying out 8 slips wherein 16 ships of 6,000 to 10,000 tons could be built in a year. The Company expected to employ about 10,000 people in the yard, and it was proposed to lay out a colony for the workers near the shipyard and was intended "to give them such amenities as will enable them to live according to the modern standard of comforts of life."

### Government Attitude

But the rulers of India decided "not to encourage actively the merchant ship-building industry in India as a part of their war effort." Such being the case the Company could not get steel or machinary for the purpose. They were not permitted to import from England a few technicians to help them in their work. They then wanted to get a shipyard bodily transferred from U. K. to India with the definite understanding that the ships built in the said yard during the war-time would be placed at the disposal of the Government of India or U. K., on reasonable terms. But all in vain. The Chairman of the Company explains in the following words the attitude of the Government in this respect :

> "It is really a tragedy of India's position, in the midst of the growing dangers, that while every National Government have been doing everything possible to build up those key industries in their land which would help the operations of safety and of defence of their peoples both at sea as well as in the air the Government of India have been a glaring exception to this important devotion to duty. I cannot therefore help observing that when I look at this blank picture of "nothing doing" on the part of the Government of India and compare it with the brilliant picture full of life and colours, depicting the solid work which is being done on other lands in the spirit of true devotion to duty for the safety and defence of the people, my heart sinks within myself and I am reminded of Nero playing the fiddle when Rome was burning."

### It is Hoped

Such has been the position of the ship-building industry in India up to 21st. June, 1941, the day on which the foundation stone of "Gandhigram," Scindia's ship-building yard, was laid by Babu Rajendra Prasad at Vizagapatam.

India had a flourishing ship-building industry and owned a navy which was the envy of the world. India ruled the waves. But that is the story of the past. Today India has a tottering ship-building industry and an apology of a navy. She will revive her glorious past when the war clouds are shattered and the Axis defeated and take her place in the galaxy of first-rate maritime powers, it is hoped.

# POST-WAR AVIATION PLAN AND INDIA

By RAJANI BANERJEE

THAT air-force has changed the face of modern warfare is a fact to be unhesitatingly recognised. The air-power is about to determine the complexion of the present war. The superiority of the air will lend an unquestionable strength to the belligerents for gaining victory over their opponents. But if the aerial supremacy helps a power to make an easy walk-over on its adversary, no less preponderant a part will aviation play in winning economic peace in post-war years. The most predominant factor that can usher in an era of enduring peace to humanity will be the lever of economic prosperity of nations to shape the things to come. It cannot be gain-said that stupendous expansion of productive forces and the means of their speedy and effective distribution will serve as a collateral to the post-war material progress of the people of the world. And aviation as a medium of transport and communication must carve out a way to make the distribution of commodities on a gigantic scale. So it is no wonder—rather a logical concomittance—if a dash and drive by some commercial and industrial magnates of wide influence is being made to forge out schemes and methods for augmentation of aerial transport as a vital link in the chain of post-war reconstruction plan.

But even before the present global war started, aviation was existent and utilised in carrying passenger traffic, postal mails and light weight goods, though within a restricted scale. Still it exercised some influence on the international communication system and hope was entertained in many quarters to work out plans for increasing and gradual development of aerial transport. Therefore, it is quite natural to expect that when hostilities cease, there is a great possibility, that the countries now engaged in war will switch over to the manufacture of large-scale cargo and transport planes for post-war commercial traffic. Even in this war, gliders are used to carry troops and heavy armaments in some theatres of war. So there is every chance that a great deal of improvement both in the technique and method of aerial traffic will be attained as a medium of carrying passengers and goods in a large measure in different parts of the world in post-war years.

Already the captains of commerce and industry in U. K. and U. S. A., are engaged in envisaging new ways for moulding the future of aviation policy and programme of United Nations. The Joint Air Transport Committee of the Association of British Chamber of Commerce, the London Chamber and the Federation of British Air Transport have made an insistent demand that the British Government should, as a first step, adopt a well-thought-out and co-ordinated policy within the Commonwealth for air traffic without being interfered by any other power. After the unified air policy within the empire countries is complete, negotiations can be conducted with U.S.A., on the basis of a parity between British Empire and United States in terms of a mutually acceptable yardstick. Mr. W. A. Wakefield, M.P., has urged upon the British Government for planning an adequate air transport system with virile, up-to-date and well-organised method so that British civil air lines may not be compelled to use American aircrafts for some years, after the war. In his opinion an Empire Air Board should be formed with the accredited representatives of the British Governments and the Dominions. The House of Commons have recently displayed some zeal and earnestness in this matter. The Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Attlee, and Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Air Minister, have emphasised upon the necessity of aviation scheme. It is increasingly evident from the discussions of the House of Commons that British people will not only be a sea-faring race but a great air-faring race also in future years.

An Empire Air Conference held its session in London from the 11th October, 1943 to 13th October, 1943, under the chairmanship of Lord Beaverbrook, and attended by delegations of Canada, India, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, for the co-ordination of British Air policy in post-war period. This is a clear indication that the British Government are up and doing to go ahead with their post-war aviation policy immediately. From the brief report of *Reuters* cable it can be gathered that the discussion of the conference were informal and exploratory. Unanimous agreement was reached as to the recommendations which should be made on the way civil aviation ought to be developed after the war and as to the contribution which the Governments of the Commonwealth and Empire could make towards international co-operation in this field.

On the 13th October, 1943, Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons on a discussion of the post-war civil air transport policy of the British Government, that the conversations in the Empire Air Conference held in London were undoubtedly a family talk and had been in no way prejudicial to the interests of the U. S. A.

They would in future discuss about this matter with the U. S. A. and also with Russia.

In the House of Lords on the 20th October, 1943, Lord Beaverbrook threw further light on the policy of the British Government towards civil aviation scheme likely to be adopted after the war. He said that according to his estimation Britain would need 2000 planes after the war for the development of civil aviation. He hinted that there was an intention of the British Government to go forward to an international conference in future. He was of the opinion that the question of private enterprise must wait upon the decision that must have to be taken at the international conference.

He mentioned that there were questions of high policy that arose at the Empire Conference. One was the question of international authority. The conference came to a unanimous decision though that again waited upon the approval of the Governments concerned that the International Transport Authority should be intimately associated with, and responsible to a United Nations' security organisation which might be established—the Air Transport Authority being an authority, which would be brought into existence if the Empire Conference decisions had a happy passage through all the Governments of the Commonwealth. Lord Beaverbrook made a remark in his expression that the British Government would have to go to the Conference confessing that they had not any aircraft suitable for passenger traffic across the Atlantic at the present time.

Though the British Government have not officially adopted any fundamental and declared policy and have been slow to make any decision in future air policy of the British Empire, still organisations such as the Society of British Aircraft Constructors have tendered a memorandum to Mr. Churchill embodying proposals of a far-reaching significance. Besides this, two other independent committees have submitted their reports. Their common point of agreement converges upon urging on the Government to take proper measures so as to enable Great Britain to take the lead in the Civil Aviation Plan with British-designed and British-built Craft.

The suggestions and recommendations of British Air-craft Constructors are detailed and comprehensive. The following are some of the items containing their proposals :

(*a*) Establishment of a complete understanding with the British Dominions for co-operative action in matter of civil aviation with the object of ensuring maintenance of a technical standard at least equal to that of the United States and Soviet Russia. (*b*) Immediate Government decisions on the future ministerial control of Civil aviation. (*c*) Abolition of the "single chosen instrument" policy to avoid the evils of nonopoly and to ensure vigorous development of Commonwealth and world airways and the highest level of the technical development of British transport air-craft. (*d*) Immediate large-scale production of British air transporters derived from conversion of existing British heavy bombers. (*e*) Provision of prototypes of new commercial aircraft, as a short-term policy by direct subvention for that purpose of reputable potential British operators of Empire and world air routes. (*f*) Povision with state aid for the larger and most costly apparatus of research needed to cope with the growing size and complexity of modern transport aircraft. (*g*) Encouragement at universities and in the industries of schemes designed to provide Great Britain and Empire with an adequate and continuing supply of technicians, engineers and skilled mechanics. (*h*) Immediate review of airport facilities in Great Britain and the Empire, with the object of providing the most efficient ground organisation for civil air transport. (*i*) Decision on the licensing of internal air services, which should be conducted on lines somewhat similar to those governing road transport and directed to encourage the operation to efficient and economical services, and to ensure safe and regular operation; and (*j*) the provision for full interchange of operational data and experience, at home as well as abroad.

There are other suggestions from responsible organisations interested in the development of civil aviation. Their line of presentation of the suitable air transport policy should be the reaching of an agreement between U. S. A. and U. K. Except this, they demand that that Government should exercise sufficient control to ensure efficiency, safety and the maintenance of international relations.

The Dominions of the British Empire are also alive to the necessity of future potential role of civil aviation. In Australia the opinion is rampant that the question of post-war civil aviation is irrevocably linked with the industrial development and defence purposes of the Commonwealth. There is strong belief that the safe existence of Australia and New Zealand will depend largely on the strength they will have in air force.

In this connection Australia's aviation needs are defined more or less in the following terms : (*a*) production of aluminium (*b*) production and fabrication of light metals and their alloys (*c*) production of air-craft and aero-engines (*d*) control of aviation fuel supply (*e*) maintenance of aviation as an industry or profession on a scale making it attractive for Australian men.

Further light is thrown on this matter by Mr. Arthur Drakeford, the Australian Air Minister who has unfolded a plan which embodies that all small towns in Australia will be linked up by air and that there will be aerodromes over 150 to 300 miles with feeder services to small towns linking with air lines between

big cities. It is thus intended that no two towns in the country should be more than 24 hours apart by air. Mr. Drakeford is very emphatic on the common viewpoint of empire countries, and says that Australia's interests and that of the other sister dominions within the British Empire should not be overlooked and the aeroplane services would be controlled by the Government.

Besides Australia, Canada also desires to take an increasingly active part in the sphere of commercial aviation after the war. Already she is conducting Trans-Canada Air Lines now flying about 8,000,000 miles a year and the Canadian Pacific Air Lines which are flying 5,000,000 miles yearly. Mr. C. D. Howe. Canadian Minister of Munitions and supply, said that Canadian net-work aviation required playing a predominant role in flying between other countries. Canada at present has about 200,000 employed in military aviation, and about 41,00,000 in building air-craft.

U. S. A. is evincing a tremendous zeal to sieze the large advantages that are likely to be in her possession owing to her present world-wide operational activities in air power. There are also immense possibilities in her vast internal area for the fostering of a large-scale aviation for domestic purposes. It is learnt that a number of influential businessmen in U. S. A. have begun to voice the opinion that their Government should gain some facilities and concessions in lieu of U. S. A.'s substantial help in their successful prosecution of war efforts. There is an idea and feeling among some of the U. S. A.'s prominent men in public life that a large number of airports have been constructed in countries allied to U. S. A. by her monetary help. But after the war is over, these air fields will come under the possession of the countries to which they now belong.

According to them, if there is any specific provision in the reciprocal give-take policy relating to Lend-Lease operations, then U. S. A. should demand full facilities for using these airports of foreign countries by U. S. A. for her commercial aerial traffic in the post-war era. There is also responsible opinion for the expansion of world air lines by international settlement on the following terms and conditions: (*a*) renewal of 1939 system (*b*) internationalisation of all air lines except domestic services (*c*) freedom of air by a system roughly analogous to peace-time freedom of the seas (*d*) freedom to cross national territories with technical stops en-route but without the right to pick up commercial traffic, and (*e*) some plan similar to the fourth course coupled with international allocations of services.

It may be mentioned in this connection that an official report published by the United States in June, 1943, reveals the phenomenal expansion of air transport and aircraft production in response to war-time requirements in U. S. A. The total value of the output in the United States including both transport and combat planes which amounted to only $280 million in 1938, rose to $11,800 million in 1941 and to $16,400 million in 1942, and is expected to reach the height of $120,100 million at the end of 1943. President Roosevelt recently has estimated that the production of air-crafts in U. S. A. will register a further colossal gain of 55 per cent in 1944. The Air Transport Command of the United Armed Force in U. S. A. alone is larger than all military and transport organisations in the world before the war. In addition, U. S. A.'s Naval Transport Service is operating several hundred planes, including many flying boats over 50,000 route-miles.

In the United States alone 2,500,000 trained workers are now producing cargo and combat planes and there is authoritative assertion that almost all the plants are capable of total conversion to the production of Civil air-craft. At the close of the war there will be approximately 3,000,000 men from the United States Air Force who are now trained in the war emergency as pilots, navigators, radio operators, airport engineers, traffic controllers, etc., and their skill and experience will in most cases be transformed and absorbed into Civil aviation in post-war years.

Organisations and bodies vitally concerned with exploring avenues for the expansion of U. S. A.'s air-craft industry, such as Pan-American Airways, United Air Lines and American Export Airlines, have expressed fears of a British monopolistic policy over aviation in post-war years and so they have advocated a similar policy to be pursued by U. S. A. also. They apprehend that the global airlines after the war will be crowded with Government-dominated and Government-owned companies of other countries, notably the British Empire, thus making it difficult for the high competitive United States airlines to operate profitably. In their opinion it would serve the best interests of United States' policy if America have one strong operating system in entire zones rather than have a number of American Companies competing with each other and with strongly subsidised British, Dutch, French and Swedish lines.

But there are speculations afloat in the air that the United Nations will adopt a free air policy after the war. There is ample room for such a conjecture in a recent disclosure made by President Roosevelt that the Allies would have a free air policy in post-war world with the limitation that internal aviation ought to be owned and operated by the individual countries concerned. He also gave out that Mr. Churchill also concurred with him in this view on post-war aviation. President Roosevelt also expressed the opinion that where private routes could be operated with success, the private firms should be permitted to undertake the task of maintaining them and the Government would not step in to interfere with it. Government would only come in to manage new air-lines which the private companies would be unable to manage or conduct. By free air policy the President signified free use of airports now constructed. He declared that there was no intention of the United States retaining their sovereignty over airports built in foreign countries and emphasised that the free air policy would in no way upset the ownership of such airports. Thus it is apparent, that both the heads of the U. K. and U. S. A. Governments have also embarked upon formulating a tentative post-war aviation policy. It is not out of even practical possibility that there would be severe competition going on with break-neck speed between U. K. and U. S. A. in the race of contemplated mastery of air and expansion of their respective spheres of influence in regard to their commercial activities in future.

But it is in England that there is more feverish activity to tackle the post-war aviation problem in right earnest in order to unite her far-flung empire in a consolidated whole. The air-power of the British has got to be harnessed to the full pitch and the task is no less an uphill one. Therefore, the cause is not far to seek that a notable commercial establishment in Great Britain, *viz.*, Saunders Row has already commenced the manufacture of flying planes with a fair capacity to carry two hundred passengers easily and those that are now utilized for transport purposes will be transferred into passenger-borne traffic in future.

The question of opening up aerial commercial traffic will put forward a great handicap to shipping concerns. The mercantile marine has every chance of facing a severe competition in aviation transport in post-war period. For expansion of trade and commerce of Great Britain in large dimension, all resources will probably be tapped to rear up a gigantic air fleet on the line of British mercantile marine. Also efforts may be made on the part of industrial and commercial organisations of England for securing complete monopoly in civil aviation transport. But there is a sharp and resolute opinion in responsible quarters opposing the grant of any such monopoly to any organisation. The holder of this opinion believes that persistent subsidy to commercial aviation would retard genuine progress and might necessitate a corresponding aid to sea transport also. Therefore, to set up an economic equilibrium some judicious ways and means must be devised to balance the respective costs and advantages of airborne and surface transports. It is, therefore, palpably clear from all sources of information that the place of post-war aviation will loom large in the scheme of post-war reconstruction to be launched by the United Nations.

Now the most pertinent question will crop up as to the future of India's aviation in the ambit of the plan of the United Nations. In August, 1943, Sir Gurunath Bewoor, Secretary, Posts and Air Department, Government of India, gave a statement in reply to a question in the Central Assembly on the topic of India's role in post-war aviation scheme. He said that there had been exchange of views of a purely exploratory and provisional nature between the Government of India and the British Government and he also gave out that the question was in the formative stage. However, he assured that Government of India would consult public opinion in regard to the development of civil aviation if and when the necessity and occasion for this would arise. But still the full implications and significance of Sir Gurunath Bewoor's statement were by no means adequately clear to convey any definite assurance relating to Government of India's task in this matter.

Be that as it may, the Empire Air Conference was held in London from the 11th to 13th October last and the Indian delegation composed of Sir Samuel Rungadhan, High Commissioner in London, Sir Frederick Zeymms, Director of Civil Aviation, Government of India, and Mr. Rumbelo of the India Office participated in it. They are official spokesmen regimented more or less to give opinions from Government standpoint and there is great apprehension that the full outlet of the public viewpoints would be retarded by the stereotyped official red-tapism if the leaders of Indian Commerce and Industry are not consulted and if their weighty views are not respected.

However, in the commercial circles of India, there is a growing and insistent demand that

the Government of India should take up the all-important question of post-war civil aviation scheme for evolving a constructive national policy on this subject in full consultation with Indian commercial and industrial interests. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has already drawn the attention of the Government to this aspect on the policy to be adopted by the Government. The Federation has also urged upon the Government to see that in the event of convening of an Empire Air Conference, India's non-official men of weight and position belonging to commerce and industry should be offered the opportunity of delegation to voice the legitimate interests of India. The prevalent Indian opinion is that India should get a square deal in any post-war civil aviation planning and that India's rights should not be allowed to go by default.

A vast country like India holds out considerable geographical and strategic importance for playing a vital role in shaping the future civil aviation programme. The opportunity offered by present war to establish plants and factories for building up a gigantic aviation industry and for manufacturing aero-engines and air-crafts in India, has not been utilized for want of any encouragement on the part of the Government of India. So it is not unlikely that the post-war civil aviation would be financed, controlled and monopolised by the foreign capitalist organisations and India's legitimate interests would be completely ignored. Like Indian shipping industry, the aviation industry of India may not expect from the Government of India more than a step-motherly affection.

India can open up huge fields for civil aviation not only for traffic purposes but also for services such as surveying land, spraying agricultural fields and carrying relief measures to ravaged areas of the country. For covering the Land with a net-work of aviation centres, a large number of aerodromes must be constructed and pilots, groundstaffs, mechanics, wireless operators, meteorologists and other auxiliary personnel should have to be recruited.

There is some visible sign that the Government of India have to some extent shaken off its proverbial lethargic ways to tackle any new scheme. Some activity in this direction by the Government of India is in the offing and it is quite in the fitness of things that the Government should be galvanised into a fresh zeal for building up at least the framework of post-war civil aviation scheme at this opportune moment.

It is learnt that to discuss about the matter of the post-war aviation the Policy Committee on Reconstruction of Communications is expected to hold a session in early part of 1944 where each province will be represented on the Policy Committee. The deputies of Indian states and also the representatives of trade and industrial interests will also be asked to participate in it. The plan of the committee will include air routes and air services to be developed in India with trunk routes, feeder routes. The question of the cost of maintaining the aircraft and personnel will also form the subject-matter of the conference. But what is genuinely apprehended is that the conferences of this kind will not matter much unless and until full effect is given to the decisions of the cogent non-official opinion to be outlined in the true interest of India on this all important question.

In an international agreement on the proposition of post-war civil aviation plan, the Government of India should try to safeguard the interests of India and duly ascertain the apportionment of traffic that ought duly fall on the share of India. One most important problem that will confront India is whether she would be allowed to construct her requisite transport aircraft or she would have to rely on the imported stocks. Besides this, another factor would arise as to how the aircraft factories, if allowed to be built up, will get their capital. There is ample chance that Indian capital will find a very good opportunity for its flow of investment through this conduit. This will unfold a long vista for India's material prosperity and economic development. But what is a matter of paramount importance and great desideratum in this case is that the Government of India must take the full initiative in collaboration with the people of India and specially the commercial and industrial magnates to have a definite say in the matter by fully representing India's case in an international conference that may be held to plan the post-war aviation scheme. Any slackness on the part of the Indian capital and indifference or impervious attitude shown by Government of India towards this mighty question may lead to the inevitable result that foreign enterprises will rule and capture the immense field of Indian post-war aviation as the foreign mercantile marine is practically monopolising India's coast-line traffic at present. So in such a case India's post-war aviation problem is fraught with many conflicting interests and contradictory possibilities.

# FAMINE'S TOLL IN 1943

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

The Bengal Famine of 1943 is now slipping into the pages of history. This article is the seventh in a series giving documentation of a tragic occurrence that took place not only in Bengal but also over a still wider area. The author, therefore, requests the reader to view the whole in a historical perspective uninfluenced by events that are no longer present. But to chalk out a plan for meeting any future emergency whenever it may occur, one must have a correct estimate of the past and on this exactitude of estimates that the author has laid particular stress all along. If exaggeration is bad, underestimation is worse, because that leads to adoption of measures based on estimates falling short of actual requirements. With this object in view the declaration of Mr. Amery on March 23, 1944, in the House of Commons "that the total number of deaths (in 1943) in excess of the last five years' average" as 688,846 has been openly challenged.

Apparently Mr. Amery based his estimates on information contained in the Government of Bengal Press Note of March 11, 1944, to the effect that

> "The total mortality rate of the Province in 1943 from all causes shows an increase of 58 per cent. over the average of last five years. The average number of deaths per year is 1,184,903 and in 1943 the actual number amounted to 1,873,749, the excess over the average being 688,846."

The Government of Bengal decided long before the census of the dead had been taken that the figure should not exceed 6 to 7 lakhs. The Hon'ble the Minister for Public Health, Bengal, stated on February 9, in the Bengal Council that

> "On the basis of figures so far received it was accepted that the total excess in the number of deaths during 1943 over the average of normal years would be between 6 and 7 lakhs. These figures included deaths from all causes, cholera, malaria, small-pox as well as sheer starvation."

This was certainly a great improvement on what Mr. Amery said in the Commons on January 20, 1944. According to him, as there were no reliable figures available up to that time,

> "the Government of India on the basis of the present information consider that the abnormal mortality due to famine and to disease in the last five months have not exceeded one million."

The statistics stood *at not exceeding one million in the last five months; i.e.*, it might be something well over 900,000 for five months. And the Bengal Cabinet came to his rescue.

There was an attempt in the Bengal Council to ascertain the number of deaths due to direct starvation. On February 26, 1944, the Government was

> "not in a position to give the number of deaths that had occurred from starvation" because "*the chowkidars are the persons who report deaths* and it is *not at all safe* to give them the authority to find out the real cause of death." (Italics mine).

We were told that 'starvation cases' were being entered at that time in a column under the head "Deaths from Other Causes" in the death register kept by the chowkidar and he is the only source supplying information to the Government of Bengal and Mr. Amery. In reply to a question of Sir Frederick James in the Central Assembly on March 14, 1944, the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands to the Government of India, said that

> "The machinery for the collection of these statistics were *exactly* the same in 1943 as in previous years."

The chowkidar is then the primary source from whom emanates the vital statistics of the Indian Empire. Who is a chowkidar and what are his functions? The chowkidar is a paid 'officer' of the Government drawing a salary of Rs. 6 to 7 per month. The payment of this magnificent sum is always irregular due to dearth of funds in the coffer of the public bodies. There are cases where the salary is in arrears for months. He is a night-watchman of the village (including watch over 'dagis' or habitual offenders, or other suspects), the bearer or chaprasi in the office, courier boy of official correspondence and a domestic servant of the President and of the distinguished members of the local bodies. He has to satisfy the 'Daroga Saheb' or the 'Jemadar Saheb' of the Police Outpost by carrying out their departmental and extra-departmental behests including marketing and the tending of cattle. He is to guard the railway track (and in this act he sometimes falls victim to the attack of wild animals) for safe travel of *very high* officials and to look after the comforts of the 'sahebs' from the Sadar when they are pleased to pay official visits in the locality and put up in the Dak Bungalow. He is to prevent boundary disputes and watch safe harvesting of crops, give peaceful possession to one successful in litigation and help the pro-

cess server, an officer of the judicial service. in the identification of persons and premises for the services of summons. He has, from time to time, to report himself, at a distance of several miles, to the Sadar, for his 'blue-black' kits and to appear in District Courts as material witness of the Crown. Such a hard-worked man is the supplier, or more properly, the compiler of all Government statistics relating to acreage and yield of all principal crops, livestock, carts and vehicles, sugar-cane crushers, ploughs and tractors, date and palm trees for assessment of the total production of 'gur' in the land. He is the Government Reporter 'of market prices of commodities.' He is in charge of the birth and death registers of the countryside. To keep away the cares and anxieties with which he is always beset, in most cases, these poor men find solace and comfort in some strong narcotics or exhilarating drinks.

Such is the man who has supplied the 'vital statistics' of the famine. He must have been perplexed by inflation, want of food and other necessaries of life, and troubled by disease that overran the land. Perhaps he was ill and still he is so; or he was taken away from his station in search of food or for shifting his family from place to place. He might have gone elsewhere to attend on *sick destitutes* or to perform their last rites. *The Associated Press* reported the following from Dacca on December 10, 1943 :

> "Six Muslim families consisting of 4 to 10 members each *including the family of a village chowkidar, have been entirely* wiped out." (Italics mine).

How could this chowkidar enter all the deaths referred to in the message in his register ?

It is a common knowledge that the chowkidar does not enter all cases of births and deaths in normal times. Let us take the census figures and the vital statistics given in the Public Health Report of the Bengal Government. In 1911, Bengal, including Bihar and Orissa and excluding the Eastern Bengal (and the States), had a population of 52,468,818. Due to readjustment of boundary, consequent on the introduction of Reforms, the population came down to 45,329,247 in 1912. In the census of 1921 it was found that the population had increased to 46,522,293, *i.e.*, an addition of 1,193,046 persons during a period of nine years (from 1912 to 1920). The Government Reports on births and deaths recorded an increase of 394,983 persons only. It means that presence of 799,063 persons in Bengal at the end of 1920 could not be accounted for. The figures prove that 67 per cent of the increase in population was not recorded in the official registers.

A repetition of the same error will be evident from the statistics for the next decennium. We find that the 'natural increase' in population according to provincial reports was 1,463,384. But the census disclosed that the population had actually increased to 49,901,080 from 46 522,293 in 1921, *i.e.*, an accretion of 3,378,787. It means that 56 per cent of the total increase in Bengal in 1931 happened unnoticed. The same phenomenon is noticeable in the census of 1941 and we have been asked to believe that the figures supplied by the Bengal Government and based on the reports of the village chowkidar is correct.

Under the law, the parents or relatives of persons entrusted with the final disposal of the dead body are to report cases of death to the proper authorities. Was it possible to observe the letters of the law when people could not move out of sheer exhaustion and died for want of food in hundreds and thousands ?

Then there were the cases of dead bodies that had been devoured by vultures, dogs and jackals, dead bodies thrown away in the out-of-the-way places in villages, both by the villagers or by the authorised agents of the Government. The case of Mathurapur on the Lakshmikantapur Railway Line and Satui (on the opposite bank of Berhampore on the Ganges), Murshidabad, are cases in point. Any casual visitor will find thousands of skeletons strewn over wide tracts of land and the Government will do well to institute an enquiry whether all these cases of death in the locality have been entered in the death register of the chowkidar.

There was such a pestilence in the land that even a casual visitor to India, fleeting through the main thoroughfares of big cities or travelling in comfortable railway carriages, did not fail to mark dead bodies on the wayside. On October 20, 1943, Senator Ralph A. Brewster,

> "one of the globe-trotting Senators, described the Bengal famine as *terrible* and said (at Washington) that *the Senatorial Committee saw dead people lying around the streets,* and women and children in the last stage of starvation."

Is it possible for a citizen to perform his civic duties regarding reporting of deaths to the proper authorities and the chowkidar to keep note of such mass massacre under the circumstances described by Mr. Brewster ?

Nobody could take care of the dead bodies thrown into the water. On September 11, 1943, a report was received in Calcutta from Noakhali that

> "Men, women and children are dying daily in great numbers, some on roads and at other public places. Disposal of the dead bodies has become a problem with

the living. Some dead bodies are thrown into the river instead of being properly buried or cremated."

On September 17, 1943, Madaripur reported:

"Cremation of Hindu dead bodies have become quite a problem. Dead bodies of destiture persons are often thrown into the river or buried."

From Manikganj on September 2, 1943 was received the following report:

"Cases of death of famished people are being daily reported from the interior. Dead bodies are occasionally seen floating in the river."

From Contai, September 17, 1943, wrote a member of the Friends' Ambulance Unit:

"There are not enough able-bodied men to burn the dead, which often are just pushed into the nearest canal. If you go down the canal from Contai to Panipia, you will feel sick; for the bloated dead bodies you will see will be numerous."

An American lady reported to the special correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard* at Dacca on or about the 20th October, 1943, that

"Towards the end of October while she was going to Hasnabad from Dacca, a distance of 25 miles, by boat, she counted six bodies floating down the river by the day time. She also found a number of bodies by the side of the waterways being devoured by jackals anl vultures."

On October 25, 1943, Mrs. Vijayluxmi Pandit said:

"In several places bodies had been thrown into a wayside pool and the stench of decomposing flesh was foul."

From every part of Bengal came reports of dead bodies being thrown into the river either for want of able-bodied men to carry the corpses to the cremation or to the burial ground; or for want of fuel or to make a short shrift of the whole affair for want of physical strength and competence to meet the costs of disposal.

How could a chowkidar count the dead bodies floating on the water in all parts of Bengal or disposed of without his knowledge?

Evidence of impartial public men, such as the Hon'ble Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, Sir Jagadish Prasad, etc., goes to show that death ran rampant in the land and it was never possible to enter in the register all cases of death in Bengal during the concluding five months of 1943. Wrote the special correspondent of the *Times of India* on November 16, 1943:

"One class of labourers, Namasudras, alone numbers 3,000,000 in Bengal, and it is not impossible that a third of these have died." (Quoted in *Why This Starvation* by M. Masani, p. 2).

The report of the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University published in the press on February 21, 1944, placed the total deaths at about three and a half millions on the following basis:

". . . . The statistics for eight districts have been tabulated. They cover 816 family units with a total membership of 3,880. The total deaths in these groups during June-July, 1943 to November-December, 1943, has been 386 of 10 per cent. (*i.e.*, 100 per thousand) in six months. . . . As the death-rate for Bengal does not exceed 30 per thousand per annum in normal years, *i.e.*, 15 per thousand in six months the excess mortality (or 100—15) or 85 per thousand, *i.e.*, eight and half per cent., has to be ascribed to famine and the pestilence that followed in its wake. As some of the areas in North Bengal were much less affected than Western cr Central Bengal or the deficit areas of Eastern Bengal, some reduction has to be made to estimate the total mortality figures for Bengal. It will probably be an underestimate of the famine to say that two-thirds of the total population were affected more or less by it. On this basis the probable total number of deaths above the normal come to well over three and half millions. The estimate is subject to probable error inherent in all sample surveys."

The report certainly admits of improvement, but it is undoubtedly better than the guess-work indulged in by the Government. In corroboration of this statement there are reports of respectable correspondents of responsible newspapers and also reports of dependable news agencies working in India which go to show that the mortality was extremely high and distress of the people boundless. A summary of some typical reports from the districts is given below:

From Bhola (Barisal), a correspondent wrote on December 11, 1943, that there had been no less than 40,000 deaths owing to malaria, dysentery and starvation. In Chittagong Town 3,000 died in the last five months (from December 22) out of a total of 30,000 inhabitants. "Out of 21 lakhs, two to two and half lakhs have already died and about two lakhs more are almost on the verge of death in the Noakhali district," according to a correspondent writing on December 21, 1943. In Nilphamari (Rungpur) and Kandi (Murshidabad) the number of people reported to have died exceeded 50,000 in each sub-division up to the third week of December. In the Faridpur district, 546,971 people were affected by malaria during the five months preceding December 23, out of which 30,057 died. An official estimate placed the number of deaths in Munshiganj (Dacca) at over 60,000 from starvation and allied causes up to December 23, 1943.

Similar reports can be collected from the newspapers (and all cases have not been reported). It is absolutely impossible to ascertain the number of deaths due to starvation and the attendant evils unless a house to house census is undertaken. At the present moment it can be safely said that death from all causes in Bengal in 1943 could not be less than 3½ million and might come up to 5 million. The onus lies with the Government for proving by incontrovertible facts that the popular contention is not true.

# IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHANGE IN THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

By SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK

The recent declaration of the Soviet leaders to give freedom to the Constituent Republics of the U. S. S. R. "to establish autonomous relations with foreign countries," and to maintain their own army units, has naturally evoked widespread interest throughout the world. British authoritative quarters made no comment on the Soviet constitutional reform "beyond expressing full appreciation of important developments involved."

President Roosevelt stated at a Press Conference that

"he was following the shifting political scenes in Russia with great interest, although he could not immediately interpret the meaning of the latest Russian move giving diplomatic and military powers to 16 individual Soviet Republics."

Cordell Hull liked

"to wait for full facts" and "declined to speculate on whether subdivisions would give an advantage to Russia at future international conferences."

Mr. Joseph Davis, former United States' Ambassador in Russia, stated that

"The changes in the Soviet regime should commend themselves to all democratic countries as an indication of Russia's intention to develop along democratic lines."

*Reuter's* diplomatic correspondent observed :

"The 'Commonwealth' Constitution of the Republics of the Soviet Union is a climax in M. Stalin's evolutionary programmme."

Many hailed it as "a master stroke of Stalin's leadership." The London Press "welcomed Russia's decision to federalise the Soviet Republic." Paul Wintertan considered the new plan to be "logical extension of Soviet solution of the problem of nationalities." It "has stirred varying diverse interpretations" in the Press. Let us therefore closely examine the nature of the change suggested and try to understand its implications.

Undoubtedly, this transfer of remarkable powers in the spheres of foreign relations and defence to the Constituent Republics of the U. S. S. R. by its Supreme Soviet envisages far-reaching constitutional development. It may well be considered as a daring experiment in the midst of a deadly war with the Nazi Germany, however diplomatic and time-serving it appears to be in certain quarters. The comments are naturally guided by different motives and interests. That explains the sources of varying interpretations. But it is worthwhile for all those who have no special interests to serve to study the constitutional change critically and attempt to see the truth behind the new move of the Soviet Union that is likely to have a great bearing on the national and international problems of the day.

Let us first see what the Soviet leaders have to say about it. The press report of the proceedings of the Supreme Soviet and comments of the Soviet leaders and the Soviet Press is very scanty and even defective. That increases our difficulty in understanding its real nature and implications. Molotov observed in his opening speech :

"It is now proposed to give full powers to the Soviet Republic to enter into relations with foreign States and make treaties with them. That makes it necessary to set up foreign Commissariats of Soviet Republics and, in addition, a foreign Commissariat of the Union of Republics."

The Moscow Radio on February 2, 1944. announced the text of two decrees putting into force M. Molotov's proposal for the constitutional change in the sphere of foreign relations and defence. According to the *Reuter's* message of February 2, the preamble to the first decree which gives the Republics of the U.S.S.R. "powers in the sphere of foreign relations," defines its object as

"to extend foreign relations and to strengthen collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and other States."

It grants the Union Republics the right

"to enter into direct relations with foreign States and to conclude treaties with them."

"The second decree dealing with the transformation of the U. S. S. R. Commissariat for defence into the Union-Republic People's Commissariat grants the Republics of the U. S. S. R. the right to organise battle units of their own."

In this connection M. Molotov said

"that there could be no doubt that the formation of independent battle units of different nationalities would strengthen the structure of the army and increase its might."

He emphasised that

"every effort must now be made to liberate Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia and the Karelo-Finnish Republic. The enemies of the Soviet Union need not doubt that the outcome of the measure will be a further strengthening of our State."

The necessity for this change in the New Constitution arose according to *Pravda*

"because of a change in the international position of the Soviet Union,"

and also because

"the political, economic and cultural needs of the Union Republics can not be covered completely by general representation of the Soviet Union abroad and by Treaties and Agreements of the U. S. S. R. with other States."

If we keep these significant observations in view, it would not be difficult to interpret the true meaning of the two new decrees. If we read the new changes in light of other articles of the Soviet Constitution, their meaning would be fairly clear to all impartial observers and friends of the Soviet Union.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its leader (February 2, 1944) has given a wrong interpretation of Molotov's observations regarding the proposed

"transformation of the two People's Commissariats of Defence and Foreign Affairs into the Union-Republic People's Commissariats."

According to its writer :

"Power in regard to Defence and Foreign Affairs is transferred from the central authority to a composite body."

This conclusion he has reached evidently on the erroneous assumption that

"in the Russian Constitution there are three classes of Commissariats or executive organs of the State," namely, "(1) All-Union Commissariats which deal with all matters delegated to the centre; (2) Republic Commissariats which deal with the residuary field belonging, as it does exclusively to the constituent Republics; and (3) Union-Republic Commissariats which dispose of matters assigned to them in accordance with a specified procedure laid down in the Constitution."

I don't know wherefrom he has got this idea. But this assumption is not at all correct. In fact, the Soviet Constitution provides for only two classes of Commissariats, the All-Union People's Commissariats and the Union-Republic People's Commissariats. The meaning and functions of the Union-Republic People's Commissariats he has misunderstood.

Article 74 clearly lays down :

"The People's Commissariats of the U. S. S. R. shall be either All-Union or Union-Republic."

Articles 75 and 76 define the powers and functions of the two Commissariats in the following words :

"The All-Union People's Commissariats shall direct the branches of State administration entrusted to them throughout the territory of the U. S. S. R. either directly or through organs appointed by them."

"The Union-Republic People's Commissariats shall direct the branches of State administration entrusted to them, as a rule, through like-named People's Commissariats of the Constituent Republics, and shall directly administer only a definite limited number of enterprises according to a list confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R."

The Union-Republic Commissariats, therefore, do not at all mean any "composite central authority," but only branches of State administration of the U. S. S. R. in relation to the Constituent Republics with evidently limited powers and functions. Articles 77 and 78 clearly differentiate the sphere of operations of the Union-Republic Commissariats from that of the All-Union Commissariats in the following words:

"The following People's Commissariats shall be All-Union People's Commissariats : Defence; Foreign Affairs; Foreign Trade; Railways; Communications; Water Transport; Heavy Industry; Defence Industry."

"The following People's Commissariats shall be Union-Republic People's Commissariats: Food Industry; Light Industry; Timber Industry; Agriculture; State Grain and Livestock Farms; Finance; Internal Trade; Internal Affairs; Justice; Health."

As there are two classes of Commissariats on an All-Union scale, similarly there are two classes of Commissariats in each constituent Republic. Article 86 clearly lays down that "the People's Commissariats of a constituent Republic shall be either Union-Republic or Republic." Their powers and functions are defined as follows :

Article 87. "Union-Republic People's Commissariats shall direct branches of State Administration entrusted to them and shall be subordinate both to the Council of People's Commissars of the Constituent Republic and to the corresponding Union-Republic People's Commissariats of the U. S. S. R."

Article 88. "Republic People's Commissariats shall direct the branches of administration entrusted to them and shall be subordinate directly to the Council of People's Commissars of the Constituent Republic."

If we read these two articles along with the two articles 75 and 76, their significance will be quite clear. The Republic Commissariats are merely administrative branches of a constituent Republic and it is, therefore, misleading to classify it as another class of Commissariats in relation to the two classes of Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. as a whole. It is also clear that the Union-Republic People's Commissariats of a constituent Republic is subordinate not only to its own council of People's Commissars but also to the corresponding Union-Republic People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. that do not constitue "a composite authority" but a central authority inasmuch as they are empowered "to direct the branches of State administration entrusted to them, as a rule, through the like-named (*i.e.*, Union-republic) People's Commissariats of the constituent Republics." The two newly-created People's Commissariats of a constituent Republic will, therefore, constitutionally remain under the corresponding commissariats of the U.S.S.R. Thus, there were before the enforcement of the new decrees eight All-Union Commissariats and ten Union-Republic Commissariats. The only consequential changes that will follow the new decrees shall amend the articles 77 and 78 to the effect that henceforward there shall be twelve Union-Republic People's Commissariats including

Defence and Foreign Affairs both in the Centre and in each constituent Republic. That is the true meaning of the "transformation of the All-Union Commissariats into the Union-Republic People's Commissariats."

Now the all-important question is how far do these changes really affect the Central Authority and give freedom to the constituent Republics in the sphere of foreign relations and defence, in terms of the Constitution, as amended. So far as we know, there has been no change in the Constitution affecting the powers and functions of the Central Authority, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., which is the highest organ of State Power of the U.S.S.R., as a whole, in terms of Articles 30 and 31, or of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of People's Commissars, "the highest executive and administrative organ of State Power of the U.S.S.R., in terms of the Article 49 and Articles 64 to 76. Nor has there been any fundamental change in the relations of the Constituent Republics to these highest Central Organs of the Soviet State Power. There has been also no reported change affecting the Sovereignty of the Central Organs and the nature of Sovereignty of the Constituent Republics, as defined in Articles 14 to 21.

Evidently therefore, the new changes only extend the autonomous powers of the constituent Republics (that have all along been enjoying that kind of autonomous powers in other spheres) to the spheres of foreign relations and defence as well. How far each constituent Republic can actually exercise this newly-extended power surely depends on the nature of its Soveriegnty and of the Central control over it in terms of the Constitution as well as in terms of the realities of the situation as it is.

Article 15 clearly lays down that

"The Sovereignity of the constituent Republics shall be restricted only within the limits set forth in Article 14 of the constitution of the U. S. S. R. Outside these limits, each constituent Republic shall exercise State Power independently. The U. S. S. R. shall protect the sovereign rights of the constituent Republics."

Article 16 permits each constituent Republic to have

"its own Constitution, which shall take into account the peculiarities of the Republic and be drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U. S. S. R."

Obviously therefore, the nature of the sovereignty of each constituent Republic—the sovereignty which is the essence of independence, is very clearly defined and it is undoubtedly of a strictly restricted nature. It has to be necessarily so in order not to impair the central authority and the central *unity* of the Soviet Constitution. The Soviet Constitution strives to give maximum possible freedom to each constituent Republic within the framework of the unified structure of the U.S.S.R., without impairing the central unity. That is its dominant keynote. Many have misinterpreted the real intention of the Soviet statesmen for their failure to grasp this essential foundation of the Soviet unity and the nature of the sovereignty of the constituent Republics in relation to the supreme sovereignty of the U.S.S.R., as a whole. *It has hardly anything in common with the idea of Pakistan* which not only denies this central unity but also is based not on homogeneous cultural and economic units but on a group of people of a particular religion residing in widely separated areas. The Soviet Constitution gives the right of self-determination to all peoples of different religions, sects and nationalities residing in a particular territory which is fit to be an autonomous unit with due regard to its tradition, culture, economy and geography. India may well profit by the lessons of the Soviet experiment in solving her peculiar problem of nationalities. But it is simply misleading to draw loosely an analogy of the Soviet Constitution to the Pakistan scheme. The Soviet Union is a *voluntary union* of self-governing constituent Republics and autonomous Republics including autonomous provinces and national regions of different peoples and nationalities with equal rights, *based on a single Union Citizenship throughout the U. S. S. R.* It gives maximum possible freedom to the self-governing units within One Unified Soviet Union. It is a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in every sense of the term. But disunity, based on separate religions is the dominant key-note of the Pakistan scheme that seeks to divide India into two or more completely independent States, Pakistan, Hindustan, Drabiristan, and so on, based on the long-exploded and out-of-date separate-nation theory of different religious groups, without the least regard to their tradition, culture, economy and geography, and even racial unity. The Pakistan even denies the like-right of self-determination of the other religious groups and even the same racial group of peoples to reside in the areas of their ancestors not under the Pakistan of other religious group but under their own self-governing State or States. "It will be remembered that there are 16 separate Republics in the Soviet Union, 22 smaller autonomous Republics, and 20 National areas set aside for the minorities. Within the borders of the U.S.S.R., no fewer than 180 tongues are spoken, and many nationalities and religions

exist. Equal rights for all peoples, regardless of race, colour, creed, and degree of civilisation, epitomises the fundamental conception of political democracy in Soviet Union. The structural form of administration enables each national and racial minority living within another entomographic area to maintain its own identity, if it so wishes, and helps to nurture many distinctive cultures of several peoples. In this way the Soviet Government has solved the centuries-old national, tribal, social and religious conflicts which existed under Czarism." In spite of all these differences the Russian people has laid the foundation of a solid unified socialist State that has grown from power to power and defies today the Nazi military might in a manner history has never seen. It is therefore idle and even harmful to compare so loosely the Pakistan scheme with the Soviet Constitution.

It is also misleading to talk loosely of 'decentralisation' in the Soviet Union without explaining its real nature and emphasising on the fundamental unity of the Soviet constitution and the Soviet State. Article 17 surely gives each constituent Republic "the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R." In theory, the sovereignty of each constituent Republic is, therefore, complete and restricted by no check whatsoever. It is quite free to break away from the U.S.S.R., if it so chooses. But in practice, the sovereignty is undoubtedly and quite necessarily much restricted in the best interests of the entire undivided people of the Soviet Union, based on a single citizenship. So long the Supreme Soviet of a constituent Republic does not choose to exercise its right to freely secede, it has to operate within the framework of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which surely vests the supreme sovereignty in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., consisting of two Chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. Under Article 31 the Supreme Soviet is empowered

"to exercise all the rights vested in the U. S. S. R. in accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution, in so far as they do not, by virtue of the Constitution, fall within the competence of organs of the U. S. S. R., *i.e.*, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. and the People's Commissariats of the U. S. S. R."

Therefore, the sovereignty of the Supreme Soviet is also limited as certain powers and functions are delegated by the Constitution itself to the fore-mentioned Organs of the U.S.S.R. But there can be no doubt about the supreme authority exercised by the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, the Council of People's Commissars, and the eight All-Union People's Commissariats, in many important and vital spheres, as clearly specified in the Constitution.

The Article 14 which restricts the powers of the constituent Republics and their formerly ten and now twelve Union-Republic People's Commissariats, and under which the Supreme Soviet exercises its powers, enumerates as many as *23 central subjects.* They include international relations, questions of war and peace, "supervision of the observance of the conformity of the Constitutions of the constituent Republics with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R," defence and direction of armed forces, foreign trade, establishment of national economic plans, the unified State Budget, administration of banks, industrial and agricultural establishments and enterprises, transport and communications and trading enterprises, direction of monetary and credit system, organisation of the State insurance, and establishment of principles of labour legislations, education and public health, and for the use of land as well as for the exploitation of its deposits, forests and waters, among others. That certainly means that the Constitution takes away all these important subjects from the jurisdiction of the constituent Republics. The Soviet Constitution has, however, taken great care to include as central subjects only those that are quite essential for the development of the Socialist Union and for the welfare of the entire Soviet people of one United Russia. That is also apparent from the division of functions between the All-Union Commissariats and the Union-Republic Commissariats. Article 68 also clearly gives the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. the right

"to co-ordinate and direct the work of the All-Union and the Union-Republic People's Commissariats of the U. S. S. R. and of other economic and cultural institutions subordinate to it."

It is, therefore, still open to the Council of people's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., to exercise this central authority of co-ordination and defence in spite of the freedom given recently to the constituent Republics in these spheres. The position is simply this—they will have to either exercise this freedom with the approval of the central authorities of the U.S.S.R., in consultation with them, and under their general direction and supervision in the interests of the entire people of the U.S.S.R., or they will have to decide to secede from the U.S.S.R. There is, therefore, an element of truth in the remark of the London *Economist* that "their 16 Republics will hang together for reasons invisible to the constitutional lawyer." They will surely hang together, we may be sure of that.

But they will hang together not merely for these visible constitutional reasons, but also for so many real rights and privileges, the self-governing Socialist Republics enjoy in a Socialist Union, although they remain conveniently 'invisible' to the keen eyes of the astute defenders of capitalist democracy.

Article 69 also gives the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

"the right, in respect to these branches of administration and economy which come within the competence of the U. S. S. R. to suspend resolutions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the Constituent Republics."

Under Article 47 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., has also the right

"to interpret the existing laws of the U. S. S. R. and issue decrees," "to rescind decisions and orders of the Council of the People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. and of the constituent Republics in case they do not conform to the law."

These powers and safeguards to preserve the central authority of the Soviet Union do not permit anybody to talk loosely of 'decentralisation' and complete freedom to make separate treaties on the part of these Republics, though they will certainly enjoy maximum possible freedom within the spheres of foreign relations and defence without impairing the essential unity of the Soviet Union. That is why Molotov was so boldly proclaiming that

"The formation of separate battle units of different nationalities would strengthen the structure of the army and increase its might."

Yet it must be regarded as a most daring experiment in the midst of a deadly war—an experiment worthy of the Soviet Union and the proletarian democracy.

In this context, there is, however, little ground to suppose that all these Republics will actually exercise this right to conclude separate treaties with other States. Most of them would choose not to do that unless and until they consider it really necessary in their own interests. They will be content to be guided by the Central Organs of the U.S.S.R., wherein each of them has its own representatives and all of them collectively have a quite effective voice in shaping their own destiny according to their free will, through the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. No important matter can be passed save in agreement with the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R. The Constitution provides sufficient safeguards expressly to protect the right of self-determination of all constituent units and gives full scope for the self-expression of all nationalities. The very decisions of the Central Organs of the U.S.S.R., will be, in fact, their own decisions, because they are elected directly and indirectly by all the adult citizens of the entire U.S.S.R., and the constituent Republics, autonomous Provinces and national regions. Therefore, there will be little practical difficulty for them in willingly falling in line with the central foreign policy and defence plan of the U.S.S.R.

The real difficulties and needs of the hour that have necessitated this remarkable change, have arisen not in respect of most of these constituent Republics, but in respect of the Soviet Ukraine, the Polish Ukraine as well as in respect of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldavia, and the Karelo-Finish Republic, to liberate whom Molotov significantly gave so much emphasis on this occasion while moving for the adoption of the new decrees. It should not be forgotten that none of these Baltic States, though Sovietised by their free will, have been recognised by the Allies as the constituent parts of the U.S.S.R. Similar difficulty faces the U.S.S.R., in case of the Polish Ukraine. It remains also a thorny problem to be solved whether the Soviet Ukraine and the Polish Ukraine will remain separate Republics or they should be allowed in their interests to combine into one. The very fact that the Ukraine is the first and still the only Soviet Republic to appoint a foreign commissar immediately after the passing of the decrees, goes to confirm our view. This right was exercised by the Soviet Ukraine and some other Republics at the initial stage of the U.S.S.R., and if they are again permitted to exercise that right, that is welcome, indeed. By giving this right to these States—the right which forms an essential part of the sovereignty, the U.S.S.R. will be, no doubt, in a better position to tackle the peculiar problems of nationalities of these countries and also to effectively silence any possible Allied opposition to the incorporation of these Soviet Republics within the U.S.S.R. Incidentally, it also may give the U.S.S.R. a large representation in the future comity of nations. The London *Economist* rightly considers it "minor." But it is perhaps right to divine its purpose, that is, "to smooth the path for acceptance by the outside world of incorporation within the U.S.S.R., of territories which did not belong to it in 1938." But they will not surely belong to Russia in the sense the London *Economist* understands it, but will belong to all the self-governing peoples of the socialist Soviet Union. And none can justly object to their freely deciding to remain within the U.S.S.R. That would be, indeed, a great moral victory to the Soviet democracy.

# MALARIA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON WORLD HEALTH

By PAUL F. RUSSELL

*Lt.-Colonel, Medical Corps, Army of the United States, Chief Tropical Disease and Malaria Control Section, Preventive Medicine Division, Office of the Surgeon General, U. S. Army*

## II

### Twentieth Century—First Quarter

During the first quarter of the twentieth century it was natural that interest in malaria should be centered around control measures based on the newly demonstrated specific etiology. For malaria control had been an ancient and persistent hope. Records of empirical prophylaxis extend all the way from early centuries in ancient Italy to the late nineteenth century in the United States. For instance, one can cite Nerva, who in 96-98 A.D., was praised for his hydraulic works which improved Roman health because the water of his drains "removed the causes of bad air." Some seventeen hundred years later, still in the empirical age, the transactions of the American Medical Association (1874) were largely filled with a symposium on drainage as related to public health and especially to the malarial fevers. This subject was first explored in the United States apparenty in 1832, in the course of a medical survey of New York State.



A U. S. Army Engineer dips stagnant water from a jungle pool in New Guinea in a search for breeding places of mosquitoes

Mosquito nets were mentioned by Herodotus. They have been used ever since to exclude mosquitoes from sleeping individuals. For instance, in the middle of the last century the wife of the first Bishop in Capetown presented a mosquito net to David Livingstone when he was in Central Africa. He responded with a charming letter which began as follows:

> 14 July 1863.
>
> My dear Lady:
>
> I feel exceedingly obliged by your kindness in making such a beautiful mosquito curtain for me. Beyond a doubt it is the handsomest that ever appeared in this country, and I am a great admirer of the invention. . .

Wire screen cloth for use in excluding mosquitoes and other flies was manufactured in the United States as early as 1865.

Larvicides date back to about 1793, when oil (probably whale oil) was used in Philadelphia rain barrels to kill mosquito larvae. Howard, in 1892, was one of the first to use petroleum oil for this purpose. Dust larvicides such as Paris green were apparently not used against mosquito larvae until about 1920.

The technique of warfare against mosquitoes developed rapidly after Ross disclosed the fundamental etiology. Indeed, Ross himself in 1899 in Sierra Leone carried out the first anti-malarial work based on his own discovery It is notable that Ross later wrote:

> "My work had been done not at all for the sake of parasitology, but in order to find a method for reducing the incidence of malaria amongst the inhabitants of warm countries."

His prime interest remained, to the end, malaria control.

Outstandingly successful anti-malaria projects in the first quarter of the century, included besides those mentioned below, that initiated in Malaya in 1901 by Malcolm Watson, that by Oswaldo Cruz and Carlos Chagas in Brazil, and by Ronald Ross in Ismailia, to mention only three of many.

### Staten Island

At the turn of the century, Staten Island was not only malarious, but also had an uncomfortably high density of pest mosquitoes. In 1901, Dr. Alvah H. Doty, Health Officer of the Port of New York, found that in one section of Staten Island 20 per cent of the inhabitants had malaria. He also discovered that the problem was twofold—pest mosquitoes breeding in salt marshes and Anopheles mosquitoes breeding in collections of fresh water, inland. Doctor Doty himself one evening collected twenty-two mosquitoes in a house, and found more than half to be anophelines, while on the opposite corner there was a patient with acute malaria.

A fairly large-scale antimosquito campaign was planned and carried out effectively in Staten Island under the direction of Dr. Doty and with help from the Department of Health of New York City.

Although there is no reference to this project in Winslow's biography of Biggs, the following statement has significance.

"The New York City Health Department (of which Biggs was General Medical officer) from 1902 to 1913 was in large measure the concrete expression of the mind of Hermann Biggs; and the history of its development is the history of the progress of his sanitary statesmanship."

It is also made clear in this biography that Doty and Biggs were close friends (indeed Doty was best man when Biggs married in 1898). Therefore, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that, in this Staten Island malaria and mosquito pioneer control project, one of the earliest, and one of the most effective of the early campaigns, in the United States, inspiration and advice stemmed from that great sanitarian—Hermann Michael Biggs.

Except for this work in Staten Island, and in one or two other areas, as in New Jersey, Long Island, and California, this country was slow to react until the Panama project had dramatized the subject of malaria control. Intensive malaria control in the South began with practical demonstrations in 1912-1916 in North Carolina, Virginia, and Mississippi by Henry R. Carter and R. H. von Ezdorf of the U. S. Public Health Service, and, in co-operation with the International Health Board, at Crossett, Arkansas, in 1916.

During the World War in 1917-18 the Public Health Service carried out an extensive extra-cantonment, and the Army an intra-cantonment anti-malaria program in fifteen states over a total area of 1,200 square miles. This very successful project not only protected considerable numbers of troops but it also demonstrated malaria control in a practical way and resulted in the training of a large personnel. In the years from 1919 to 1922, The Rockefeller Foundation, co-operating with the Public Health Service, demonstrated that malaria control in the South could be done for from 75 cents to a dollar per capita, with maintenance costs of 25 cents a year, about one quarter of the average yearly malaria payments per capita for quinine, doctors, and undertakers. These



A U. S. soldier checks the oil supply in a drip can suspended from a foot bridge by malaria control experts near a U. S. Army camp in New Guinea

experiments proved that malaria control by antimosquito measures in the South was not only economically feasible but a sound business proposition.

### Gorgas

The greatest early twentieth century demonstration of the usefulness of mosquito control measures was furnished by William Crawford Gorgas, who like Laveran, Bruce, and Ross, was an Army medical officer. In the words of Sir William Osler, "There is nothing to match the work of Gorgas in the history of human achievement." Not only did Gorgas completely control yellow fever by anti-Aedes measures (following the work in Cuba of Finlay, and of Walter Reed

and his colleagues, which disclosed the vector of epidemic urban yellow fever) but, as the result of his Anopheles control, the malaria rate in Havana was reduced from the figure of 909 per thousand in 1899, to 151 in 1901, 44 in 1904, and 19 in 1908.

Because of his outstanding success in Cuba, it was natural that medical authorities should suggest that Gorgas take charge of sanitation during construction of the Panama Canal, where yellow fever and malaria had turned engineering efforts into shambles. Mosquitoes, at that time



A U. S. Army Engineer attached to a malaria control unit in New Guinea inspects a newly completed channel to drain off stagnant water from a jungle pool near a U. S. Army base

not yet unmasked, had administered to man the greatest engineering defeat ever known. The French losses in eight years were over 200 million dollars and 50,000 lives.

When the United States undertook to build this canal, Gorgas was put in charge of the Sanitary Department of the Canal Zone by the Surgeon General of the Army. He was aided by an exceedingly capable Chief Sanitary Inspector, Joseph A. Le Prince, by the brilliant laboratory studies of Samuel Taylor Darling, and by the outstanding assistance of Henry Rose Carter, of the U. S. Public Health Service.

The Anopheles carrier in Panama bred in ponds, marshes, swamps, and standing water. The problem of controlling this widespread rural insect was much greater than that of controlling Anopheles breeding in Havana. The malaria rate in the Canal Zone in July, 1906, was equivlent to 1,263 hospital admissions per year per 1,000 of population. But Gorgas, with his unusually efficient sanitary organization and inspectors, reduced the numbers of canal workers admitted to hospitals for malaria from a yearly rate of 821 per 1,000 in 1906 to 76 per 1,000 in 1913. This work by Gorgas, with his concomitant success against yellow fever and dysentery, was a superb accomplishment, described by Sir Malcolm Watson as "the greatest sanitary achievement the world has seen."

If it be assumed that without Gorgas and his sanitary victories the occurrence of disease among our employees would have paralleled that among the French employees, who were without such help, then it can be stated that Gorgas saved the United States some 39½ million mandays of illness between 1904 and 1914, and not only so but he prevented some 71,000 deaths in the ten years of canal construction. Gorgas himself estimated that the sanitary work on the isthmus during the ten years of construction saved the United States some 80 million dollars, if indeed the canal could have been built at all in the presence of such intense malaria and yellow fever as that experienced by the French.

It is easy to forget and time rapidly dims even the brightest records. Hence, it does not seem amiss to recall once more the tremendous world-wide impression made by the sanitary victories in Havana and Panama. For instance, when Gorgas visited London in 1914 he received, according to Osler, the greatest ovation ever given a medical man in England. Oxford University held a special convocation to confer upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Science. At home, the President made him Surgeon General of the Army, and the Congress about a year later made him a Major General, at that time an almost unprecendented rank for a medical officer. He served his country with distinction in this high office during the World War. After retiring from the army in 1918, at the age limit, he went to South America as director of a yellow fever commission, under the auspices of The Rockefeller Foundation.

In 1920, in London, Gorgas became ill and was taken to the Queen Alexandra Military

Hospital. There he was knighted by George V, receiving from the King's hand the insignia of Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George. A few days after receiving this knighthood, Gorgas died and was given the funeral of a British Major General in St. Paul's Cathedral, the highest honour that Britain could bestow. Later, his body lay in state for four days in Washington, and at the Church of the Epiphany an illustrious assembly gathered to pay last respects to this man whom the Lancet called "the best known and most uniformly successful medical administrator not of his age alone but of any age."

In this second quarter of the twentieth century malariology has shared in the general advance of science.

### THE CONTROL OF MALARIA

#### The Synthetic Anti-malarials

Paul Ehrlich found, in 1891, that methylene blue will stain malaria parasites and he hoped that it would therefore act therapeutically by damaging the parasites in human blood. When its chemotherapeutic action was found to be slight, investigators modified its chemical structure, hoping to enhance the plasmocidal effect. This line of study finally led by devious paths to the synthesis of plasmochin, in 1924, by Schulemann and his colleagues in Germany, and of atabrine in 1930 by Kikuth, Mietzsch and Mauss in the same place. Neither of these drugs is synthetic quinine. Plasmochin is a quinoline derivative. Atabrine is a yellow dye derived from acridine. Plasmochin was found to be unique in its effectiveness against gametocytes, especially those of P. Falciparum, and in its relative ineffectiveness against the schizonts of this same species. Atabrine was found to resemble quinine in its action against all species of schizonts and in its weakness in affecting any of the gametocytes. Quinine, plasmochin, and atabrine are alike in their inability in a percentage of cases to cure without the occurrence of relapses, and in their failure, in safe doses, to prevent infection by sporozoites. None of the three has been found to be a true causal prophylactic, although each in small doses tends to suppress clinical symptoms. All three may exhibit toxic effects, quinine least and plasmochin most often.

Atabrine is by no means a perfect substitute for quinine but it is, nevertheless, a fairly effective anti-malarial, now (fortunately) being manufactured on a large scale in the United States, England, and Russia. The Germans also are using extensively tablets of their own manufacture.

There is still no drug which is sufficiently effective to justify the use of chemoprophylaxis to eradicate malaria from communities. However, in spite of the fact that neither plasmochin nor atabrine has proved to be that potent chemical wand so earnestly desired, yet these drugs do represent a notable forward step in malaria therapy.

#### Pyrethrum Spray-Killing

There is a chrysanthemum indigenous to Dalmatia, growing in the fields like a small yellow daisy. The full blown flower of this plant contains active principles, called pyrethrins,



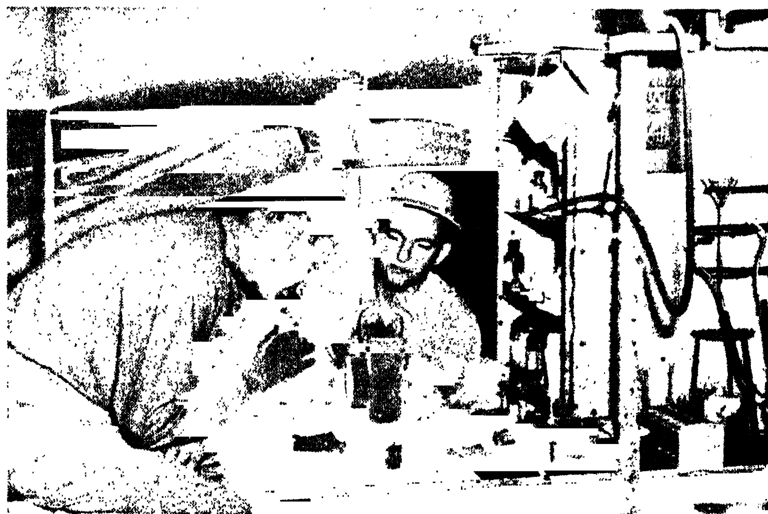
Stagnant water from a mosquito-breeding swamp in New Guinea is drained off through a canal dug by U. S. Army Engineers

which are deadly to insects. This latter fact has been known for many years in agriculture and public health and the dried pyrethrum flowers have become an important item of trade, so that large pyrethrum plantations have been developed in Japan, Kenya, and lately, in India.

Pyrethrins are contact poisons to which the cuticle of a mosquito is permeable. The toxic effect is seen chiefly in a destructive action on the central nervous system. Kerosene extracts of pyrethrum have long been in household use against mosquitoes but only recently has it become apparent that pyrethrum spray-killing

in many rural tropical areas is the best weapon available for malaria control, in fact it is the only one which is financially feasible in much of the rural tropics. Standard use of larvicides or of drainage and filling, or of screening has been far beyond the pocketbooks of these areas.

If the adult malaria-carrying mosquitoes of a community can be destroyed before they have lived long enough to become infective then malaria transmission in that community ceases. In villages where the malaria vector mosquito species tends to remain inside huts, cowsheds or out-buildings accessible to spray-killing, it is possible by spraying thoroughly once a week with pyrethrum to break the chain of infection and thus to control malaria, at a cost which is considerably less than the cost of malaria and is not beyond the economic potentialities of the tropics.



A U. S. Navy medical officer studies with a microscope blood specimens of a malaria patient in a tent laboratory on Guadalcanal Island in the Solomons

This is notable progress which may be further enhanced by newer methods of dispensing the spray. In 1935 it seemed true to state about the tropics that

"So far as average rural areas are concerned, the problem of control is still unsolved . . . it appears that we have no economically feasible control measures."

In 1942, experiments in rural South India proved that the malaria chain can be broken, in typical small villages, at per capita costs around $0·08 per year.

### Species Eradication

In 1930, Shannon, an entomologist on the staff of The Rockefeller Foundation, reported that he had found Anopheles gambiae in Brazil. This was of great interest because gambiae is a notorious African species. Apparently a fast French destroyer had taken this deadly mosquito from Dakar to Natal, and the stowaway had succeeded in colonizing in the New World.

By 1931 the species had spread 115 miles up the coast stimulating local anti-malaria campaigns along conventional lines. These had some success and lulled the Health Department into a sense of complacency which was completely shattered in 1938 when gambiae caused what was probably the greatest epidemic of malaria ever seen in the Americas. During the first six months there were over 100,000 cases with at least 14,000 deaths. It became apparent that the African invaders had colonized for more than 200 miles north and west of Natal. This African species threatened to invade all of northern Brazil from which it might push on into Central America, with devastating results.

Displaying great courage, the Brazilian Government decided to attempt not merely the usual anti-malaria measures but an actual eradication of every gambiae mosquito in the country. This complete extirpation of a species of mosquito had never been accomplished in any land at any time. A poll of experienced malariologists would doubtless have judged it an impossibility, for gamgiae has the habit of breeding in all types of water collections, large and small.

By presidential decree, in 1939, the Malaria Service of North-east Brazil was created. It was organized as an anti-gambiae rather than anti-malaria service. Under the guidance of Soper and Wilson, of the staff of The Rockefeller Foundation, this Brazilian organization, much of which had had years of training in anti-Aedes work, grew to be 4,000 strong, and was allotted total budgets of more than two million dollars. The whole infested area, and a little beyond, was divided into squares of workable size; an adequate control gang was assigned to each square; and there was simultaneous and meticulous application of Paris green to breeding places and of pyrethrum spray-killing to adult resting places. The result of this determined, systematic

and overwhelming attack was what now seems almost certainly to have been the complete eradication of gambiae from north-east Brazil and thus from the New World. The last evidence of gambiae in this area was found on November 14, 1940. Since January, 1941, all anti-gambiae measures have been suspended; a large staff of trained men have been constantly combing the area and contiguous zones for gambiae, and there has been a standing cash reward for finding it. Not a single living gambiae larva or adult could be found in 1941 or 1942. (But some dead adults were found in an airplane from Africa in 1942, illustrating clearly the need for complete enforcement of the pyrethrum spray-killing regulation for all airplanes arriving in Brazil from Africa).

This is a very great achievement, a sanitary triumph, which marks the start of a new era in the fight against malaria. Great though the cost of the Brazilian campaign, it was very much less than the toll which gambiae would have exacted in the long run had it been only curbed by usual antimalaria measures rather than extirpated by a new and bold technique. This success suggests similar possibilities in other parts of the world. It is no longer certain that the malaria-carrying mosquitoes of a country could never be exterminated.

With large numbers of men well-trained in mosquito and malaria control work returning from overseas after the war, with the need for progressive post-war public health planning, with a genius for organization, and with money, it is certainly within reason to believe that malaria, if not the last mosquito vector, could be eradicated from the United States.

## The Future

There are certain trends in malaria research which may be taken as some indication of what the future may bring.

### Anti-malarials

For instance, there is a tremendous amount of chemical, pharmacological, and clinical research going forward at the present time in a determined and intensive search for an anti-malarial chemotherapeutic agent which will not have the deficiencies of quinine, plasmochin. and atabrine. The need is apparent when it is recalled that not one of this trio will cure with certainty, not one is a true prophylactic drug, and not one is of much value in the control of community malaria. Clark and his colleagues as an experiment, tried for ten years to control malaria in some Panamanian communities by means of these drugs. They concluded that it was impossible by mass treatments to reduce the parasites to a point where malaria transmission in a community was much lessened.

It seems reasonable to hope that a more effective anti-malarial will be developed in the not too distant future.

### Immunity

As the science of immunology develops it is probable that the immunity factor in malaria will assume more importance. Whether vaccines and serums will ever have a practical place in combating malaria is a matter for speculation, with some evidence that some day a way may be found to make them useful.

### Removal of Social Obstacles

Probably the greatest advance in the future will be the removing of some of the social obstacles which block rapid progress in malaria control. Surely, it is amazing that, with all of our laboratory and field knowledge of malaria and its anopheline carriers, with all of our potent weapons of oil and Paris green, screens and pyrethrum, drainage and water-manipulation, with brilliant examples of successful projetcs, with our repeated demonstrations that it is cheaper to control malaria than to pay the economic toll it exacts from its victims—with all this, malaria control in the middle period of the twentieth century is still such a feeble effort. Is this due to insufficient knowledge, inefficient tools, paucity of funds ? Or is our social organization unable to apply effectively the money, potential labor, existing weapons of control, and wealth of experience and research findings ?

The answer to the question "Why malaria ?" seems to involve certain social obstacles to malaria control. Over widespread areas, particularly in the tropics, these appear to consist of such social facts as (1) a fundamental absence of educated and effective public opinion as regards the economic importance of malaria, the methods available for its control, and the community's responsibilities for its prevention; (2) a surprisingly limited use of sound administrative principles in public health, so that co-ordination and co-operation between departments does not exist, and continuity of effort in dealing with malaria is rare; (3) a lack of sufficient numbers of personnel specially trained in the entomological, agricultural, engineering, and public health phases of malariology; (4) a lack of cognizance by public officials as to the cost of malaria and the public benefit to be derived from its control; (5) a widespread inept-

ness in applying effectively and practically the results of research in malariology.

What Bernal wrote about science in general may be said of malaria control : " The obstacles to the solution of the problem are not any longer mainly physical or biological obstacles; they are social obstacles." It seems incredible that malaria still can be so great a scourge, for it is a preventable disease regarding which we possess as complete knowledge as for any human malady. The literature on malaria stretches back 2,000 years, grows actively, and has become enormous. There have been devised potent weapons for treatment and control. But malaria persists, of all diseases today probably the most effective barrier to prosperity, contentment, and health. What a paradox ! Man, with his incredible machines and his streamlined science, stricken each year in millions because he fails to outwit a mosquito carrying Death in its spittle.

*By courtesy* : USOWI

(*Concluded*)

## KASTURBA GANDHI

BY MRS. HEMLATA TAGORE

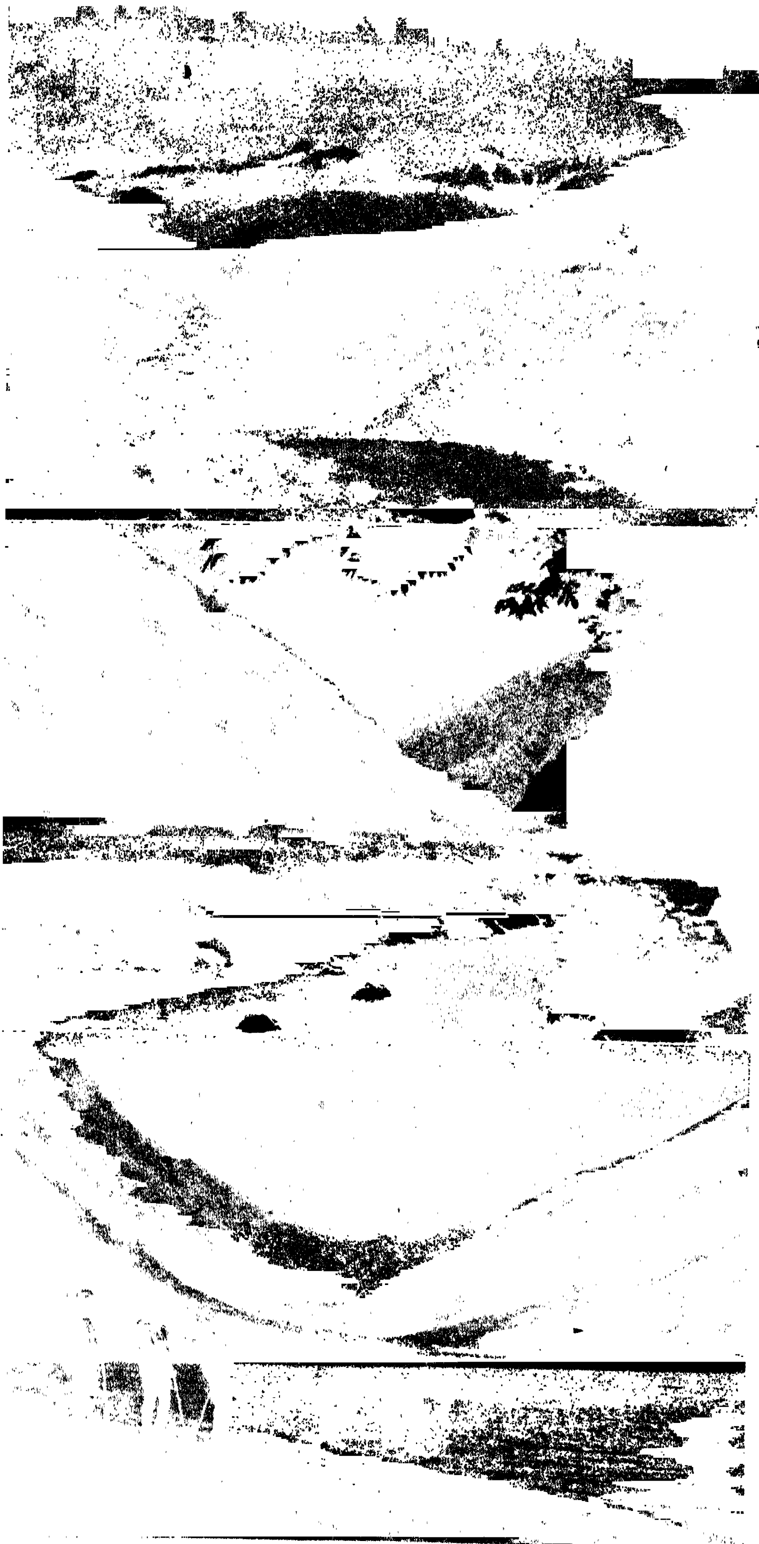
WE have heard, in our childhood, little girls chanting in course of the performance of certain Vratas, " May we be as chaste as Sita, and may we get a husband as good as Rama."

The little girls knew that in desiring a husband as good and great as Rama, they had to be prepared to accept the trials and tribulations which fell to the lot of a wife, who accompanied her husband to the forest. Yet they beg for this boon from their God, because they feel that in gaining a husband who was as pure in character as Rama, they get the boon above all boons.

Kasturba, a daughter of Gujrat, might or might not have chanted the above prayer, but it is evident that she got the boon in full, in her life. It seems to us as if the young Mohandas Karamchand had also chanted, " I shall be a husband as good as Rama, may I get a wife as chaste as Sita." And the young wife Kasturba answered, " I shall be a wife as chaste as Sita, may I get a husband as good as Rama." This seems to have been their mutual prayer, else how do we explain such a fortunate union ? People think that Rama and Sita are only characters out of an epic, a figment of the poet's brain, real persons of flesh and blood could never have been like this. But now people may have realised that such conjugal love is possible in mortal beings, they can feel they have seen Rama and Sita in the flesh, with their own eyes.

The giddy modern youth may think, " Such constancy in love can never be true. It is unnatural, it is a matter of coercion and habit, it is no longer fit for humanty in this age." Let them look at Mohandas and Kasturba now. This is not a tale of the hoary past, but of the present, it is like a domestic event. It is not an imaginary story, it is pure undiluted truth. This love helps in ones life's work, enables one to surmount sorrow and difficulty and empowers one to attain the highest ideal of humanity. There is no human life without sorrow and trial. He alone is worthy of praise who can rise above them, strong with the strength of love. Let the immaculate character of Kasturba be the ideal of India and may India pass through all her trials aided by her penance of love. Let the ideal of Ramchandra reign supreme in the heart of every Indian man. Praise be to Kasturba, the Sati of India, we bow down to thee.





*Top* : Near Kaghan (3rd stage). *Middle* : Near Besal (7th stage). *Bottom* : Safr-ul-Maluk-sar (the lake)



Lake Lulusar



The angler's paradise (near Batakundi)



Near Batakundi (5th stage)

# THE KAGHAN VALLEY

By PRAN NATH MEHRA

LIKE a wedge between Kashmir on the east and independent Tribal territories of the Frontier on the west is the beautiful valley of the Kaghan. Ninety-two miles in length and about 15 miles in width it is abundantly rich in its variety of natural vegetation, flowers and lakes that feed perennial streams. It is not only the angler who can beguile a few pleasant hours over his line and rod in the Kaghan river, but the botanist, the landscape painter and the hiker can each reap benefit from a visit to the place. Compared to the popular summer resorts of the Himalayas and the south, however, this far-flung valley of the North-Western Frontier is little known except to keen tourists or those who live in closer proximity to it. It lacks, therefore, the fulsome social activities of Pahlgam, Simla, Mussoorie, etc., and needs adequate development of communications and easier means of transport before a large number of people could afford to enjoy its charms. The Government has, however, provided Dak-bungalows at each of the eight stages by which the entire valley can be traversed in about eight days.

### THE KUNHAR

The Kunhar or Kaghan river runs along the entire length of the valley, flanked on either side by lofty hills. Its source is in the Lulusar lake near Gididas, the last stage of the valley, and it eventually falls into the Jhelum. More than the road it is the river that guides you from eleven miles this side of Balakot, the mouth of the valley, all the way up to its origin. All the time you enjoy its music amongst the stones, sometimes faint deep below and sometimes, just at your foot-level. Its flow is very placid and calm between the miles 48 and 53, and the waters there abound in trout fish. As it comes down its volume increases and a good many brooks find their way into it. It is used as the only means of export for the wood of the jungle, and it is a pretty sight to see the logs floating down striking the stones here and there and sometimes getting stuck in.

### THE LAKES

Lakes are the beauty of the upper part of the valley. Chief of them are Safr-i-Maluk-sar Lulusar and Dudibach-sar (sar means lake). Safr-i-Maluk, situated six miles to the south-east of Naran at an altitude of 10,718 feet, is the most spectacular and enchanting of all these. Its length is half a mile and width five hundred yards and it is the source of the Naran Katha. After six miles' tedious climb when you first sight the beautiful trough of green water lying in impressive solitude amidst the snow-clad hills you feel more than repaid for the effort. Every passing moment seems to invest it with enhanced charms. If it be late in the season the flowers at the foot of the hill, with all their variegated colours, are not visible, but the tryst they keep in the waters of the lake is like the unmixed tints that a school boy puts on his sketch-book for the first time. As you go round the lake, for a moment you forget that you are seeing the same place from different angles, for so varied is the landscape.



Mahandri (2nd stage), showing the Rest House

Lulusar, the biggest of the lakes, is one and a half miles long and is 300 yards in breadth. It is in the shape of a crescent and is the source of the Kunhar river, as already stated. There are beautiful grazing lands all around bedecked with flowers of all kinds and tints. Its altitude is 11,167 feet.

The Dudibachsar is situated at the head of

the Purbiala Katha about 12 miles from Besal, the seventh stage of the valley. It is circular in form and its altitude is about 12,000 feet.

THE MOUNTAINS

The mountains rise in impressive magnificence on either side of the Kunhar river. Mali ka Parbat (17,360 feet), the loftiest of all, stands to the east of Safr-i-Maluk lake. South of this lake is the Raganpajji (16,528 feet). At the head of Ghanul Katha (stream) farther south, is the rounded summit of Makra (12,752 feet). Opposite Makra is the famous Musa ka Musalla (13,378 feet). Facing Mali ka Parbat is the Manur peak (15,129 feet), and is so picturesque that any painter would like to spend a couple of hours in portraying its charms.



Balakot, the mouth of the valley, showing the Kunhar river and the suspension bridge over it

CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

The climate of the valley is intensely cold. Beyond Kaghan, the valley is almost inaccessible from November to the best part of April, as the road is blocked with snow. The best time to visit is from the beginning of June to the beginning of October. During these months the climate is such as leaves nothing to be desired. Nights are rather chilly beyond Kaghan and one may welcome a fire if it is raining. The higher you go the colder it grows. The rains usually start from the middle of June and continue for a couple of months. Beyond Batakundi as the forest begins to disappear you seldom get a downpour, the hills being too barren to attract moisture. The rains do not damp the atmosphere, and this is the peculiarity of the valley, and one enjoys the rather bitter breeze that generally comes in the wake of a shower.

INHABITANTS AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

The inhabitants are mostly Gujars. There are a few Swathis and Sayeds, the latter, rather well-to-do, form the so-called aristocracy of the valley. The Gujars are mostly shepherds and cultivators. During winter they stay in the lower part of the valley and dwell in low narrow half-subterranean houses. They feed their cattle on the grass they manage to save during summer. By the middle of May, for them it is too hot to stay down and they go up. This is



The Kunhar river

with a two-fold motive: one, to escape the heat, and the other to conserve the grass for use during winter. They also till their fields and cultivate their maize, ere they go up. Like



The valley between Kaghan and Naran—the most picturesque part of the valley

nomads they go away bag and baggage. For two months till the middle of July they simply block the road with cattle, children, wives and all. They look rugged and worn out, but they are very hardy, not caring a straw for the scorching stones or the chilly showers. They are very meagrely clad and provided.

As you move up you get fairer people, especially their males. Women are not so pretty as those of Kashmir. The Swathis are mostly traders. The Sayeds have a pleasant time. They are Jagirdars in Kaghan and Paras, and have rather beautiful houses to live in. They levy a tax on the Gujars who move up, which they collect at the Kaghan post. Their income is estimated to be nearly ten thousand per annum. In addition to that they have the privilege of choosing anything they like from the stock-in-trade of the Gujars, who consider it a religious merit to offer it to them.

PRODUCE OF THE VALLEY

The valley is not rich in production. For the first stage and a half rice is the chief crop, then maize and this is in sufficient quantity. Butter and milk are enough and cheap. Good indigenous patti-cloth and blankets are made which are sold in Balakot and Manschra markets. Sheep and goats are numerous and cheap. No vegetables except potatoes are grown. The land is soft and rich, but the people are too ignorant and lazy to turn it to use. Moreover, there is no market to sell in and the means of transport are not sufficiently developed. There is also the jungle wood that is exported in huge quantity every year bound for the Jhelum market.

ITINERARY OF THE VALLEY

Before leaving Balakot, one should equip himself with all possible provisions. There is a rest-house at every stage which is furnished but it provides little of useful crockery and utensils. Permission for the use of these bungalows may be sought from the Executive Engineer, Abbottabad, and the anglers would be well advised to get the necessary license from the Conservative of Forests, Abbottabad. The road is quite motorable upto Balakot (40 miles from Abbottabad). From there commences the real valley and the road is just a mule track. Either one must ride or walk, the latter the safer and more pleasant.

The road between Mansehra and Balakot (16 miles) is very beautiful. Fine chir



Flowers of the valley, 2 to 3 feet in length

forests are on both sides, chirs in hundreds and thousands emitting their sweet faint smell.

The valley is conveniently divided in the following eight stages:

Ist Stage:—To Kawai (12½ miles from Balakot.)

At Balakot one crosses the road by the suspension bridge stretching across the Kunhar. One is cut off from the every-day bustling world. Across this bridge is the shrine of Pir Bala, known for its supernatural cure of leprosy. Hence a colony of lepers is there. This stage is rather hot and less attractive except for its beautiful fields of rice. Near the 9th mile is a pleasant water-fall near Gudi. Musa ka Musalla in the west yields a good view. Another feature of this march is the greenish sort of light. Everything, the hills, the passers-by and their clothes, the water, indeed all seems to have been dipped in a diluted green liquid.

Kawai Bungalow is situated at a pleasant place at the height of about four thousand feet. Its most striking feature is the blood-red tulips round its skirts and one mistakes them for the policemen's turbans from a distance.

2nd Stage :—To Mahandri (12¾ miles from Kawai.)



The Gujars

Now begin the attractive parts of the valley. The road climbs at a dizzy height and then like a tide comes down to the village of Paras. Another couple of miles takes you to the deodar forests.

Here the logs flowing down the river are a sight. The rice cultivation ceases and fine fields of maize undulating in the breeze are very attractive. The gorge narrows and the road winds along one of the prettiest reaches of the river and the view of the Raggan Pajji under snows charms the eyes. Then comes the village of Jared, a fine camping place, with some beautiful islands, covered with trees, in the river seen so pleasant down from the road. Then a short descent takes you to the place where the trout breeding is being carried on and then you reach the Mahandri Bungalow. It is situated at one of the prettiest spots of the valley. The river is flowing just by and huge stones intercepting its flow make the water shoot up in jets like the fountains. Northward to the Bungalow stand peaks of Siral of Chumbra (13,529 feet) in all their majesty and glory.

3rd Stage :—To Kaghan (11 miles from Mahandri).

The scenery is more or less like the last stage except that the flowers are more numerous than heretofore. The collection of huts that forms, the village Kaghan are high up under the Siral peak. The Bungalow and the Police Post are down below by the river bank. Here is a school and a Post Office. Here the Sayeds collect their tax from the grazers that go up. Sayeds have comparatively nice houses to live in and are quite well-to-do. The altitude is 6,776 feet.

4th Stage :—To Naran (14½ miles from Kaghan).

The senery at once becomes attractive and the road passes through a succession of fine gorges and here and there are bits of cultivation. The hills on the opposite bank of the Kunhar are well-wooded and at intervals beautiful water-falls attract the eyes. If it be early in the season one simply walks on snow-slides which are every moment melting in drops adding to the river. If one go onward the panorama broadens and the maize and barley fields come into view. The river too broadens and its flows become calm and trout is numerous. The soil is moist, flowers numerous and grass rich. Naran lies almost in the midst of a verdant grassy plain at an altitude of 8,096 feet. The sight is awfully pleasant and 6 miles' climb to the east takes you to the most beautiful place in the whole valley in Safr-i-Maluk-sar.

5th Stage :—To Batakundi (10 miles from Naran).

The scenery during this march is very attractive. The green stretches take the place of forest. The trees begin to vanish gradually. The river flows in a calm, quiet, wide channel. The hills get more and more rounded and the grass and flowers grow profusely on their slopes. The Bungalow is situated at the height of 8,849 feet at the bottom of a hill and yields a picturesque sight to painters.

6th Stage :—To Burawai (8 miles from Batakundi).

The scenery during this short march gets wilder due to the lack of trees. Only some blue pines and silver firs are seen scattered here and there. The flowers are more abundant than heretofore. The Bungalow is situated at about 10,000 feet.

7th Stage :—To Besal (11 miles from Burawai).

Just on leaving Burawai one changes sides of the river bank for the first time since Balakot. The hills are barer than ever. Here and there silver firs and blue pines are scattered. After about five miles' march one comes to the Jalkhad Kotha up which there is a route into Kashmir valley. Now the first ceases altogether. The hill slopes are gentler and more grassy and flowers of all colours are bedecked on their declivities. The valley has opened now. The Bungalow is situated at an altitude of 10,700 feet on the junction of the stream and the river.

8th Stage :—To Gididas (8 miles from Besal).

It is the last stage in the valley. The road climbs high up for a couple of miles to Lulusar lake. Here the road crosses it at its mouth and winds along it for a mile. On the western side is the way up to Kohistan. Now one enters the glen. Wide wide stretches of verdant grass studded with all sorts and hues of flowers charm the eyes so much. It is a paradise for a botanist. Then we reach the Rest House at the height of 11,860 feet. Here terminates the valley and so must our description too.

# TAGORE IN FOREIGN LANDS
## Some Personal Impressions

By J. N. SINHA

Alessandro de Philippis knew very little English. Avegail, his wife, knew a little more. So although I was duly armed with my Italian-English conversation book I was hoping to get on better than with the ordinary English-knowing Italian who leaves you abruptly in the blind alley with his "me no speak English." But I was not prepared to find on Mrs. de Philippis' book-shelf Tagore's *Gitanjali* translated into English and *Home and the World* in Italian. It was a delightful Spring evening. In a quiet villa on *via* Pascoli in that beautiful garden town of Florence we were sipping after-dinner coffee. A neat array of books stood by the wall to my left. The young couple were graduates of Palestine. Alessandro was a forestry expert and Avegail a research worker in Botany. My eyes cursorily went about the books. Perhaps unconsciously I searched for an English book or two in that collection of science dressed out in an unknown language. But who could be so bold as to search for Tagore's works therein ? And yet Mrs. de Philippis jumped towards the direction of my eyes, pulled out three books of Tagore and placing them on tea-poy sat in front of me as the anxious pupil does at the teacher's feet. She plied me with questions regarding Tagore's life and philosophy. She looked at me with the eyes of a devotee seeking for message from a traveller of the Master's land. I explained to her the literal meaning of *Gitanjali* at which she was overjoyed. I recommended to her Tagore's *Broken Ties and Other Stories*, and promised to send her a copy in English.

Promise I did out of exuberance but doubts descended upon me immediately regarding the book's availability. I did not expect I would get it in England, so decided to order a copy for her from India. On returning to Oxford, however, I walked into a book-shop and shyly and diffidently, like the villageman asking for cow-bell in ladies' beauty shop, I said almost in whisper, "Have you by any chance Tagore's *Broken Ties ?*" "Yes, Sir," answered the girl promptly and stepping aside picked up and handed the book to me, as if it were one of the books she had been selling most commonly. I was most agreeably surprised. I am sure very few comparable shops in India will produce the book so confidently and quickly.

I recollect too that evening in Paris. Place de la Concorde had an irresistible fascination. To me it looked more philosophic than gay—those myriads of scintillating little electric bulbs, soft pathways, cosy benches, delicate blend of light and shade, and that whispering quietness. Feminine fashion figures flitted out, in and out. Those dreamy eyes, those desperately rouged cheeks, the flaming lips, those looks of longing. They reminded me of Tagore's inimitable description of woman :—"When God made man He was a schoolmaster, with His bag full of commandments and precepts; but when He came to woman He had resigned His headmastership

and turned artist, with only a paint box and brush." Suddenly, as if to belie the description, came the dramatic question in soft feminine voice, "How is Tagore?"* By me sat a lady in seductive dance dress and her husband. The lady had looked at me furtively for some time and then apologetically asked if I was an Indian. "Oh, then you must be knowing Tagore," she said, "how much I and my husband both read Tagore's poetry." They were residents of Budapest and did business in Paris. The husband named several works of Tagore translated into the Hungarian language.

In a restaurant at Nice (South France) a Dutch gentleman talked of Tagore in admiring terms.

In the United States of America and in Canada the commonest enquiries related to Gandhi and Tagore. It was no surprise to me when questions about the great saint and the great poet were asked in intellectual societies but when the man in the street, whose opposite number in India does not know much of Tagore if at all, asked these questions I could but stand and gape. At Statesville (North Carolina) Mrs. Bartel, wife of the Forest Officer, discussed Mahatma Gandhi, Buddhism, *Gita,* and Rabindranath Tagore till 10-30 P.M. On board S.S. *Duchess of Bedford* Mr. Burly Edwards and his sister Miss Dorothy Edwards kept me awake the whole night in the smoke-room discussing India, Tagore and Gandhi. The brother ended with the statement :—"Materially we Americans are very civilised, but in point of moral and intellectual civilisation we are yet barbarians when compared to you."

Nor can I forget those helpless eyes of the Estonian student who for lack of knowledge of the English language could merely utter "Gandhi, Tagore" and look in my face. I met him at Tallin (capital of Estonia) one evening by the Gulf of Finland. As soon as he knew that I was an Indian he indicated in bits of English and German and by signs that he was reading Tagore's works.

In Japan in late 1937 Tagore was the talk of town and countryside. But the people were dissatisfied with him because he had not supported Japan in her aggression on China.

I was in Riga. It was a warm July day. Wandering ceaselessly with camera and survey eyes I felt thirsty. I entered a chocolate-and-drink shop at the fashionable crossing of Kalku Iela and Brivi Bas Boulevard. Of the two young sales girls one was Russian and the other, Dory Ozol, Lettish. They had no beer but lots of smiles to make ordinary lemonade drinkable. They felt respectfully interested in me but knew no English and I but a few pass words of German which they could speak well. The cashier next came in, a comparatively elderly lady. She knew English tolerably well. The girls were delighted to have an interpreter. Dory Ozol asked if I was Indian, and then if I knew Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore. She said she had been reading his poems translated into the Lettish language. She said I was the first Indian she had cast her eyes upon. She entreated me to speak a few Indian words for the pleasure of hearing them.

That question of the chocolate-and-drink shop girl—whether I knew Tagore—surprised me most deeply and pleasantly. It set me thinking whose Tagore was Rabindranath Tagore, of this Lettish girl or mine as Indian. The sound and feel of her question clearly indicated that Tagore was primarily hers, of Latvia, although I was Indian and Tagore was Indian. Narrowminded people say Tagore is the poet of Bengal. Some say he is the poet of India. Some again conventionally concede that he is the poet of the world but do not feel the significance of the words. To such persons the answer is Dory Ozol's question. She believes that Tagore belongs to her, to Latvia, and that Indians as others may just know him too. In a way she is not wrong as let apart a roadside shop girl, people in higher positions in India outside Bengal do not care to read Tagore. One is amazed to find how popular Tagore is throughout the world, how dearly he is owned and treasured in Italy, Latvia, France and all over. Some again contend that the Bengali language has won the Nobel Prize. This is an entirely mistaken notion. What really has won the Nobel Prize is Tagore's almost superhuman genius, his soaring imagination, his most tender delicate sentiments, the artistry of his mind, the artist in him that gave the ether a shape. Language is just a medium of expression, a vehicle of transport. But there must be thoughts first to be expressed, goods first to be transported. Tagore might have written in any language and still won the Nobel Prize. After all, the very judges of Tagore's works were ignorant of the Bengali language. But they were not ignorant of the soul inside that unknown language. They bowed to that soul, to the genius in Tagore. True it is that Bengali is a rich language and its richness did perhaps help Tagore. But Tagore also enriched the Bengali language. He left it vastly more rich than he had found it. Not

* The incident is of 1937.

all the richness of a language can produce first-rate poetry out of a second-rate poet.. Tagore's creative genius could make a language out of nothing, he could make the dumb stones speak. The message of his soul, brimful with love for God and for man, would never be stopped for language imperfections. The music in his heart would never remain unborn for want of a flute. Who makes channels for those mountain streams careering through the mighty Himalayan gorges ? Who provides Nature with instrument to produce her music of sylvan silence ? The language of the heart is the same all the world over. Tagore voices the sentiment of humanity —from the depths of Africa to the Fifth Avenue of New York—expresses man's hopes and despair, and like the sage minstrel who divines our thoughts Tagore sings out in the sweetest melody what our heart feels but cannot express. Tagore enters into every human heart and lights up the dark spots, purges out the base in us through his divine music, comforts us with his philosophy when we are sick, and gives us hope by singing of the Mercy of God when we despair in life. Let no man be so cruel as to tell another—Tagore is mine, not yours.

# THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The situation on the Indo-Burma Frontier is rather complex, so far as one can judge from the scanty reports coming from that area. There has been hardly any news at all from the Arakans lately and only minor clashes have been reported in the dailies, though predictions have been made about major engagements in the near future. The method of reporting is rather strange in certain cases, such as where stress has been laid on the difficulties about supplies for the *Japanese* and about the predicament in which the *Japanese* would find themselves in unless they manage to occupy Imphal or Kohima, as the case might be, before the coming of the monsoons. The monsoons would complicate matters for all concerned, beyond all doubt, whether it be supplies and reinforcements for the invader or aerial strafing and mechanized assault on the part of the defender's relief columns. Even though the present situation may call for extreme reticence regarding news, one wishes that the news given were slightly more lucid, especially about the progress of the counter-action, which must by now have gathered force. It is apparent now that the Japanese must have managed to reinforce the original raiding columns to some considerable strength enabling them to persist in attack in spite of their obvious disadvantages in the matter of communications and their marked inferiority in the air.

It is now over six weeks since the first surprise thrusts were delivered on the British positions on the Indo-Burmese Front. After a period of fairly rapid advance, the Japanese columns gradually slackened their pace, and the infiltration tactics changed to positional warfare on a very minor scale. Now their attempt is at capturing the main positions that guard all the roads and tracks in the Manipur and Naga Hills areas. If they succeed in this attempt then they would be able to place very considerable difficulties in the way of the counter-offensive during the monsoons. It is taken for granted in certain quarters that the monsoons would call a halt to all operations on this front. Under the present circumstances that would be impossible as the situation is too fluid to allow either side to remain in tranquillity. Both sides have by now interlocked their forces into a jig-saw puzzle pattern and any slackening in effort by either party would mean sacrificing some part of his fighting forces. It is a battle of supplies and of jockeying for advantageous positions now. The monsoons are only a little way off and whoever is better placed when it does arrive, would place the other under extreme difficulties. The initial network of infiltrating parties thrown by the Japanese over the difficult terrain has to be broken and cut to pieces by the counter-attacking columns and the main anchorage positions destroyed. It is difficult work when the tenacity of the enemy is considered and the time in hand is also short.

The Japanese are staging another minor war in China. The latest reports indicate that they have not yet been halted though the fighting has been going on for some time now. Although the main objective has not yet been reached in this quarter either, the Japanese have nevertheless attained some measure of success. In the

Pacific Zone and in New Guinea, General MacArthur's forces are continuing with their slow, costly and arduous struggle in the face of " suicide defense " tactics of the enemy. There is no indication in any part of this wide war-zone, of the Japanese giving up. There is no sign from Tokyo either that their war-effort is going down. Indeed from all portents it is obvious that the war in the East is slowly mounting into a major struggle with the progressive development of Japan's war-potential. Japan has still a long way to go before her war-effort becomes comparable to that of the western powers, but there is no lagging on the way, and there is no idea of giving up either. And therefore the production peak may be reached by her ahead of the dates fixed by western experts. The Manipur and Naga Hills thrust has not developed into an invasion campaign but it has certainly gone beyond the scope of a mere nuisance raid. This latest move on the part of the enemy is a clear indication of his daring and his resourcefulness.

In Europe the Second Front has not materialized at the time of writing. The air-assault on Germany and Occupied Europe has reached a crescendo now and an all-out aerial war is in progress. According to some this clearly indicates the imminence of Allied invasion of Western Europe, while others see in it the last attempt at the knocking-out of Germany by aerial bombardment alone. Although the scale of the recent raids surpasses anything that has been attempted before and the tempo has been stepped up as well, this air-assault has now been in action for nearly two years. If the Allied estimates of damage to enemy war-effort be accurate, then the cumulative effect of this prolonged aerial campaign must be stupendous. But there does not seem to be any indication that German civilian morale has cracked under the strain. In any case, whether this latest intensification of aerial bombardment be the actual softening up process that precedes invasion or it be the climax of the aerial knock-out plan, it means that the actual final decisions regarding the Second Front are imminent. The Western Allies cannot defer the final test much longer as the spring is nearly over and the long hours of summer day-light may not be favourable for large-scale landing operations.

In Russia the battle is flickering up and down. There was a temporary lull and the resumption has not as yet attained the proportions of the campaign in Ukraine in the early days of the Spring. It has been suggested that both sides are now feverishly regrouping for the actions of the Summer and Autumn campaigns. That may be as it is, but the pressure on the German defence line is now localized in effect. Possibly the general blaze-up in East will coincide with the landings on the West, and the Russians might be conserving these reserves for that effort. General Mannstein is attempting to improve his position in the interlude and in certain localities the Soviets' forces under General Zhukov are now on the defensive. The Russian Winter campaign has been colossal in extent, and it has in effect virtually released the Soviets' territories from the invader's grip. But there is no indication that the war is approaching its end in the East for although the Axis forces have been rolled back over vast areas, their resistance has not been broken nor has the defence-line been substantially disrupted at any place. Of course, the supreme test has yet to come, and the Axis in Europe may crack up under simultaneous impacts from the West as well as in the East. But before that time comes the Second Front must materialize on a scale commensurate with the battle-line in the East.

The Fifth year of war is now approaching its closing months. During the course of this conflict, Russia has absorbed the maximum force of the impact of the Axis war-machine, in a struggle that has gone on continuously for nearly three years. In her turn she has inflicted most severe losses on the enemy. China's struggle against the aggressor has been far more prolonged and although the conflict is no longer the blaze it was during the first four years, she is still holding up the best part of Japan's fighting forces. The Western Allies uptil now have not had to bear the burden of land-campaigns on the continental scale. On the other hand, they have had the opportunity to develop their war-effort to its peak, with only occasional calls to stem or to throw back Axis aggression. Germany has paid for the march across Europe in blood and equipment, and the assault on the Soviets has ended almost in a disaster. Allied Chiefs have openly declared that she has lost her supremacy in the air and that her submarine campaign has been defeated. The time therefore is ripe that the Western Allies seek for a decision in the West. For delay in Europe means growth of the danger in the East. Japan has already had two full years in which to exploit the vast resources of the areas overrun by her forces, without much disturbance to her plans. And she seems to be reasonably certain of getting another year in which to further develop her war-potential.



The morning parade in the court-yard in front of the Royal Naval Training College at Dartmouth



**A class of cadets at the Royal Naval Training College at Dartmouth being lectured on naval rigging. These young boys will one day be the commanders and captains of Britain's Navy**



American soldiers wade ashore to a beach in the Anzio area from American LCI (landing craft-infantry) vessels



U. S. Army amphibious trucks plunge through the surf of Anzio Harbor on their way to Allied transports and cargo ships lying off shore to ferry in another load of men and supplies

# RELATIVE EFFICIENCY OF THE HINDUS AND THE MUHAMMADANS OF BENGAL

## A Tentative Study

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

"As long as everyone is occupied in the search after truth, it matters little if all arrive at different conclusions."—JOSEPH PRIESTLY.

ENGLAND is a mildly temperate cold country; and the energy and vigour of an Englishman is popularly and generally explained as due to this climatic factor mainly. External conditions do much to determine Man's position in the scale of civilisation. This is more or less true for every country within certain limits. Where the climate makes clothing unnecessary, and abundant fruit-bearing plants supply the means of life without labour or forethought, as in some tropical islands, mankind is found in the least developed or most degraded form. On the other hand, when natural conditions are very hard, the climate severe, and the means of life only to be obtained by chance or success in hunting or fishing, the development of intelligence appears to stop short when the prime necessaries—food, clothing and shelter—are secured. The fur-clad Eskimo, feeding on blubber in his ingeniously-constructed snow house, is certainly an advance on the naked, homeless savage of the tropics, who satisfies his hunger with fruits and insects. But both are so exclusively fitted to their environment that the Eskimo pines by the shores of the Mediterranean, and the forest Pigmy sickens and dies in the sunlit grass-lands.

Intellectual development and physical energy appear to be stimulated by conditions which make life neither too easy nor too hard. Climate and scenery exercise a powerful influence on moral as well as on physical conditions. By contrasting the stolid earnestness and ceaseless exertion of the dwellers in Northern Europe with the passionate vivacity and intermittent activity of Southerners, an ingenious author once went so far as to assert that *character is a function of latitude.*

Bengal, with an area of 82,955 sq. miles, is situated between 21°30′ N and 27° N latitude. In every district, in every thana or police-station (with an average area of 125 sq. miles) the Hindus and the Muhammadans live together. They come from the same racial stock [see "Who the Bengali Muhammadans are?"—in *The Modern Review* for March 1931]. Are they equally efficient or are there any differences between them? The climate of the different parts of Bengal differs; while the Hindus are concentrated in the Western part of the province, the Muhammadans live mostly in Eastern Bengal. May we find out the average efficiency of a Hindu, and compare it with that of a Muhammadan? The problem is a complicated and difficult one. Let us make an honest beginning.

Classical experiments of Professor Leonard Hill of the Cambridge University have definitely established:—(1) that the output of energy is maximum when the temperature as well as the relative humidity (*i.e.*, the amount of water vapour in the atmosphere) is comparatively low; and (2) that the Output of Energy diminishes as the temperature rises and *more so* with the rise of Relative Humidity. The *optimum* temperature and humidity vary to a certain extent according to the type of occupation. For example, hard manual labour requires a lower temperature and humidity as compared to brain-work and light muscular work. Further both temperature and humidity are inter-related with each other with regard to efficiency in the output of work.

Let us apply these propositions to Bengal; and try to find out the relative efficiency of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal. Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterjea, lately the Director of Public Health in Bengal, has taken 75° Farhenheit as the optimum temperature and 60 per cent as the optimum relative humidity for Bengal.

As a first approximation we may, therefore, take the loss of output of Energy or of Individual Efficiency to be inversely proportional to the difference in temperature between the actual temperature and the optimum temperature; and also as inversely proportional to the difference between the actual relative humidity and the

optimum relative humidity. Put in mathematical garb,

$$\text{Loss of efficiency } (\mathbf{e}) \propto \frac{1}{(\text{actual temp.} - 75^\circ\text{F.})} \quad \ldots \text{(a)}$$

$$\mathbf{e} \propto \frac{1}{(\text{actual relative humidity} - 60)} \quad \ldots\ldots \text{(b)}$$

$$\text{or } \mathbf{e} = \frac{K_1}{(\text{temp.} - 75^\circ\text{F.})} \quad \ldots \text{(a}_1\text{) in one case, and}$$

$$\mathbf{e} = \frac{K_2}{(\text{relative humidity} - 60)} \quad \ldots \text{(b}_1\text{) in another.}$$

$$\text{or } \mathbf{e} = \frac{K_1 \ K_2}{(t^\circ - 75^\circ) \times (H - 60)} \quad \ldots\ldots (1)$$

But as the output of energy diminishes *more* with the rise of relative humidity than with the rise of temperature let us *assume* that it does so in a simple (or linear) manner. It has been suggested that we shall be nearer the truth, if we take the loss due to the rise of relative humidity to be at least *twice* that due to the rise of temperature over the optimum temperature. The equation (1) above then assumes the form

$$\mathbf{e} = \frac{K_1 \ K_2 \ (=K \text{ say})}{(t^\circ - 75^\circ) \times 2 \ (H - 60)} \quad \ldots (2)$$

The equation for the efficiency of either the Hindus or the Muhammadans would be of the following type :

$$E \text{ (efficiency)} = C - \frac{K}{(t^\circ - 75^\circ) \ (H - 60)}, \text{ where C is a}$$

constant, its value depending mainly upon race, and the food taken by it and to a lesser degree by the occupation followed by it. In our discussion below, we shall take the C to be the same for both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and to be absolutely independent of climatic variations. As the value of C is dependent upon so many different and uncertain factors, and as the relative values of C and K cannot be easily calculated, we shall deal with only the loss of efficiency suffered by both the Hindus and the Muhammadans on account of the climatic differences; and compare the two losses on the assumption that C is the same for both of them.

Let us now try to apply these equations to calculate the relative efficiency of an average Hindu and of an average Muhammadan of Bengal. The climate of Bengal differs in different areas. The main factors, which govern the output of energy, *viz.*, temperature and relative humidity are given below for the different Administrative Divisions of Bengal.

TABLE I

Divisional Averages of Maximum Temperatures (° Farhenheit)

| Month | Burdwan | Presidency | Rajshahi | Dacca | Chittagong |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jany. | 80·0 | 88·5 | 75·2 | 77·8 | 80·0 |
| Feb. | 82·9 | 81·9 | 78·4 | 80·8 | 81·8 |
| Mar. | 96·7 | 94·2 | 90·9 | 91·8 | 88·4 |
| Apr. | 101·8 | 98·1 | 96·6 | 95·6 | 92·5 |
| May | 96·7 | 93·2 | 90·2 | 89·8 | 88·5 |
| June | 91·3 | 90·1 | 89·3 | 90·2 | 86·9 |
| July | 90·0 | 89·1 | 88·6 | 88·2 | 86·5 |
| Aug. | 89·5 | 88·8 | 88·1 | 87·5 | 86·0 |
| Sept. | 90·3 | 89·7 | 88·3 | 87·0 | 87·6 |
| Oct. | 88·9 | 89·0 | 86·9 | 88·1 | 87·6 |
| Nov. | 85·2 | 84·5 | 82·4 | 83·6 | 84·6 |
| Dec. | 80·9 | 78·9 | 77·2 | 78·9 | 80·1 |
| Yearly average | 89·5 | 88·1 | 86·0 | 86·5 | 85·9 |

TABLE II

Divisional Averages of Minimum Temperatures (° Farhenheit)

| Month | Burdwan | Presidency | Rajshahi | Dacca | Chittagong |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jany. | 54·3 | 57·6 | 49·1 | 53·3 | 54·2 |
| Feb. | 59·5 | 57·2 | 54·6 | 58·0 | 59·2 |
| Mar. | 68·8 | 67·8 | 61·2 | 67·8 | 69·1 |
| Apr. | 76·6 | 75·6 | 71·2 | 74·4 | 75·5 |
| May | 77·3 | 76·1 | 74·3 | 75·3 | 75·6 |
| June | 78·2 | 78·2 | 77·6 | 78·0 | 77·4 |
| July | 78·9 | 78·8 | 78·7 | 78·8 | 77·5 |
| Aug. | 78·8 | 78·7 | 78·9 | 78·8 | 77·1 |
| Sept. | 78·3 | 78·2 | 78·0 | 78·6 | 77·0 |
| Oct. | 73·4 | 73·7 | 72·1 | 74·8 | 74·2 |
| Nov. | 62·7 | 63·0 | 61·2 | 64·7 | 65·3 |
| Dec. | 56·5 | 54·3 | 53·5 | 56·6 | 58·0 |
| Yearly average | 70·3 | 69·8 | 67·5 | 69·9 | 70·0 |

TABLE III

Divisional Averages of Temperatures at 8-0 a.m. (Local Mean Time), when Observations of Relative Humidity are made.

(° Farhenheit)

| Month | Burdwan | Presidency | Rajshahi | Dacca | Chittagong |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jany. | 60·6 | 59·7 | 55·0 | 58·4 | 60·0 |
| Feb. | 64·5 | 66·6 | 60·5 | 63·3 | 65·8 |
| Mar. | 74·9 | 77·2 | 70·6 | 74·3 | 75·9 |
| Apr. | 82·7 | 83·5 | 79·6 | 81·5 | 82·4 |
| May | 82·9 | 83·4 | 79·6 | 81·4 | 81·8 |
| June | 82·6 | 83·4 | 81·6 | 82·4 | 81·5 |
| July | 82·2 | 83·1 | 81·7 | 82·4 | 80·9 |
| Aug. | 81·8 | 82·6 | 81·9 | 82·1 | 80·4 |
| Sept. | 81·8 | 83·4 | 81·7 | 82·8 | 81·6 |
| Oct. | 77·9 | 80·9 | 77·6 | 80·1 | 79·6 |
| Nov. | 69·6 | 71·0 | 67·8 | 71·0 | 71·6 |
| Dec. | 62·6 | 61·7 | 59·3 | 62·0 | 63·6 |
| Yearly average | 73·6 | 76·2 | 73·1 | 75·1 | 76·3 |

We have given above the monthly and yearly averages of temperature, when it is maximum (generally about 2-0 P.M.), when it is minimum (generally about 4-0 A.M.), and at 8-0 A.M. when the Relative Humidity for the day is recorded. We shall now give below the absolute maximum and minimum temperatures recorded for the several areas, thus showing the extreme range of variation of temperature to which the men of the locality are subjected, as well as the range of variation of monthly averages.

TABLE IV

(° Farhenheit)

| Absolute temp. | Burdwan | Presidency | Rajshahi | Dacca | Chittagong |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maximum | 114 | 111 | 109 | 105 | 107 |
| Minimum | 45 | 38 | 40 | 41 | 42 |
| Extreme range of variation | 69 | 73 | 69 | 64 | 65 |
| Monthly average of Maximum | 101·8 | 98·1 | 96·6 | 95·6 | 92·5 |
| of Minimum | 51·3 | 54·3 | 49·1 | 53·3 | 54·2 |
| Range of variation | 47·5 | 43·8 | 47·5 | 42·3 | 38·3 |

Relative Humidity as percentages for the several Divisions are given below in Table V.

TABLE V

Relative Humidity %

| Month | Burdwan | Presidency | Rajshahi | Dacca | Chittagong |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jany. | 70 | 79 | 82 | 85 | 79 |
| Feb. | 78 | 79 | 79 | 83 | 77 |
| Mar. | 60 | 76 | 60 | 78 | 79 |
| Apr. | 64 | 75 | 65 | 76 | 77 |
| May | 79 | 82 | 81 | 82 | 81 |
| June | 85 | 86 | 87 | 86 | 86 |
| July | 89 | 88 | 89 | 88 | 88 |
| Aug. | 89 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 90 |
| Sept. | 88 | 86 | 87 | 85 | 86 |
| Oct. | 83 | 81 | 83 | 82 | 84 |
| Nov. | 75 | 79 | 81 | 82 | 81 |
| Dec. | 74 | 75 | 83 | 85 | 83 |
| Yearly average | 78 | 81 | 80 | 84 | 83 |

From the above several Tables, we derive the following Table for the several Divisions of Bengal, which is self-explanatory. To calculate the average day-temperature (when most of the human activities are confined, especially in an agricultural country like Bengal) as opposed to the night temperature, we add the maximum, the minimum and the 8-0 A.M. temperatures and divide the result by 3.

TABLE VI

| Average of | Burdwan | Presidency | Rajshahi | Dacca | Chittagong |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maximum | 89·5 | 88·1 | 86·0 | 86·5 | 85·9 |
| Minimum | 70·3 | 69·8 | 67·5 | 69·9 | 70·0 |
| 8-0 a.m. | 73·6 | 76·2 | 73·1 | 75·1 | 76·3 |
| Day temp. | 77·8 | 78·0 | 75·5 | 77·2 | 77·4 |
| Optimum temp. | 75·0 | 75·0 | 75·0 | 75·0 | 75·0 |
| Excess over optimum (a) | 2·8 | 3·0 | 0·5 | 2·2 | 2·4 |
| Humidity | 78 | 81 | 80 | 84 | 83 |
| Optimum humidity | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 |
| Excess over Optimum (b) | 18 | 21 | 20 | 24 | 23 |
| Values of (a) × (b) | 50·4 | 69·0 | 10·0 | 52·8 | 55·2 |
| (a) × 2 (b) | 100·8 | 138·0 | 20·0 | 105·6 | 110·4 |

From equations (1) and (2), we know that Efficiency is inversely proportional to the product of excess over optimum temperature, and excess over optimum relative humidity *i.e.*, to the product of (a)×(b) in one case; and to the product of (a)×2(b) in the other case.

The question that we now propose to ask ourselves is may we find out the relative efficiecy of an average Hindu and an average Muhammadan of Bengal. Let us first of all assume that **inherently** all the Hindus and all Muhammadans are equally efficient, as they come from the same racial stock and as an overwhelmingly large proportion of the Muhammadans are descendants of local converts. The loss of efficiency is solely due to the above climatic factors. In finding out the loss of efficiency of the two major communities, we must take into account the effect of their geographical distribution. Their geographical

distributions as percentages of their own total are as follows:

| | Burdwan | Presidency | Rajshahi | Dacca | Chittagong |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hindus | 33·2 | 24·0 | 17·3 | 18·3 | 7·2 |
| Muhammadans | 4·4 | 17·3 | 24·2 | 35·7 | 18·3 |

The Sums of (a)×(b) according to equation (1) in the case of the Hindus is S (a) × (b) = 50·4 × 33·2 + 69·0 × 24·0 + 10·0 ×17·3+52·8×18·3+55·2 × 7·2 = 4886·0; and the average for a Hindu is 48·9.

Similarly S (a)×(b) for the Muhammadans = 50·4 × 4·4 + 69·0 × 17·3+10·0×24·2+52·8 ×35·7+55·2×18·3=4552·7; and the average for a Muhammadan is 45·5.

The inverses of these two figures are ·0205 for the Hindu; and ·0220 for the Muhammadan.

According to equation (2), the Sums of (a)×2(b) for the Hindus is 9732·0; and that for the Muhammadans is 9105·1; and the respective averages are 97·32 and 91·05. The inverses of these two figures are ·01027 for the Hindu, and ·01098 for the Muhammadan.

From the above results we find that the loss of efficiency, due to climatic factors alone, is greater in the case of the Muhammadans by some 7 per cent over that of the Hindus. An average Muhammadan is, therefore, somewhat less efficient than an average Hindu. We would have arrived at the same result had we calculated our calculations month by month. The monthly averages for day temperatures (obtained by adding the maximum, the minimum and 8-0 A.M. temperature, and dividing the result by 3) for the two Divisions of Burdwan and Dacca are given below. The Burdwan Division, where more than 33 per cent of the Hindus live, is taken as the type for the Hindus; and the Dacca Division, where more than 35 per cent of the Muhammadans live as the type for the Muhammadans.

TABLE VII
(Monthly Day Temperatures)

| | Burdwan | Dacca |
|---|---|---|
| Jany. | .. 65·0 | 63·2 |
| Feb. | .. 69·0 | 67·4 |
| Mar. | .. 80·1 | 78·0 |
| April | .. 87·0 | 83·8 |
| May | .. 85·6 | 82·2 |
| June | .. 84·0 | 83·5 |
| July | .. 83·7 | 83·1 |
| Aug. | .. 83·4 | 82·8 |
| Sept. | .. 83·5 | 82·8 |
| Oct. | .. 80·1 | 81·0 |
| Nov. | .. 72·5 | 73·1 |
| Dec. | .. 66·7 | 65·8 |

We find that in both the Divisions, for the four months from November to February, the temperature is below 75° F. But even in those months the relative humidity is well over 60. Assuming therefore that when the temperature is below the optimum, there is no loss of efficiency, we calculate S (a)×(b) month by month for the two Divisions for the remaining eight months. The Sum of (a)×(b) for Burdwan works out to 1325·6 and that for Dacca to 1354·2. The inverses of these two figures are ·000754 and ·000738; which shows that a Dacca Muhammadan is less efficient than a Burdwan Hindu. We are strengthened in our above conclusion from the consideration of Table IV, which shows the range of variation of temperatures. It is said that within certain limits the greater the range of variation of temperature to which a population is normally subject the hardier and sturdier it becomes. The range of variation is greater in Western Bengal than in Eastern Bengal; and a greater proportion of Hindus live in Western Bengal, while a greater number of Muhammadans live in Eastern Bengal.

# THE WRITER IN A CHANGING WORLD

By Prof. RAJENDRA VARMA, M.A.

## II

The crisis in European culture has called out many critics of consequence to apply their mind to the developing danger. Mr. T. S. Eliot's power lay in converting to his view-point persons of the eminence of Dr. Richards. Dr. Leavis, Denys Thomson, etc.—all high lights of the new generation. Though Mr. Eliot and his supporters started with the same initial proposition, *i.e.*, the decay of modern English society and consequent threat to culture, the conclusions they came to are mutually exclusive. Mr. Eliot's contention we have examined, now we shall take up what Dr. F. R. Leavis and Dr. Richards have to say.

Both the Doctors are the promoters of the idea of "minority culture" as opposed to the "mass-standardized" culture ushered in with

the advent of the Machine Age. Dr. Richards in the *Practical Criticism* throws up the idea when he says:

> "From the beginning, civilisation has been dependent upon speech, for words are our chief link with the past and with one another, and the channel of our spiritual inheritance. As the other vehicles of tradition, the family and the community for example, are dissolved, we are forced more and more to rely upon language."

Whereas Mr. Eliot stressed the re-living the traditional Christian life as a corrective to the general disintegration, Dr. Richards points out a more significant and scientilc medium—the language. Language has a function beyond communicating thoughts and feelings; it is the only social bond between individuals strong enough to resist external influence. Its form is an index of a people's living—their power of communication and discrimination, of refining and expressing their sensibility. In the eighteenth century England when life was not complex and individuals were attached in living bonds because the society was small, language performed its function appropriately. But the modern times are a diseased period. Society has become a hierarchy, culture a dictated and standardised commodity. The individual's life is full of occupations and new jobs, his interest towards finer side of life is not active and cultivated. Advertisement, cinema, journalism, periodical reviews with their "Dos" and "Donts" for the reader are some of the multitudinous forces of the industrial age which assault the individual's mind. He succumbs to their hypnotic influence; in the age of Fords, Beaverbrooks and Northcliffs he is perforce to surrender his judgment and inner literary urge to the standardised variety. The result has been that his mind is becoming largely receptive, his habits and tastes formed for him, his insensibility to general poetry is increasing alarmingly; in a word he is living at second-hand.

This is the outline of the case Dr. Richards has made out for his theory. Details have been fixed by Dr. F. R. Leavis in his various essays and books. In his comparatively recent work *For Continuity* he has vividly described the dangers facing culture today. He starts with the basic assumption that culture is interlinked with the proper use of language. He says, "The most important part of this language is actually a matter of use of words. Without the living subtlety of the finest idiom the heritage dies." Language, because it is an instrument of ordering, refining and expressing the deepest and complex sensibility is the treasure-house of value. It unlocks to us the door to the sanctum of the finest experience of the past. Now this instrument (language) has been vulgarised at the polluting touch of the Machine Age. People's taste has fallen depressingly low, no standards as to the appreciation of the theory and response to the charm of art exist. As if the belief were gaining ground that after all laws of demand and supply are more real than flights and reveries of poets. Or after the evening's work the most we could do was to tune in the radio, walk into the picture house, or read light verse at the corner of some periodical. These would be enough to stir our emotions and make us sentimental for a while. Against such a state of affairs Dr. Leavis protests with all his soul. Literature according to him is ebbing away into dreary sands of commerce.

It is the machine and its resultant mass production—the *raison de etre* of the growing standardisation—which has impinged upon all phases of life. Machine has broken compact family life centred round the parish church, it has multiplied man's cares and has manufactured new problems on a large scale. With this unprecedented change there is little to correspond so as to readjust the traditional fine values of old. Dr. Leavis expresses this inner death of contemporary culture by examining the effect of machine on man's emotional life. He takes up the Press, the Films, contemporary criticism and books. Newspapers, Dr. Leavis discovers, aim not in formulating and guiding public opinion but in increasing circulation. To that end they make cheap appeals to the readers' lust for sensation, for unwholesome curiosity, for erotic sensibility and for jingoism. Norman Angell hit the nail on the head when he said, "Modern newspaper stimulates primitive feelings and established prejudices." And therefore a kind of psychological Gresham's Law operates when these bad emotions drive out the more wholesome emotions of a healthy mind. Worse still, these newspapers have a corner devoted to literary criticism where amateurish writers are paid to pronounce opinion on books. Such reviews are a travesty of criticism since no reviewer has any sense of standards and criticism. His business is to fill that "Literary Corner" with any stuff that may have the semblance of criticism so that his paper may have a literary touch. Then Dr. Leavis takes up the cinema—our modern amusement.

> The films "involve surrender, under conditions of hypnotic receptivity, to the cheapest emotional appeals, appeals the more insidious because they are associated with a compelling vivid illusion of real life."

The cinema producer's main concern is box-office hit. Very recently a prominent Indian film producer gave a talk on the wireless in which he emphasised the fact that the film companies must cater for the popular demand if they have to live. This kind of popular and universal amusement performs the function of a narcotic drug upon public mind. Instead of ideas swaying man's mind, filling him with a new sensation of life and a greater understanding of values films simulate a thin and cheap emotion which evoke the same measure and kind of emotion in the cinema-goer, in this way deadening his sensibility.

As for books Dr. Leavis has an appalling indictment to make. Book societies, book guilds, literary clubs are a standing menace to the evolution of literary art. By offering standardised criticism and forcing their arbitrary taste upon the reader the book societies kill the active exercise of his intelligence. He does not reach for his books through selection, he finds them already selected for him.

In this way, there is an all-round decay in culture. These main factors of a cultural life aim at exploiting the cheap response. The quality of a man's life largely depends upon what he reads. If he is to feed on such standardised stuff and will-nilly be a prey to the hypnotic influence of the literary automaton he is indeed in a very bad way, culturally.

Therefore, Dr. Leavis concludes, this acute crisis in culture can be tided over by a correct understanding and appraisal of literary values. If literature has to be rescued from this slough, the task should be assigned to, not the representatives of the mechanical standardised culture, but a "minority" capable of appreciating and correcting literary standards. We have now come to the main conclusion of Dr. Leavis :

> "In any period it is upon a very small minority that the discerning appreciation of art and literature depends —upon this minority depends our power of profiting by the finest human experience of the past : they keep alive the subtlest and most perishable parts of tradition. Upon them depend the implicit standards that order the finer living of an age. . . . In their keeping is the language, the changing idiom upon which fine living depends. . . . By culture I mean such a language."

Dr. Leavis has, thus, diagnosed and suggested remedy as well. Prospects of culture are dark in that a standardised civilisation is enveloping the world. Yet his "minority" of luminaries may be trusted to nail the colours to the mast in the face of such assaults. A deeper probing into the conclusion of Dr. Leavis reveals the true nature of the disease. One might well ask, "Why do the newspapers want to increase circulation Why do the film producers create artificial standards and why do book guilds stir and feed the lust for cheap sensation ?" It would not be enough to say that a devil has come in our midst hewing and maiming the living organism of our culture. After all, culture is a super-structure on sociological facts : the relation of man to man and man to life as a whole creates a certain set of values which form the marrow of culture. In a society dominated by cut-throat individual production and competition the main concern is to outpace each other, it is the inexhorable law of capitalism. Sale of periodicals and mass production of sensational or formula films has to be tolerated because conditions of competition demand it. Root out competition and you root out much that has been corrupting the social life. When the community is tied to the wheel of exploitation and greed, it is a fond hope believing that a set of well-meaning persons would work as the messiah.

Even granting for a while that the minority of Dr. Leavis were to be depended upon, what would be the result ? The group will make a venture or two in the right direction but the formidable forces of standardised civilisation will overwhelm it. The whole mistake ensues from a wrong perception of literature : as something that can exist apart from and in spite of cataclysmic phenomenon in society. Commercialism of the day has shoved art into the bottomless pit of vulgarity and no amount of wishful thinking can stop the fall. If the minority group only stood apart and waited, it would serve to hasten the decay, because divorced from the sociological angle it would concentrate on form alone thus allowing literature to starve itself to death.

Dr. Leavis agrees that "it is vain to resist the triumph of the machine." There is no need resisting the machine, we should resist the demon of anti-social exploitation that places the machine as the grinding-mill of human values. Allowing grudgingly the role of machine in life Dr. Leavis still dreads "mass culture" meaning the standardised culture. In fact the honest and logical conclusion of his premises would be the acceptance of the principle of decentralisation of human society. His prophet is Gandhi and not the priestly class whom he euphemistically calls "the minority."

Whatever may be the strength of Mr. Eliot's and Dr. Leavis' arguments one thing is clear and massive : they are a pointer to the growing discontent with the present. They would that literature took a different course if it has to escape the contamination of a sick age. Very

sadly they have watched the machine triumph and set at nought the traditional values, sadly too they recognise the triumph to be permanent. But alongside these sages of pessimism has sprung a generation of younger poets and critics who claim to have felt the pulse and real urge of the age. They recognise that it is a morbid sickness that has been spreading in social organism and so in literature, but unlike Mr. Eliot and Dr. Leavis, they believe it to be the result of the inevitable clash of forces in society. They, too, have watched wars stealing from people their daily bread and from children their protecting hands, they have seen man hopelessly toss on the tidal waves of economic slump, boom, unemployment; they have sensed the ever keener death-consciousness taking hold of man's mind. And these younger people have not bungled through in trying to reconstruct the crushed heritage, and restate the outmoded principles that govern life. They have experienced the ominous shadow of the doom overhanging their civilisation but they have refused to be comforted by outworn beliefs or resort to subterfuge to dodge the real calamity. In fine, they have seen the truth of the saying that a good society makes for a good individual and not vice versa.

III

Close on the heels of Mr. Eliot have come W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender and Cecil Day Lewis. The master has veered round to the church but the young people have kept on the progress.

No study of the recent tendencies in English literature can be correct and adequate without gauging the influence of industrialism and the last Great War on society. By the middle and second half of the nineteenth century the impact of industries had begun to affect man. Gradually, accumulation of population in towns, which were fast becoming nerve-centres of the new civilisation, began and we find the echoes in Wordsworth. This expansion of the social group brought in its train growing isolation for the individual, he started losing contact with his fellow-beings. The poet who before now, knew his relation with the social group and could genuinely represent man's feelings, felt himself stranded. As Cecil Day Lewis writes in his *Hope for Poetry* :

"A compact working social group has the same advantages for the poet as tradition, it enables him to take a number of things for granted."

He therefore was face to face with himself, the leading strings having snapped with the rapid expansion. While his society was disintegrating spiritually he saw around him the interplay of social forces. With the crystallization of the new factors of production brought in by the Industrial Revolution industrialism marched from victory to victory and was rapidly giving rise to the capitalist class whose advent was heralded as the dawn of a new civilization. Capitalism could flourish only on the policy of *laissez faire*. In order to give this sordidly materialistic conception the dignity of an ideal capitalism invented a myth. This was the myth of individualism. Commercialism which drew its sustenance from individual enterprise glorified the individual to the point of outdazzling society. This new morality simulated to the lowest denominator of the social hierarchy. Mill, the prophet of the doctrine of individualism, laid down "Greatest Good of the Greatest Many" as the ideal before the Individual. In course of time the capitalist individuals who were in dominance pushed the doctrine to its logical conclusion, to the chagrin of the have-not. Social craving for 'greatest good' in actual practice faded into the relentless propaganda of the capitalists which aimed at creating new cravings and demands and manufacturing goods so as to satisfy them. Relation between man and man was changing into relation between man and market.

Demand on the creative faculty of the artist was two-fold : First, that he rehabilitates the lost centre of communication with his fellow-beings which, thanks to the town civilization, was obliterated. Second, that he readjusts himself to the commercial morality which egged him on to bind himself to the market. In brief, the problem of forging fresh ties to bind individual to individual in a community of feeling, and that of escaping or submitting to the laws of supply and demand, loomed large before the artist.

This was the changed intellectual background. The poet had therefore to start afresh in the quest of lost brotherhood. In the atmosphere filled with the confusion of a new social phenomenon some within his class looked within themselves and wrote Georgian poetry, describing the workaday life with a glow of imagination, or represented the physical sensation, the leaping fish and love on Tahiti. Some, after the Great War, addressed them to themselves and wrote a paradoxical kind of obscure poetry. But, when things settled down a little, the poet could succeed in adjusting himself to the change. He could now address his people and his art took colour from contemporary life.

So, when the poet started his theme was one of Love. This love is not the maudlin sentimentality of the effeminate poet, it is the creative principle which works at the heart of human society. The poet today bewails the disappearance of love between men. A civilization where relation between men has become relation between man and the market, and this social relation which boosted individualism in the beginning and now gets exhausted because of internal contradictions, are enough to fill the poet with the sense of groping for lost gods. Stephen Spender gives expression to this feeling :

> " Readers of this strange language,
> We have come at last to a country
> Where light equal, like the shine from snow, strikes all faces,
> Here, you may wonder
> How it was that works, money, interest, building, could ever
> Hide
> The palpable and obvious love of man for man.

The poet in these lines speaks of 'love' having so far been eclipsed by the heartless commercial civilization. This " obvious and palpable love of man for man " is the quintessence of social co-operation. It is undeniable that in feudal times the threads that bound the lord to the liege, the chief to the tribe, patriarch to the household slave, were threads of domination, but that relationship was at least human. If the feudal lord held sway over the body and mind of the serf, he knew that he was owning a human being. This social relation was not impersonal, if not quite humane. But where could this personal touch be found in the capitalist age where the social relationship is between classes antagonistic to each other. This age suffers from a typical illusion : that Man is " free." Now, since man is free the capitalist can never have sway over the workers as the feudal lord had, he therefore concerns himself with the productive power of the labourer, which in fact determines market. The capitalist is bound therefore primarily to the market, and the relation between him and the labourer is likewise affected by market considerations. But this heartless inhuman social relationship has sent its polluting miasma to all departments of social life. The ties that bind the shareholder to the wage-employee, civil servant to tax-payer, and all men to the impersonal market are ties of cash. Such a corrupt relationship can not withstand the dynamics of the social change. A society wherein the relation of man to man has been supplanted by man to the market is a society which kindles indignation in the progressive poet. He gropes for the lost tenderness that once made man good. Christopher Caudwell has an excellent passage in his *Students in Dying Culture* to expose the plight of bourgeois social relation :

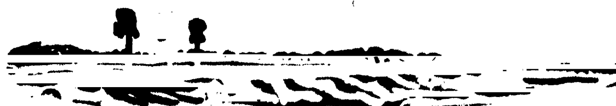
> " The bourgeois was determined that the market was the only social relation between man and man. This meant that he must refuse to believe that love was an integral part of a social relation. He expressed this tenderness from his social consciousness. In its final form this becomes the treason of man to his capacity for love; the appearance of love as a form of neurosis, hate and fantasy. For the satisfaction of all the emotional capabilities and social tenderness of which the bourgeois relation has deprived him, man turns vainly to religion, hate, patriotism, fascism and the sentimentality of films and novels which paint in imagination loves he can not experience in real life. In feudal days the Chief's laws are understandable. The fiat of a man-god is still a personal and affectionate command. But the laws of supply and demand are without any power save blind compulsion."

The modern writer with his sensibility and quick sensitiveness to things pertaining to man and his social life rebels with all his soul against this cash relationship. He is the scribe of the people, not a caterer for the market. W. H. Auden, the modern Communist poet, sums up the contemporary situation in two poignant lines :

> " I've come to prove a very long way to prove
> No land, no water and no love."

He feels the whole atmosphere choking. Banks, factories, slums, detention camps have turned good earth into a dreary desert. This warm, palpable, social love of man for man will therefore be the motif of the progressive poet as he breaks from the obsolete traditions which reflect the commercialisation of social relations. This " Love " will find different variations on the same theme, it may even mark substitution of humanism for mysticism. It will be the signpost at the cross road telling the traveller the course he has to go, the distance he has left behind. It will drag the poet away from his ivory tower and make him contact flesh and blood, din and dust. Its absence will reveal the morbid self-consciousness, the cultural decay, the snapping human bond, in short a disease taking society in its firm grip.

*(To be continued)*



# SOME FACTS ABOUT POLAND

[Rectification of misstatements in Mr. Chandikaprasad Banerji's article in *The Modern Review* for March, 1944.]

By WANDA DYNOUSKA

1. The Polish nation which exists as such since 950 A.D. has till now almost all characteristics enumerated by Mr. Chandikaprasad Banerji, (*a*) one race; (*b*) one religion predominant; (*c*) one historical and cultural common tradition; one predominant language; (d) a common memory of glories and sufferings, a common toil and effort in fighting for the safeguard of its menaced nationality and religion, as well as a common joy of a creative rebuilding of the State in 1918-1939; (*e*) and since 1939 a common unabated fight against the aggressor, as well as inside the country—the underground Polish Army is half a million strong, as outside, where the Polish Army fighting together with the Allies is the fourth in number, after those of Great Britain, U. S. A., China and Russia, where the Polish Navy renders great services to the cause of the Allies, and the Polish Air Force (12,000 Airmen) has been recognised as a most efficient helper in the Battle for Britain as well as in all bombardments of Germany, which has destroyed not less than 700 German aircraft, damaged 400. Although not having good natural frontiers save the Carpathian range in the South, Poland through all her history, especially during last 150 years has proved that to be one organic whole not so much physical factors are required as moral, mental, emotional, cultural. All efforts of the 3 Powers to denationalise and assimilate the partitioned parts of Poland have completely failed because the national consciousness was so strong, in all the classes of people. The temporary loss of independence has only increased this powerful feeling of individuality which led to its regaining as it leads now, during this war. The simple fact is that Poland never ceased to exist and to develop, in spite of outward conditions, and the wish of her enemies. It has been a political unit in spite of its disappearance from the maps of Europe.

2. The existence of a considerable percentage (24.5 of citizens speaking other languages) was due to the historic development of Poland. Federative Union not only with Lithuania but with Ruthenia as well. The close connection with Poland of this last province dates from the 12th century, with Lithuania from the 15th century. What is now called Eastern Poland, or quite wrongly Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia has never belonged to Russia, but formed an integral part of Poland since centuries. So the territories occupied by Russia in 1939 were just as much hers as the west of Poland was Hitler's, and Russia's invasion as much justified as Hitler's.

The minority problem in Poland was a difficult one, nobody will deny it. But the fact is that all minorities enjoyed cultural antonomy, and developing vigorously their national culture and organisations. If foreign money and propaganda (German) would not be used so lavishly with the Ukrainians, the chief difficulties would have been easily solved, as there was a large representation of Ukrainian Deputies in the Polish Parliament, and a strong party of Ukrainians who wanted to remain within the Polish State. Only one extremist party wanted complete independence of all the three parts of Ukrainian-inhabited territory under Russia, Rumania and Poland. This was and is co-operating with the Nazis. But the Ukrainians and the White Ruthenians have never freely expressed any wish to join the Soviet Union; the plebiscite was done under the threat of bayonets; who can regard it as 'free'?

There could not be any question of 'liberating of their own soil' by Russia nor in 1939, nor in 1944, if we agree that no military aggression on the territory of a neighbour can be regarded as lawful, and the disregard of one's own Treaty as a decent behaviour of an Ally.

Russia has signed both the Treaties of Riga in 1921, and of Moscow in 1941. She broke the first in 1939, the last in 1943. Have we to blame Hitler and praise the Soviets for the same international methods?

It is certain that Poles will not agree to the dismemberment of the country and offer without protest and struggle one half of their land to anyone, under whatever disguise he may act, and they will remain troublesome till justice is not restored.

3. All the presentation of Polish history are so distorted that a whole pamphlet would be necessary to show the facts. A few examples:

(*a*) Poland was a constitutional and *democratic* monarchy. In times when France and England had 5 and 7 per cent. of voters, Poland had 10 per cent. Civil liberties enjoyed by her people and achieved without a drop of blood, were in the 16th century equal to many which in the rest of Europe were introduced in the 19th (freedom of religion, speech, associations, etc.).

(b) Not aristocracy but gentry was ruling Poland till the partitions and it was composed of rich and poor, landlords as well as landless.

(*c*) Peasants had always a far better treatment in Poland than in her autocratic neighbours. They were enjoying the possibility of ennoblement, unheard of in any other country of Europe. Social reforms aiming at the betterment of their fate were introduced in Poland earlier than in other countries, etc.

(*d*) The principle of free voting was based on the characteristic—for the whole Polish culture—respect for individual freedom of the individual, its extreme—the 'liberum veto' could hardly be called a 'perversity.' It was rather an idealistic exaggeration, having its roots in this extreme respect for the freedom of the individual. Motions of the Parliament were adopted unanimously, the minority was convinced never coerced (the same principle is now adopted in the Indian National Congress), as well as a reaction against the terrible autocracy of both neighbouring big States where the individual was only a tool in the hands of the Prince or Duke, he could not even marry without permission. A principle which has well worked during 300 years and is introduced in the 20th century by progressive institutions, can be hardly called by a contemptuous name.

4. Poland's history since 13th century had not even one aggressive war, it was contrary to the spirit of the people and to the constitution. The obligation of the soldier and knight was only to defend the country, the

oath was binding till the frontiers were violated which may also seem rather strange. Poland's expansion was not through aggression, but by free Unions with others, documents of adherence to the Federated Republic of Poland of other Princedoms and provinces are most interesting proofs of the fact.

In the 17th century when the Polish Commander-in-Chief went with his army as far as Moscow, it was not for conquest, but invited by a big party of Russians which wanted a Union with Poland, on the same basis as Lithuania, and proposed the Polish Prince to the throne of Moscow. On his behalf the Commander-in-Chief Zolkiewski was ruling for one year in Moscow, in a liberal and friendly way, as the Russian historians of that time have written.

5. The point about the relations between the gentry and the peasant class is partial. Of course, serfdom existed in Poland as in all the countries of Europe, but the lot of peasants was far better even under this system than in the same age in Russia, Germany and even France; reforms were introduced earlier, the Constitution of May, 1791, was the most democratic of its time, and in the Insurrection of Kosciuszko peasants and workmen were fighting on equal footing with the gentry, a thing unheard in those times in other countries. This liberal Constitution, as well as civil liberties enjoyed by the Polish people were chiefly responsible for the hostility of the neighbouring Powers and their attempt to make Poland slave avoiding the danger of the spreading of liberal 'contagious' ideas. The opinions and institutions of the Poles are contagious, the infection may easily spread—were the words of Empress Catherine's Chancellor—Bezborodko.

6. To call the first partition of Poland 'a fortunate occurence' is perversity indeed. Why the partition of Bengal was resented rightly by the people? For Poland it was an even greater calamity, no dismemberment and forcible partition of a country can be regarded by any historian who cares for justice and modern ideas and is not a propagandist of interested Powers as 'fortunate.' British imperialists try to prove that their rule is the greatest possible blessing for India, how many Indian think the same?

7. Poles never took side with any of their oppressors in 1914. Several years before from the ranks of the Polish Socialist Party and youth organisations a nucleus of the Army was formed and when the war broke out Polish leaders with the most outstanding of them Pilsudski (never war-lord, but a genius of statesmanship, democrat and socialist, a good biography shouid be read before repeating uncritically the opinions of Russians who hate him simply because he defeated them in 1920) have used all opportunities to strengthen it and build a real national Army, accepting for the time being the help of Austria, the less hated and most liberal of the 3 oppressors. As soon as an oath of allegiance has been demanded from the Polish army, which was already known by its fighting capacity and heroism, it was refused, and all officers and soldiers were interned or imprisoned. Pilsudski, with his Chief of Staff in the fortress of Magdeburg, who was afterwards released by the German revolution.

There was no Pole who joined *voluntarily* the Russian Army, but there was a conscription in all the 3 Powers, and resistance was not possible, so many Poles had to take part in the 3 armies, besides their own, formed out of the Legions of Pilsudski and the second Legion of Haller organised in France.

The Russian revolution of 1917 has brought nothing substantial to Poland, save a manifesto signed by Lenin recognising the partitions of Poland as not valid, hence the pre-partition frontiers of Poland as legally restored. In spite of this the Russian Army was not clearing the Polish territories, and a war between the newly organised Polish State (1918) and the new Soviet Republic became unavoidable. At the Treaty of Riga as well as before it, at the preliminary peace proposals, the Russian delegation proposed to Poland frontiers far to the east of that adopted in 1921 at Riga. Poland preferred to leave 120,000 sq. miles of her former territory and one million of her people to Russia for a guarantee—as she believed—of a permanent and real peace, which she so badly needed.

The Treaty of Riga was freely negotiated and freely accepted by both parties, a friendly treaty; what is proved by the statements of Russian members of the peace delegation. The delegates of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic were also present and signed the treaty.

There could be no question of annexation of any part of the formerly Polish territory, as the annulment of the partitions was stated by Lenin, Cziczerin and Trotzki, and the Soviet delegates' proposal recognised the rights of Poland to the lands far more to the east than it was finally adopted at Riga. All this paragraph is inspired by wrong, purposefully misleading informations; if the author of the article cares for impartial opinion he may read pamphlets written by foreign, uninterested parties.

8. The same is concerning Wilno. It has been the capital of Lithuania in the 14th century, but became more Polish than Lithuanian during the centuries of federation. In 1918 when Germans who were occupying the city arranged a census, they were astonished and displeased to find that 80 per cent. of its population was Polish, 10 per cent. Jewish, only 3 Lithuanian, the rest Russian, and other small minorities. The Poles could not seize "it from Lithuania as it just started its independent existence as a State" with Kowno as its capital. It is true that Lithuania claimed the city of Wilno, but on sentimental grounds, far more than historic, and certainly not ethnologic nor any other. Who cares to read the history of Wilno can see it by himself.

9. Poland during her 20 years independent existence was never pro-German, to state this is to show an ignorance of all history. The age-long (1,000 years long) enemy of Poland was always Germany, but Poland realised better than the Western Democracies the armaments going on in Germany and the possibilities of a second world war.

The fact is that in 1933 Poland warned England and France and proposed preventive measures; the shortsightedness of these countries has cost the world more than can be now calculated. When they did not agree to the proposal, Poland had to conclude a treaty of non-aggression with Germany just as she has concluded a similar one with Russia, as peace with both neighbours was the basis of her policy and interests.

It is a historic fact that Germany made repeated proposals to Poland to join her in a 'crusade' against Russia (the last time in January, 1939) and Poland was always refusing, as she wanted to be true to her own word and Treaty. But when Germany proposed the same in 1939 to Russia she agreed, in spite of her Treaty with Poland and invaded Poland together with Hitler. She broke the treaty as lightly as Germany, the second time in 1943 (the treaty concluded in 1941).

It is true that Poland has not agreed to the Russian proposal to go to war with Germany for the same reason nor to allow the passage of Russian troops, no more, than she could agree to that of Germany. No country which wants to remain neutral could do it. Both were for Poland the same, and no choice could be made. To say that there was even for one moment any

loyalty or friendship for Germany is to show complete ignorance of all Polish nature and tradition.

10. The free Polish States 1918-1939, its democratic structure, civil liberties, social achievements, Trade Unions and peasant movements, educational system, etc., are little known in India, and all kinds of fantastic statements are circulating. Who wants to know the truth can study the opinions of foreigners who spent many years in Poland. I may state only some points:

Poland was as much anti-Fascist (or Nazi), as anti-Communist. Both systems of thought and practice were foreign to her ideas, temperament, traditions and character, because they were both against the freedom of the individual, for the rule of one party, etc., Poland was seeking her own solution to burning social and political problems, is seeking them now and will seek in the future, and will not willingly accept any one imposed on her by force.

The occupation of Tschen when Germany entered Czechoslovakia, was certainly a political mistake, and a non-chivalrous action, not in accordance with Polish chivalrous traditions and ideals, it was condemned by all the thinkers and broad-minded patriots of Poland. But for the *sake of truth* one must add that the same piece of land with its 85 per cent. of Poles has been seized by the Czechs from Poland in 1920, when she was engaged in the war with Russia. Although Poland has only retaken what was her own, it is not a justification of the moment and method.

11. To call any Government or leaders of a brave and gloriously fighting Army a 'gang,' can only bring discredit to the author.

The facts are: the Polish Army fought for 35 days alone against two armies, a 10 times larger force; when France could not stand more than 37 days having only the German army against her.

Nor the Polish Commander-in-Chief, nor the Polish Government had 'fled' to Rumania; the first, having a treaty with Rumania, was entitled to hope that a free passage for the rest of his troops will be secured, and he will be able to proceed to France for further fight, as this has been done by his successor the General Sikorski; the Government was invited by King Carol of Rumania; before crossing the frontier according to the Polish Constitution the new President was nominated (admissible in emergency cases) who has formed the new Polish Government in Paris. The rest of the former Government was, under the pressure of Germany, interned in Rumania.

12. The author wrongly uses the word 'partitioned.' Poland has been invaded by two hostile military powers, like France, Holland, or Denmark, but in spite of the declaration of the two Powers Poland has not ceased to exist. She is fighting at the side of the Allies, like France, and will fight till victory is achieved. Her Underground Army is the most powerful in European occupied countries, nowhere the Nazis have to use such precautions, nowhere are they losing so many trucks with armaments, through sabotage, nor so many officials (Governors including) as in Poland, by an organised resistance, etc.

13. No Pole I think would object to a free expression of the will of Ukrainians and White Ruthenians living on the territory of the Polish Republic. A plebiscite under a supervision of a completely neutral and disinterested country, (China, or South America) after the war is over, could be used in this part, and only then a Peace Conference could decide, at a common table, (after commissions of experts would study the complicated and different problems of Central Europe), the final course to be adopted. The method of deciding international affairs cannot be forceful annexations, nor fictitious plebiscites, under the threat of bayonets, but international tribunals, Leagues, Conferences and common agreements and treaties. Only on this basis could a new era for Humanity be started.

Poland does not, and will not, agree to any unilateral decisions, to annexation before the end of the war, to the organisation of puppet associations, etc., etc. Nor can she agree to any form of slavery, the Curzon Line implies such a slavery, economical as well as political.

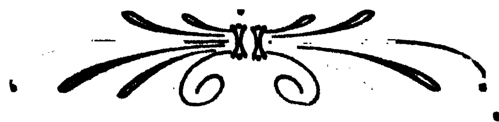
Poland may be overpowered by sheer force as 150 years ago, but she will never give her consent to a new dismemberment of her land, nor stop her struggle.

The Ukrainians and White Ruthenians by their language and culture, by history and to a certain extent religion, are far nearer to the Poles than to the Russians. But it is chiefly their own wish which should decide and the Soviets' plans of Bolshevisation of the whole of Europe to which plans Poland is a hindrance, hence she is hated, slandered, etc., statements about her independence and the Curzon Line at the same time, are excluding each other, but this can be understood only by those who know well Central Europe and its problems.

Poland wants good neighbourly relations with Russia, but not at the price of surrendering her freedom; she will never agree to any dictates from Moscow as regards her internal structure or any other matter concerning her affairs. Poles may be exterminated during the one year and a half of Russian rule over the half of Poland, as many people perished as under Hitler's but they will not willingly accept any slavery.

Poland wants a Central European Federation, but not under the dictates and protectorate of any of the big Powers, as it will only be a new edition of what is in the Colonies of European Powers, and a new war will come in 10 years. But a block of all Central European nations between Germany and Russia, free, democratic, peaceful, and economically sound, would be really a best safeguard of European peace. To this Poland will adhere wholeheartedly and without reservation, and it was her ideal since the 15th century.

[Lengthy criticisms of articles appearing in *The Modern Review* are not generally published. But considering the nature and importance of the matter involved we have thought fit to publish the above statements in full. Further controversy, however, will not be entertained.—EDITOR, *M. R.*]





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review.* But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

## ENGLISH

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT or PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT? *By M. N. Roy. Published by the Radical Democratic Party, Calcutta. Pp. 106. Price Re. 1 only.*

In this work, the author mainly concerns himself with a discourse on the comparative merits and demerits of a National Government and a continuance of the present regime. He, however, assures that there is another alternative, namely, the constitution of People's Government as described in a Manifesto, dated the 21st September, 1943 issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Radical Democratic Party. The manifesto is also published as Appendix to the brochure.

Mr. M. N. Roy presumes that a National Government, if it is to be instituted in India, will be composed of representatives of the Congress or be formed by a coalition of older political parties and reactionaries belonging to the upper classes, and be wholly a capitalistic Government. "Under its protection capitalism will operate not as a progressive force but as Fascism." "The National Government will consequently become a Fascist dictatorship." He declares that such a National Government controlled by the capitalists and other reactionary upper classes "cannot be expected," "to free India from the tyranny of poverty," to improve the economic condition of the Indian people or to afford the freedom that the Indian people need. Such a Government, in the view of Mr. M. N. Roy, will, instead of being "a lesser evil," than the present regime, as some people urge, be, in fact "a greater evil," and he sounds the following warning: "In search of a lesser evil, let us not deliver ourselves to the greater evil." "Given the traditional submissiveness of the Indian masses," Mr. Roy says, "and having a Mahatma, and some other national idols at its command, the National Government may be able to fool the people for some time. But even with those advantages it will not be able to fool all the people for all time."

The very comfortable conclusion is then reached that "if it is not possible for India to reach the goal of freedom from the exploitation of man by man except through an experience of capitalism, continuation of the present regime appears to be the lesser evil." Mr. M. N. Roy devotes considerable space and no little ingenuity in his attempt to prove that the existing British Government in India has already shed its imperialism. He even visualises "the possibility of the originally imperialist relation between the two countries consummating itself also in revolutionary consequences," and unfolds his revelation that "tendencies in that direction are already manifesting themselves." The excerpts from his book quoted below leave no room for doubt as to what the author really means. He declares that if the Government of this country before the war was imperialist, it cannot be called by that name now: "Because the economic relation between Britain and India, which constituted the foundation of the regime five years ago, has since then changed considerably." "That relation cannot be immutable. It was changing even before this war. The change has accelerated under the impact of the war. It promises to be a different relation after this war. Therefore, it is entirely unrealistic to rant against Imperialism." "Not only will imperialialism liquidate itself, but while doing so, it will make the liberating values of capitalism accessible to India." He has further no doubt that "after the war British politics will move to the left." "That again," Mr. Roy adds, "is a proof for the disappearance of imperialism." The writer elucidates his point in the following words: "The post-war relation between Britain and India is more likely to be a relation of co-operation between two countries. In that situation, India is bound to feel the impact of progressive thoughts and democratic institutions triumphant in Britain. That would certainly create an atmosphere congenial for the Indian progressive forces to assert themselves. The presence of a few Englishmen in the administrative machinery of the country cannot possibly have any reactionary influence. Indeed, those Englishmen will have to adjust themselves to the new atmosphere, and the old ones with die-hard prejudices will be replaced by people with the new spirit of co-operation." In fact, he goes so far as to assert that, "if it were really a choice between continuation of the present regime, with some inevitable changes to take place immediately after the war, and a nationalist-capitalist government, from the point of view of the great majority of the Indian people, the former should be preferred."

Mr. M. N. Roy speaks of his small book as an appeal to reason, and suggests that, in discussing a subject like the one treated by him, effectively, one ought always to be guided by "logical deduction from a scientific analysis of the forces involved." He has, however, followed the unassailable rule of conduct laid down by him at the outset, in his work, more in the breach than otherwise. In this propaganda one finds that Mr. Roy has been almost fanatical in his zeal in his attempt to discredit Mr. Gandhi, to traduce the Congress, and to belittle other progressive forces in the country, by every possible means. On the other hand, he appears to be well-nigh passionate in his ardour in his advocacy for the continuance of the present regime. The arguments on which Mr. Roy establishes

his case are in many cases based wholly on fantasy; he appears to be often guided by his prejudices and ignores facts which cannot be doubted. The key to this position lies, perhaps, in the monthly subsidy of Rs. 13,000 dispensed by the Government of India, as disclosed in the reply to an interpellation on the subject put at the Central Legislature during the last session.

S. K. Lahiri

THE SUBSTANCE OF POLITICS : *By A. Appadorai, M.A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press. December, 1942. Pages 522+x. Price Rs. 5.*

Professor Appadorai's book is a valuable addition to the none-too-rich text-book literature on Political Science meant for undergraduates in Indian Universities. He has presented in this volume the essential principles of political theory and organization in a clear, simple and precise manner. Although intended as a text-book, the treatise has a distinct literary flavour which is bound to prove attractive also to the general reader who wants an introduction to politics. The academic and detached outlook of the author has enhanced the scientific value of the work, and although an ardent democrat, Dr. Appadorai has not allowed his personal political convictions to get the better of his balanced judgment. He has succeeded in evaluating in their proper perspective both sides of every controversial question of present-day politics, and his conclusions are critical and objective.

This volume is a well integrated and comprehensive text-book. Forms of Government and inter-State relations are described against the background of such fundamental political concepts as liberty, equality, law and sovereignty. Principles of governmental organization are developed from the historical and descriptive studies of Constitutions. It contains an admirable synopsis of the post-War reaction to democratic ideals and the emergence of totalitarian States in Europe, as well as a historical account of the development of the Indian constitution. The author's treatment of the subject-matter is scientific without being pedantic, and erudite without being boring. References to other standard treatises on the subject have been invited only where absolutely necessary for supporting or illustrating a point, and footnotes have not been unnecessarily burdened with learning. The student and the general reader will find this book extremely useful and interesting.

ACTION : *By Lionel Curtis. Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 71. Price 9d.*

This neat little book is a sequel to the reputed author's earlier publication *Decision*, wherein he examined the practical ways and means of securing world peace in future years, and advocated a scheme of federal union embracing not only the British Commonwealth but also European democracies. It has been proved that balance of power as the basis of world order has failed to prevent the recurrence of war. Even an international system of the Geneva League variety has not succeeded in preserving peace. Mr. Curtis, therefore, makes a completely different approach to the entire problem, and instead of trying how to weaken the enemies of civilization, as enemies there will always be, he proposes to strengthen the defence and fortify the security of the progressive nations of the world. He considers Britain alone together with Northern Ireland unable to fulfil this task, and suggests measures by which members of the British Commonwealth, European democracies and ultimately the United States may merge into a super-national union, with a well-defined division of responsibility between the Central authority and federating units. The author recognizes, however, that in order to achieve this even the structure of democratic government will have to be modified in many vital aspects if serious conflicts and complications are to be avoided. Mr. Curtis does not analyse the fundamental causes of disorder and the basic reasons for a perpetual challenge to any state of equilibrium in international affairs, which evidently is not the scope of this monograph; yet without that background much of his arguments appear unreal and airy. Feasibility of Mr. Curtis's scheme will be largely a matter of opinion, but there is much food for thought in this interesting booklet. Mr. Curtis does not make a fetish of his anxiety for a better world order, but underlines, quite frankly, his concern for the continued greatness of Britain and for the defence of her traditions.

Monindramohan Moulik

THE ABORIGINALS : *By Verrier Elwin. Oxford Pamphlet of Indian Affairs. Published by Oxford University Press, Indian Branch. Price annas six.*

Anything of Anthropological interest that comes from the pen of Verrier Elwin warrants more than a passing reference. In the pamphlet under review Mr. Elwin gives a general account of racial and cultural traits of the aboriginal population of India, analyses the various movements undertaken to alleviate their condition and lays down a proposal for temporary isolation of the tribal people. Classifying these people into four groups the author observes that the whole tribal problem may be recognised as how to help the people of the first two classes, whose condition, according to the author, has been less affected by external influences, advance into the fourth group of a handful of people who, the author thinks, have triumphed over the effects of Culture Contact "without having to suffer the despair and degradation" of the bulk of their people, numbering about twenty million, in the third category.

This proposal for temporary isolation of the aboriginals has been voiced more than once by Mr. Elwin in his books *The Baiga, The Agaria* and in other utterances. The difficulties underlying such a proposal have been clearly shown by other experts. Apart from other considerations, it is extremely difficult to isolate a people completely from all external contract in this twentieth century—if at all advisable. And to civilize civilization itself before allowing it to lay its hands on the tribal peoples, as the author suggests in the pamphlet, speaks of frustration and defeatism. One may differ with the author in his pessimistic opinion about the present civilization in spite of the apparent contradictions. If science cannot find out the solution of a problem under existing conditions and proposes to wait till the Kingdom of Heaven reigns on earth, then it cannot claim its voice to be heard in the adjustments of human affairs. It appears from the booklet that the author is more concerned about the five million aboriginals of his first two groups than with the other twenty million of these people. There should however, be a uniform policy for the tribal people as a whole; and if handled with sympathy and knowledge there is no reason why some lasting good may not be done. The task is a difficult one no doubt; and though I am not one with the author in holding the aboriginals as "the real Swadeshi products of India,"—because it is not always correct to associate primitiveness with earliest settlement,—there is no reason why we should give up hope or neglect their case. As an integral part of the vast population of India they deserve equal justice and attention at the hands of the rulers of the country.

Mr. Elwin has been very right in observing that the claim of the scientists that "their voice should be heard more often than it is in the administration of

tribal areas" should be respected; we agree with him that "caution is absolutely necessary"; that "everything must be gradual" and that "knowledge must always precede reform."

The booklet is written in a very pleasant style and will be read with profit by the administrator, the political and social reformer as well as the student of social sciences.

SAILENDRA BEJOY DAS GUPTA

THE VISUALLY HANDICAPPED IN INDIA: *By Ras Mohun Halder, M.Ed. (Boston, U.S.A.), Principal, Dadar School for the Blind, Bombay.*

The workers for the blind in India will certainly accord an enthusiastic welcome to Mr. Halder's book which is the first of its kind in this country. In the Western countries of Europe and America, scores of books, dealing with the pedagogical and psychological problems of the blind, written by both seeing and sightless intellectuals, are in existence. But, in India, owing to very low standard of blind education and appalling public indifference to this important social question, no other contribution, like Mr. Halder's, has been made.

The book under review is an illuminating study relative to the various aspects of the educational and social problems of sightless boys and girls in India, and it is expected that even the lay readers will find some chapters of this book to be immensely interesting and instructive. The parents of blind children will learn a good deal from this work regarding how the little and big problems in the lives of these children should be properly handled.

Special mention of the chapter entitled, "Current Indian Braille Codes and their Future." should be made here inasmuch as the author very appropriately recognizes the late Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the founder-editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi*, as the originator of Bengali Braille—a fact which was not known even to the professional workers for the blind, and which was made public for the first time in 1941 by the present reviewer.

S. C. ROY

KASTURBA GANDHI: *By K. P. Thomas. Published by the Orient Illustrated Weekly. 93A, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta. Pp. 96. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a short life of the great little woman of India whose life-long devotion to her husband for the cause of service of mother-India is without a parallel in our times. To understand Gandhiji we must understand Kasturba—the friend and guide of the greatest man of India. Mahatmaji himself admitted that Kasturba was his wife and mother in one. To the whole of India she was the Mother. Although not educated in the modern sense, she was a great educator of Indian Womanhood, a great example of sacrifice and service, a devoted wife and an ideal mother. By her life and work she has enriched humanity.

The book is well-written and nicely printed and deserves wide circulation.

SATI KASTURBA: *By R. K. Prabhu. Published by Hind Kitabs, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 87. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is another nicely printed volume with a foreword from Mr. M. R. Masani, Mayor of Bombay, who rightly says that Kasturba's outstanding qualities were not of greatness but of goodness. It is a great national humiliation that such a grand lady of seventy-five had to die in prison. The editor has been successful in depicting the life and character of this great lady by quoting profusely from the autobiography of Mahatmaji. As a helpmate of her husband she never failed or wavered and in every struggle whether in South Africa or Champaran or Bardoli or Borsad, she was always active,—even failing health could not deter her. Kasturba by her life and death has proved herself true to the cause for which she lived and for which her husband worked.

The sale proceeds of this book will go to the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund and we have no doubt the purchasers of this book will not only benefit themselves as readers but will also contribute towards a noble cause for which the Fund has been started.

SOME EMINENT GARHWALIS: *By Shyam Chand Negi. Published by the Vidya Mandir Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 41. Price annas twelve only.*

In this booklet the writer has given short life sketches of Maharajah Ajai Pal (1460-1519), Mola Ram Tomar (1750-1833)—the Artist, Badri Singh Aswal (1783-1868), Gobar Singh Negi, V.C. (1895-1915), Ghana Nand Khanduri (1882-1914)—the philanthropist, Sada Nand Ghildyal (1898-1928)—Ayurvedist, Hon'ble Badri Maharaj (1871-1928) of Fiji, Havildar Chandra Singh—the Court-Martial victim—all prominent Garhwalis in different spheres of life. Garhwal has a proud history to tell and it long maintained its independence in Indian History. Sons of Garhwal not only distinguished themselves in India, in Fiji and also in battle-fields in France but their contribution to Ayurveda and painting are considerable. Garhwali businessmen are also distinguished in many northern Indian towns.

Young people will find this book interesting and inspiring.

A. B. DUTTA

SIXTY BOOKS ON INDIA WITH BRIEF REVIEWS AND COMMENTS: *By S. Vairanapillai, M.A., Ph.D., Foreman Christian College, Lahore. Price annas eight.*

This is a useful booklet introducing a foreigner to 60 books on India. The selection, however, of the books is neither representative nor of a uniform standard of excellence. Reviews and commentaries are however of great help to the reader.

WAR-TIME RESTRICTIONS: *By K. M. Desai, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Bombay High Court. Publishers: Associated Advertisers and Printers Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 304. Price Rs. 4.*

There have been so many ordinances and orders under the Defence of India Rules issued both by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments; and so many corrections and additions issued in connection with them that it is difficult to keep in touch with them easily. In the volume under review all the orders, notifications affecting business and trade issued by the Central Government and the Government of Bombay have been collected. They have been brought up to the date of printing, *viz.*, 31st December, 1943. It will prove invaluable to everyone concerned with the administration of the Defence of India Rules.

J. M. DATTA

THE REVELATIONS OF SAINT MEIKANDAR: *By Swami Shuddhananda Bharatiar. Published by Anbu Nilayam. Ramachandrapuram, Trichy Dist. (S. India). Pp. 78. Price Re. 1-8.*

Shuddhanandaji is an author of a number of soul-elevating books in Tamil, English and French. He

writes in a fresh and fluent style and his interpretation is novel, impressive and suitable for our age.

The book, under review, is a good introduction to Siva-Janana-Bodham, the basic work in Tamil verses on Saiva-Siddhanta current in South India. It explains in short the twelve aphorisms of Saiva-Siddhanta revealed to the famous Tamil Saint Meikander. The meaning of the Tamil word *Meikandar* means a seer of truth. The aphorisms unfold the nature of the three eternal entities—God, Soul, and Universe, describe their relationship and thereby expound the philosophy of Saiva-Siddhanta. Meikandar's disciple, Arulnandi Shivacharya has written an extensive commentary in Tamil verses on Siva-Janana-Bodham, called Siva-Janana-Siddhi. Meikandar is said to have appeared in 1200 A.D. in the small village of Tiruvennai-nallor, situated on the banks of the river Pennar about twenty miles from Panruti Station in the S. I. Railway. His father Achuta, a great devotee of Lord Shiva, having no issue prayed for a child, got Meikandar only and christened him Swetavanam after his tutelary deity. Saint Paranjyoti blessed that child, renamed Meikandar, taught him the wisdom of Lord Shiva and charged him with the mission of propagating the truth. After initiation the child-saint remained silent in meditation and opened his mouth in his fifth year and in that early age composed the inspired verses of Siva-Janana-Bodham. Saiva-Siddhanta is a very important school of Hindu philosophy and possesses vast and rich literature in Tamil now lying buried in the Saiva Monasteries of the Tamil-Nad. They should be thus translated into other languages and made available to the readers, ignorant of Tamil.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SEARCHLIGHT : *By His Holiness Rajji Maharaj. Published by Radhaswami Satsang, Chatur Vilas, Jodhpur.*

The book under review inculcates the importance of religious outlook in the life of individuals as well as of nations. According to the revered learned author, owing to the want of religious outlook in life, the world to-day finds itself plunged in bloodshed, misery and endless wars. The author laments that the spirit of religion appears to have departed from the modern world.

Religion beckons suffering humanity to follow the path that leads to redemption. The author advises his reader to have "robust and abiding faith" in the grace of the Supreme Father who alone is his true Friend so that he may reach the perfect stature of a Son of God. He will then realize that it is more blessed to give than to receive and that evil should be overcome not by evil but by kind acts and deeds and that in dealing with our fellowmen, our impulse should always be love—the love which includes justice and strict discipline as well as kindness and gentleness, forbearance and forgiveness.

SADHANA-SANJEEVI : *By Mallimadugula Satyanarayana. Printed at the Nagpur Press Limited, 10, Ordnance Lines, Nagpur. Price not mentioned.*

In this little book of 55 pages, the author has attempted to give a short history of the methods of Sadhana which a Sadhaka initiated by his *Guru*, should utilise to attain *moksha*.

Sadhana is necessary for every man to destory his inborn ignorance. The author's advice of beginning Sadhana is to repeat 'Om' in *japa* and to concentrate one's attention to the idea that the soul of man is a part *(Amsa)* of *Para-Brahman*. The author believes that by adopting this method of Sadhana, perfection of soul or moksha, can be attained. The reader is advised to begin the practice and to realize the truth for himself.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

GROW MORE VEGETABLES. EAT MORE VEGETABLES : *By Rai Bahadur D. N. Mitra. With a foreward by the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha of Raipur. Published by the Calcutta University. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author has succeeded in his honest attempts in these days of acute food shortage and he should be congratulated. The book is illustrative and is worth reading. Such books should be presented to the schoolboys as a prize-book now-a-days.

ROBINDRA MOHON DATTA

THE TREMBLING ECHO : *By Adhyatam Singh. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 29, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.4. Duration Address : Elms Court, Torrs Park, Ilfracombe, N. Devon. Price 3s. 6d.*

Forty-nine pieces are linked together in this book of "A Poem" on the single theme of love. Written in blank verse, and numbering so oddly, the subject-matter for all the pieces is provided by love in different aspects of nature, fatalism, philosophy, emotion and romance. A traveller walks through dream, desolation, nature, society, friendship—but in none can he lose himself except in love. Besides passion only, these love-poems have an unmistakable association with a variety of ideas, an ennobled imagination, a restraint in expression and some pictorialness. In all, these are really excellent pieces in respect of their ideas, imageries and structurals.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

## SANSKRIT

SRI DEVIMAHATMYA : *By B. Ramachandra Sarma. N. Rajam and Co., Vepery, Madras. Double Crown 16-mo. PP. 1-172. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is a popular edition of the *Devimahatmya* section of the Markandeya Purana, together with various accessory matters (like *dhyana, kavaca, stotra, rahasyas,* etc.) necessary for a ceremonial recitation of the former. A number of variants are noted, generally without making any reference to their sources. It will be noticed that the text followed in Bengal contains some more variants not noted here. Occasional printing mistakes were detected here and there. These are specially regrettable in a book, any inaccuracy in the recitation of which is supposed to be fraught with many evils.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## BENGALI

JUDDHER DAKSHINA : *By Anath Gopal Sen. Modern Book Agency, Calcutta. 1944. Pp. 110+xiv. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author, who has already made a name as a writer of essays and tracts on economic topics in Bengali, has collected in this volume some of his articles on war-time economy and finance published from time to time in various periodicals. Apart from the scientific theoretical background which he provides to such complicated monetary phenomena as currency inflation, lease-lend operations and rupee-sterling wedlock, the author discusses the various aspects of Anglo-American financing of war from the viewpoint of what it has cost the people of India and how. The illusion of prosperity for the rich and the reality of distress for the poor which inflation has brought in its train in India are

amply borne out by the author in a couple of chapters. Mr. Sen argues that those responsible for the formulation of monetary policy in this country could have anticipated in right time the financial burden India would be called upon to bear for the prosecution of war, and could have prevented, as some of the principal belligerent countries have done, the disastrous consequences of the unrestricted issue of paper money that have manifestly upset the normal economic and social life of the people. He draws attention to the case of Russia, Germany, Britain and United States. The author's treatment of this subject would have been complete if he had devoted a few pages to the anti-inflationary measures that the Government of India, in spite of its bureaucratic apathy, has since launched and their possible beneficial effects on our economic structure.

A special word of tribute is due to Mr. Sen's fine literary style which he employs in the treatment of these abstruse subjects. It is marked by clarity and precision, and is frequently punctuated with subtle humour, although sometimes marred by a political emphasis verging on bias. This book, to which Prof. Benoy Sarkar adds a stimulating preface, is a valuable contribution to the not-too-wide literature in Bengali on war economy and war finance as affecting India.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

JAGAT KONE PATHE: *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by S. K. Mitra and Bros., 12, Narkelbagan Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 220. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is the fourth edition of one of the most popular Juvenile books of Mr. Bagal who has already established himself as a successful writer in the line. Within a short compass, the author has given the stories of all nations controlling the destinies of the world. The smaller nations such as Iran, Thailand, Afghanistan, Tibet, etc., however, have not been neglected. Stories of nations have been brought up to date as far as February, 1944.

This nicely printed well-bound volume will be suitable not only as a book of study for the young but also as a Prize Book.

A. B. DUTTA

## HINDI

SWADHINTA KE PATH PAR: *By Gurudutt. Vidya Mandir, Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 577. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a collection of ten short stories which, both in type and technique, are almost of a novel kind. They could be variously labelled: tales covering contemporary Indian history, ever since Gandhiji occupied the centre of our national stage; tales embodying an analysis and arguments of the several ideologies, set in motion by the fermenting impact of Gandhiji's personality and philosophy, particularly in politics, and by the world forces; or tales which have adopted a "cinema-view" of our struggle for self-emancipation in its present phase. Howsoever one might consider its anatomy, its appeal is unflagging, while its interest is all-absorbing. As one reads along one can identify this character or that whom he has known intimately among his friends and fellow-workers. In the opinion of the reviewer these stories furnish a more instructive and illuminating study and survey of the currents and cross-currents of our political-*cum*-economic drama than any set, "stilted" books on the conflicting contemporary policies and programmes.

G. M.

## MALAYALAM

POWRA PRABHA—VISESHAL PRATHI (21ST BIRTHDAY SPECIAL, 1944): *Edited and Published by Z. M. Paret, Editor, Powra Prabha. Printed at the Powra Prabha Press, Kottayam, Travancore Illustrated. 4vo. Price not stated.*

This is the 21st Birthday Special Issue of the *Powra Prabha*, a Malayalam daily of Travancore. It contains articles, poems, short stories, 56 in all, from the pens of some well-known poets, writers, lawyers, historians and archæologists, including "Ulloor," "Malloor," "Vallathol," Srimathi N. Lalitambika, T. K. Joseph and others,—not to speak of the inevitable Thunder-lightning *Idi-minnel-Indran!* Also printed in it are messages of greetings to the paper received on the occasion of the Anniversary from Editors of newspapers, *Times of India, Bombay Chronicle, Bombay Sentinel* and others. On the whole, as a book, it is neatly got-up with an attractive cover in colours containing block-prints of five famous living men of the world (Churchill, Stalin, Roosevelt, Kai-shek and Jawaharlal Nehru). The Editor and Management of the *Powra Prabha* are to be heartily congratulated on the production of this Special Issue, which is a fitting memorial to commemorate the happy event in the life of the paper. We wish the *Powra Prabha* a long and prosperous career so that it may serve the country as its Internal Monitor entertaining no fear and expecting no favour from any quarter.

On a perusal of the book, it can be found that the articles, poems, etc., vary greatly in subjects, style and length, being bound together by no link or continuity except the Editor's approval and publication of them. It is a crowded canvas; but every stroke is worth the study. The book should be read with no less profit than pleasure.

At the same time, the absence of an editorial is keenly felt (the *Prasthavana* has been put at a wrong place); the contents and pages bear no serial numbers. These omissions are embarrassing to a reader. Moreover, articles for the education of the masses for the social, economic and political advancement of the country are few in it. To such should have been given priority in a Special Issue like this, the more so when we realise the tremendous importance of this factor in the world of today.

P. O. MATTHAI

## GUJARATI

ARJUNAURVASHI: *By Govind H. Patel. Printed at the Arya Prakash Press, Anand. 1943. Cloth Cover. Pp. 62. Price annas ten.*

This is the poet's "Jivan Jyoti" published as a second edition. The changes made in the original text make the verses more attractive.

PARAG: *By B. L. Mankad, M.A., B.T. Published at the Liberal Lakshmi Printing Press, Rajkot. 1943. Paper Cover. Pp. 144. Price Rs. 2.*

Rhapsodies or prose-poems which are meant to breathe sweet scent and solace to tired humanity. See the article "Abeehine" (p. 14). The writer has succeeded in his attempt.

PRATIKSHA: *By Ramanik Aralvala. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. 1942. Thick Card-board. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-8.*

The seventy-four short poems of this rising young poet are ably introduced by Mr. Umashankar Joshi, sharing the same category as the composer. All the excellences have been suitably brought out in the introduction and we have nothing to add.

K. M. J.

# THE NAGA TRIBES ON OUR FRONTIER

By SIVA SANKAR MITRA

THE valleys of the North-Eastern frontier of India, so long reputed to be the abode of peace and tranquillity in comparison with the historical gateway of N.-W. Frontier, have at last come to be resounded with the trumpets of war. The Japs are filtering through its valleys, hills and jungles and menacing the Allies' communications along it. Last week Imphal was in the focus. Now comes the news that the Japs are moving to the north and concentrating against Kohima.

Kohima is in the land of the Nagas. The Nagas, though little attention has been paid to them in the Indian history, have a long story of border warfares. Their traditional character as successful jungles fighters has been illustrated in more than one determined attack upon the British expeditions in the late nineteenth century. Armed with their national weapons, a spear, a shield and a *da'o* and very recently with native manufactured guns from Manipur, they have ravaged not only the Naga hill tracts, but also have often come down to Sibsagar and Nowgong districts. Under the generic name of Naga is included a large number of virtually independent tribes who are in sole occupation of the hill country from the northern boundary of Cachar to the banks of Dihing river in the extreme east of the Province of Assam. These tribes are Rengmas, Nagas, Angamis, Kukis, Mikirs, Aos, etc. They all are sprung from a common stock of Indo-Chinese family of nations. They all speak different dialects, which are so distinct from one another that villages lying scarcely a day's journey apart can only communicate through an interpreter using a foreign tongue.

The whole area is dotted with tiny villages. These villages particularly of the Angamis, are invariably built on the summits of the hills, and are strongly fortified with stone walls, stockades, ditches and look-outs. Every village has got a single entrance with a gate fortified and barricaded in a primitive way. The whole picture speaks of militancy.

* * * * * *

Dated history of the Nagas begins with the advent of the British. It is said that they maintained peaceful relations with the Ahom Kings of Assam. But soon after the British occupation of the Province they began to make sudden invasions or rather raids on the districts of Nowgong and Sibsagar in the north and Cachar in the west. From now on begins the history of the burning of villages by both sides. Reprisals and counter-reprisals came into vogue. Broadly speaking the history of British relations with the Nagas may be divided into four periods: (1) the period of control from without, (2) the period of control from within, (3) the period of absolute non-interference and (4) again the period of control from within, merging into gradual absorption into British territory.

The first period covers 1839 to 1846. The policy of subduing the tribes from without was a failure. Seven expeditions were undertaken during this period. Mr. Grange in his second expedition, met a stiff resistance, which he succeeded in overcoming. During this operation he burnt down five villages. Temporarily it had its effect. But soon the Nagas were more enterprising and began to raid the plains. To avenge this outrage Captain Eld entered the hills in 1844 and burnt several of the guilty villages. The thing continued in this way for several years. The next period of controlling from within, establishing outposts in Samaguting on the Kohima-Dimapur road and other places, is also a history of failures. Bhogchand Daroga who was placed in charge of Samaguting outpost, became a terror to the tribes but soon he was brutally murdered with his sepoys. Lieutenant Vincent marched in to avenge the death of the Daroga. He occupied Mozema. Once when he was visiting a neighbouring village, the Nagas burnt down Mozema. In retaliation the Lieutenant burnt the village of Jakhama.

Then comes the period of non-interference from 1851 to 1865. But instead of cooling the atmosphere, it encouraged the Nagas. During this period, no less than 22 Naga raids occurred.

From 1866 again the period of interference began and with it retaliation and counter-retaliation. In 1873 a party under Lt. Holcombe explored the eastern hills. No show of actual hostility was at first manifested. But in 1875 the scene changed. "The Nagas turned out in force, the party was surrounded and Lt. Holcombe and his followers, to the number of 80, were treacherously massacred." In 1878 a determined policy was initiated. This time Kohima was occupied. Mr. Damant, the Deputy Commissioner, accompanied by 21 sepoys and 50 armed police proceeded to Khonoma. "On reaching the gate of the village Mr. Damant was at once shot dead, and a volley was poured into the escort, who turned and fled, followed by the Nagas.....The Nagas then proceeded to besiege the garrison in the Kohima stockade, who were reduced to great straits for want of food and water. After a blockade of 12 days, the siege

was raised by the opportune arrival of a force of Manipuri troops."—(W. W. Hunter).

After this, in 1880, a regular military campaign was started against the Nagas, and was continued as late as 1919. Thus one of the most turbulent areas was subjugated and brought under British administration.

Today the Nagas are the topics of the day. The fate of eastern Assam, if not of India, is today interlinked with that of these unknown tribes. The Nagas, forming the most irregular "Home Guards" in the world, are operating against Japanese columns.

## THE MILK PROBLEM IN INDIA

By Prof. R. P. SINGH, M.A., B.com.

Milk occupies a unique position among human food-stuffs because it is by far the best single food available. It happens to possess "just those dietary factors in which cereals and root vegetables are deficient."[1] It is for this reason that the cow—the main source of milk—has been the object of great veneration in India since ancient times. But this feeling of religious veneration has resulted in the people giving a long lease of life to worthless cattle; and such worthless cattle have tended to reduce the quality of our live-stock. The total milk production in the country is extremely low though India has more cattleheads than the greater part of the outer world. Here, as elsewhere, quantity has militated against quality.

In India, where a large proportion of the population subsists on vegetarian diet, milk is the only source of first-class protein and it has also to supply a considerable proportion of the mineral constituents and vitamins of the diet. But, unfortunately, the daily consumption of milk per head is the lowest as compared with the other civilized countries of the world. Before the outbreak of the present war it was only 6 to 7 ozs. in India whereas in New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain and the U. S. A. it was 56, 45, 39, and 35 ozs. respectively. It has been roughly calculated that only about one-fifth of the total population obtains the minimum physiological requirement of milk and its products, and an overwhelming majority of the population either goes without milk or gets it in very small quantities. After the outbreak of the present war, however, the per capita consumption of milk has gone down further owing to the large Government purchases at high prices for the use of military troops and prisoners of wars kept in the country. Moreover, certain milk products such as condensed milk, milk-powder, cheese and butter which were previously imported from abroad are not easily obtainable now, partly because of shipping difficulties and partly because of the increased need for these products in the exporting countries themselves some of which are occupied by the enemy. Condensed milk and milk powder possess long keeping quality, are nutritious foods, and are easy to handle, store and transport to long distances at comparatively cheap cost, and thus are of unique importance in feeding the military and others during wartime. But a great shortage in their supply has resulted in a marked diminution in the consumption of milk both in the urban and rural areas.

At present an indiscriminate slaughter of cattle is going on throughout the country. This is mainly due to the need for an abnormal food supply for military purposes. But it has resulted in the disappearance of thousands of milch-cattle from the countryside and a fall in total milk production. Moreover, the recent famine of Bengal and Orissa has killed a very large number of milch-cattle and left others in such an emaciated condition that they cannot be expected to contribute their quota to national milk production for some time to come.

In addition to the inadequate production of milk in the country there is the serious problem of adulteration. Generally, milk is mixed with unclean and infected water, and thus the risk from infection is very great. Co-operative and Government dairies undoubtedly produce good milk under proper hygienic conditions, but their production is very small as yet. Again, the quality of Indian milk obtained mainly from cow and she-buffalo is poor,[2] and this is partly due to the inadequate herbage upon which the milch-cattle are fed. In many cases the eating

1. Aykroyd : *Vitamins and Other Dietary Essentials*, p. 149.

2. *Vide*, R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, p. 79.

of toxic plants results in the drying of milk and considerable injury to the different organs of the animal's body such as the udder muscles.

The yield of milk also varies from season to season, and these seasonal fluctuations in milk supply impose a great hardship upon the consumers in urban areas who generally get not only milk mixed with water, but also milk of diseased cows or buffaloes passed on either separately or along with the milk of other cows and buffaloes. This is highly detrimental to the health of the users. It has been noticed that milkmen usually pay no attention to the variations in the chemical and bacteriological composition of milk at the time of bulking. This practice also leads to a deterioration in the quality of our milk.

Another characteristic feature of our milk trade is the lack of organisation which perpetuates inefficiency. The milk of small producer-retailers is not always up to the desired standard of quality. The art of milk production in India is primitive, and stands no comparison with that of the West where milk is produced under controlled conditions and graded according to definite bacteriological standards before it is put in the market. Most of our producers do not realise the importance of hygienic precautions in milk production.[3] In cities they generally keep the milch-cattle in dingy rooms or in narrow lanes on sewage drains, and in the villages too the cattle-yards are littered with dung and manure. The hygienic value of milk produced under such conditions cannot but be questionable. Moreover, the *Gowalas* are not very particular about milking intervals which, if uneven, cause wide variations in quality, *e.g.*, the butter fat easily varies from 2 to 3 per cent in such cases. They are also addicted to another mal-practice, namely, *Phooka*, whereby the period of lactation is artifically elongated. Milk obtained in this way is not at all healthful.

Thus it is clear that the supply of milk in India is inadequate and that whatever milk is available is generally not up to the desired standard of purity and cleanliness. Therefore, if the per capita milk consumption is to be increased to at least 15 ozs., which the experts in the science of nutrition regard to be the minimum in the interests of national health, there is an urgent need for augmenting the total milk production and making it available to the people at cheap prices. This is not an easy task, but, nevertheless, sustained and strenuous efforts should be made to increase the consumption of milk as it has been successfully done in Great Britain during the past decade.

From the experiments carried out at some of the Government farms it has been found that, as a result of selective breeding and better feeding and management, milk production can be considerably increased. So the milkmen should pay greater attention to this aspect of dairy farming. Fodder crops and legumes should be cultivated on a larger scale because at present almost all the available pieces of arable land are utilised for growing cereals and other crops which fetch high prices. Near big cities there should be established 'Dairy Areas' which will be in a better position to supply superior quality milk to the consumers owing to the facilities of adequate fodder supply and of keeping serviceable dry cows and buffaloes which, in many cases, are, at present, handed over to the abattoir. Greater restrictions should be put on the holocaust of superior breed animals. This is of such vital importance that the Food Grains Policy Committee has also stressed the need of 'preserving the plough cattle, transport bulls and milch animals in the interest of food production of the country.'

Again, in many cities and towns trade in adulterated milk has assumed the proportions of a scandal. The various Provincial Governments have tried to combat the evil, but it has not been eradicated as yet. It is, therefore, imperative to lay down local standards of quality and purity (both for summer and winter), and to discourage the sale of loose, unbottled milk. The milk-producers should be graded and paid for on the basis of quality—fat content, cleanliness and freedom of the herd from disease. The best milk available should be directed to the liquid market, and only this milk should be offered to the public.

The nutrition value of milk does not need to be stressed. It is "richly endowed with protein of high biological value and with important mineral salts and vitamins,"[4] and it is essential for growth and health. Indeed, if the aim of post-war policy is to be to support the population at a higher standard of living, then the provision of milk must be the first consideration. The Hot Springs Conference has also recommended the production of larger quantities of

3. For further details regarding inefficient milking the reader may refer to *Science and Culture,* Vol. VI, No. 5. Article on *Production of Clean Milk in an Indian Household.*

4. Aykroyd : *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

protective foods like milk and vegetables. But if a truly enormous increase in the consumption of milk is wanted, then the beginning must be made from now. A 'National Milk Policy' should be chalked out, and the objective should be the provision of abundant, clean and cheap milk for the consumer. This is really a very simple objective and can hardly be challenged.

## THE DEAF-MUTES IN INDIA

By NRIPENDRA MOHAN MAJOOMDAR

*Zone-Secretary, Convention of the Teachers of Deaf in India*

From the very origin of the human race, there has been a section of people who, from birth or due to some accident, have been greatly handicapped for the struggle of life. The deaf and dumb, the blind and so on fall victims to this miserable category. In former days these wretched fellows were looked down upon by the society or the state at large. But it is a very hopeful sign of progress that men are changing their attitudes towards these fellowmen of theirs. Along with the world, India also is realizing the social importance of this section of population. It is of course the outcome of the present scientific civilization and humanitarian sense. In this country of dark pessimism and political backwardness, one feels elated to see various attempts to turn these handicapped, half-grown persons into perfect, full-grown citizens. Many a noble son of India at present deeply feels that he is under an obligation to help and not to hinder the harmonious progress of these defective brethren. These handicapped people are placed under our charge. We must have to prepare them for their life's battle. We must develop them into well-rounded men and women to take their respective places in the busy world. We must help them to be self-reliant and self-confident, so that they may live a life of service to the community and of greatest enjoyment to themselves. If such be not the aims of those who feel for the deaf-mutes, if we fail to minimize the number of these unfortunate brethren of our society, we must fail in our mission as 'men' in the truest sense of the term. There can be in that case little hope for the successful realization of our humanitarian object in view. Our success depends on how well we fit these handicapped people to become perfect citizens of our community. So it can be better imagined than described how tremendous is our responsibility in guiding the destiny of so many lives seriously impaired by the absence of one of their sense-organs. We will be failing in discharging our duties, if we do not try our best to equip these people properly so that they may not lack in manner, behaviour and efficiency unlike the rest of mankind. The educated Indians will be morally criminal, if they do not care as far as possible to enable each deaf or dumb of India to attain the highest social, intellectual and economic position in life.

It need hardly be reminded that to achieve this noble end is a very difficult task. It is also needless to say how perplexing and pressing is our problem—the problem of education of a class of people, living in a world of silence and striving to have it against fearful odds. Yet there have been considerable efforts to achieve it. Hence we see in India today the establishment of so many institutions for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind.

As to the deaf and dumb education, it may be mentioned that it is a recent inauguration in India, yet by this short time there has been established a good number of deaf and dumb schools having different training schemes and academic activities. But yet much work has to be done, if we are to place this education on a satisfactory footing. India has a deaf and dumb population of more than two lacs and a half and only a little over 1,000 of these unfortunate fellows are getting education in the different schools scattered throughout the country. The enterprise is mostly dependent on voluntary private efforts; because there is a very insignificant amount of grant from the government. Moreover, the expenses for this education are very much greater in proportion to those of ordinary education, because much individual treatment is required. Hence the difficulty of the task. It naturally requires much more financial support from the generous public. Without public donations, these noble attempts of a few noble individuals will be nipped in the bud undoubtedly.

As to the enterprise of the noble workers, it is evident that the difficulty should be a stimulus to further effort. It is never feasible that we should have these innumerable brothers to be merely burdens of the society. We must have to make special effort on their behalf to restore them to an equality with other members

of the society. But here we must remember that this should not be regarded as doing a favour to an inferior race of people. They are in no way inferior to ourselves. They are also of the same stuff that we are made of, and are therefore our equals. The examples of those who have become great among them show that they also can reach the highest pinnacle of success in life. So there is no room for thinking that we shall do all these things out of pity. It is their birth-right to be 'men' in the real sense of the term; and hence, it is our duty to help them to be so.

# PLANNING FOR INDIA'S UNITY

By Professor MANECK B. PITHAWALLA, D.Sc., F.G.S.,
*University Teacher in Geography for Post-graduate Research*

Whatever may be the views of the different political organisations in India, like the Moslem League, the Indian National Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha, regarding the future governance of the country, it must be admitted by all its best well-wishers that nature is *against* any vivisection; and attempts at any *artificial* divisions of the land, such as Pakistan or Hindustan, will be detrimental to its welfare. That India must be one *united nation* at all costs, if it is to prosper in future, cannot be gainsaid by any wise politician, Indian or foreign.

### The Future of the World

The future of all the nations of the world depends upon good neighbourliness, good nourishment and good defence. The abolition of hatred, poverty and unsafeness should be the aim of all post-war planning.

If the whole world is to be considered as a happy family, it is absolutely necessary that we in India and of the old world should set an example to those of the new world in this respect. There should be no proposals for any undue, unnecessary and unnatural partitions of the country to gratify the greeds and the needs of any particular class of people.

India, however, is a vast sub-continent. Nature has made it a conglomeration of many regions, many climates, many environs and therefore there are many kinds of people with high ideals living in them. At the same time, it is well guarded by long chains of mountains with suitable passes in the north-west and a 5,000 miles long coastland, thus allowing its inhabitants to live peacefully within the limits and stimulating it with fresh immigrants to form one great civilisation after making the necessary adjustments.

It is an exceedingly good geographical unit for forming *one* nation with *one* national goal of its own. If any divisions of it must be made for their proper and convenient government, they must be *natural*.

### The Communal Tangle

The present political boundaries, haphazardly made, are the greatest hindrances to all its progress. The peculiar sizes and shapes of the various presidencies and provinces together with the Native States within them, are the most *un*natural for our purpose.

They were due to strange historical circumstances and chance treaties. They have made the peoples, living within them, think in terms of party politics and not of real culture. They have created so much provincialism, unworthy of any great country. Under provincial autonomy, recently granted by the British rulers, the situation has become worse and the essential unity of India is fast breaking up. The cleavage between several provinces, *e.g.*, Bihar and Bengal, Sind and the Punjab, Ceylon and South India, is really due to these artificial political barriers and rugged provincial boundaries.

### The Map of India to be Re-drawn

What then is the remedy ? Since India is such a big country with very different physiographic features, a re-division of the whole country on a really natural and cultural basis should be made with a provision for a re-union of them with convenient lines of communication and for a regrafting of them with common national ideals, under a benign and representative Central Government. In other words, if India must be divided for its efficient administration and maximum benefit and for its most beneficial government of the peoples, its best divisions should be physiographic with natural boundaries and congenial environmental influences for their growth and evolution. (See my

"Physiographic Divisions of India, Burma and Ceylon," *Science and Culture,* May 1942).

Certain river courses, mountain chains and plateau blocks are partial nature-designed compartments which will suit all those who come under their control and influence. In our country good rivers have offered good homes to all, irrespective of caste or creed. Within these regions all the diversities of human life, food, clothes and general welfare must disappear. Man is born to make adjustments to such environments and make a beneficial use of them for his growth and advancement in life. They offer to him the necessary stimulus also to modify these environments, if necessary, for his entire benefit. Within such natural physiographic regions, there is no distinction of caste or creed. Their prosperity prospers all, their adversity also affects all adversely, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and others.

These divisions and boundaries proposed should conform, *without the trammels of any political boundaries,* to all the natural conditions prevailing within the various regions. There must be a stable physical background to rely upon and the influence of certain homogeneous natural environments of a more or less permanent character must be great. In my paper on "Some Co-relations between Cultural Regions and Physiographic Divisions of India," I am showing that physical divisions also produce cultures peculiar to themselves without any communal barriers and that when such cultures get mingled like the fresh waters of detached lakes by a process of spiritual irrigation, they are likely to produce an All-India Culture, for which we all crave in these days of communal tensions and rivalries.

### Neither Pakistan nor Hindustan

It is only by one *united* force that we can make these natural regions yield the best of fruits. Any other proposal that tends to disintegrate India should not therefore be entertained. In terms of the Lahore Resolution of 1940, passed by the All-India Muslim League, provinces in which the Muslims are in a majority, *e.g.,* Sind, the Punjab, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province are required to form themselves into *independent states,* and in the rest of India which is nearly three-fourths, the provinces are to be at liberty to form themselves *independent states* so that there would be two independent states, Pakistan and Hindustan with provisions to form convenient units within these states. The Muslims fear, that any central government based upon the *existing* provinces would be likely to hand the destiny of the whole of India over to a permanent Hindu majority, because the population of seven of them is mainly Hindu and only in a few of them mentioned above, it is mainly Moslem. So the proposal is to redraw the map of the country in such a way or manner that, within the new states, the existing provinces might be regrouped, each with an economic basis of its own and affording the crucial advantage of falling into two mainly Hindu and two mainly Muslim regions. The most likely result will be that India will be broken up into two *independent* and therefore unfriendly States, with no guarantee for its future welfare altogether. Besides, the economic products are typical of the regions and therefore not suitable for making the individual provinces self-sufficient and independent, while the *whole* of India can be made an independent unit, by a proper planning and interchange of the products of all the parts on an *All-India basis.*

### Prof. Coupland's Plan Examined

Another proposal for India's divisions has been recently made by Prof. R. C. Coupland in his book on *The Future of India* and a discussion on his thesis of a regional distribution is held by Sir Edward Grigg, former Finance Secretary to the War Office, to the effect that India's provinces and states can be made self-governing under four regional governments, *viz.,* the Indus, the Ganges, the Delta and the Deccan regions. This so-called re-distribution would also be unprofitable and would produce a Pakistan of the worst type in our country.

Although regional, Prof. Coupland's plan suffers from two main faults :

1. It is not thoroughly scientific, *e.g.,* there cannot be an entire separation of the Ganges Delta from the main body of the river valley both upper and middle, for the sake of the majority of the people living in it. The delta alone cannot be self-sufficient in any way. The food and famine trouble in Bengal today, apart from any misrule or any mismanagement, is due to Nature's doings,—bad and insufficient crops, cyclonic storms and the Damodar river floods and even air raids. Fish which is the stable food of millions of Bengalees, could not be procured at the same time. The very poverty of Bengal is due to its most thickly populated condition, which cannot be relieved by partitioning it against the remaining parts of the valley. It must also be noted that the Ganges Delta and the Indus Basin, in spite of their

having an ethnological and communal relationship, are from the point of view of economic products dissimilar and are therefore not likely to become self-supporting and therefore self-governing. They are sadly deficient in mineral deposits, even fuel, coal etc., in which the Peninsular area including the "Deccan Regions" are rich, so that the partitions proposed by the Professor, would be poor even from the point of view of a prosperous Pakistan. In fact, in any scheme of a division of our country, this *balancing factor* of natural, economic wealth cannot be neglected, *however inconvenient* it may appear to be to one or the other community living in it. In any case, there ought to be a free and healthy interchange of materials between the Divisions physiographically made, as shown above. (See my paper on "The Mineral Kingdom and the Mineral Resources of India," Bombay 1943).

2. The second grave defect of the scheme is that it is quite imperfect, *e.g.*, the Deccan regions are not a single region. From the points of view of soils, water supply, climates, products and even of cultures, they resolve themselves into several distinct regions.

### Unity in Diversities the only Solution

So we can see that it is difficult to propose any workable scheme of regional distribution of India and still more difficult to put it into practice, without the aid of the *science of Geography* and without seeking *unity in diversities* by breaking up the present political boundaries and setting up new and natural ones. The cry in India for new and separate provinces can also be satisfied thereby. The difficulties of the various Native States can be solved likewise by forming a Federation of a suitable nature within the new boundaries. Religion must have no place in Indian politics. Not religion but culture must be our criterion and cultures must be born of the natural physiographic regions proposed by us. If therefore natural physiographic boundaries with suitable communication lines between them are put up, the new and natural divisions will start a free and self-supporting life within their limits but without any regard to the castes and creeds of the peoples living in them and at the same time producing a healthy mingling of their cultures. In the long run they will make India, under a beneficent Central Government, *one united nation,* ready to give its share in the planning of international affairs in the new world, which is taking its birth at the present moment.

### Conclusion

So we appeal to all the different leaders of India to pool their cultures together, whatever their religious beliefs, and form *one national civilisation* apart from their religions. India's constitution should never be based on the Quran or the Vedas but on *Nature*.

The Indian nation can be likened to the age-old Banyan tree, whose massive trunk has well settled in the rich soil of the mother-earth and whose large branches and small branches are different communities and creeds which still cling, in a congenial atmosphere, to their kith and kin, and from whose sides fall the hanging roots which long to meet the mother, who gave them birth, once again. May it flourish for ever long!

# THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

By BEPIN B. BANERJI

The co-operative movement is on its last legs in this unfortunate province (Bengal). It was ushered with much fanfare and fete but it collapsed amidst the tears and lamentations of thousands of widows and middle-class people who, to all intents and purposes, financed it, when it relapsed from co-operative into a credit system. The unlimited liabilities which were trotted out as the main plank of the movement had in them the germ that at last laid the movement low. Like an insiduous disease they developed symptoms which have in the end brought about the present inpasse. Had proper care and foresight been shown, the growth might have been arrested betimes and a sad failure would not have resulted as it has done now.

The liabilities of the members of the rural societies who were to take loans from the central

banks for the betterment of their condition are unlimited and here the shrewd people of the country-side stole a march on the enlightened authors of the movement in surreptitiously enlisting men as members who had neither any land nor had they inherited any property at the time. Had this little germ lying dormant in the movement been properly diagnosed beforehand, the catastrophe might have been averted. But as this was not, or could not have been, done, the members without assets for unlimited liabilities to operate, snapped their fingers at the very foundation of the movement in getting not only a rate of interest lower than the one demanded by the *mahajans* but also a chance of not paying, landless as they are, even the capital amount borrowed. They were, in short, free to borrow, but unable to pay. And this could not have been foreseen and forestalled.

The propertied members, on the other hand, found a loop-hole in the law so as not to pay, for, there is nothing in it that prevents them from alienating their property when unlimited liabilities are set in motion against them.

The authorities seemed at long last to wake up to what they could not foresee in the beginning and to devise means to rectify the errors of the past by increasing the staff, as if an army of officers can work miracles on non-propertied members to pay and compel the propertied members to obey their command as the law. What they can at best do is to test the new recruits. But new recruits are very rare now, for, capital which is always very shy has of late become shyer owing to the unsettled state of the people's mind at present, breach of contract to pay on maturity and, last but not least, to the embezzlements and other ugly incidents that occurred in several co-operative banks and societies. So the increase has, from this point of view, been an imposition on the already over-burdened and almost dying organisation. And, as the Reserve Bank has given a blank cheque and flatly refused to help the movement, the additional cost will be the last straw that will break the back of the movement.

The Government help and the fresh capital thus failing, all that the officers and the men under them, both old and new, can do to prove the *raison d'tre* of their existence is to develop among the village people the co-operative spirit for which the movement has been inaugurated in all the civilised countries of the world. But the village people take loans here, as a rule, on questionable assets, at a very low rate of interest and spend them not so much for the improvement of education, sanitation, agriculture, etc., as for marriage festivities, cinema shows, gambling and the like. And they can very well do it, as the money comes in very handy with no very great obligations to pay. This squandering habit is now to be checked and a spirit of thrift is to be engendered among the village people for the well-being of the society in which they live, or, in other words, the movement is to be pushed back to what its name implies.

The first thing, that the officers and the men under them should do is to give a turn to the individualistic trend of the people's mind and to train them to work in a spirit of co-operation in the interest of their common good. Unless the officers of the Department of Co-operative Societies can organise and develop this team-work and instil into the minds of the people the value of working in concert, the movement can hardly be dragged out of the mire into which it has sunken.

If the people be trained in this fundamental principle of the movement by merging self in social welfare, such proposals as long-term loan, marketing, etc., will be easy sailing. Unless the foundation be strong, any amount of plastering and embellishing the walls, balconies and corridors cannot keep the edifice standing. The long-term loan will certainly give the ryots facilities to pay and the pooling together of the produce for marketing will no doubt ensure better profit with less trouble, but, habituated as they are, they cannot do it themselves, unless a suitably trained staff be found to break their age-long slumber and awake them to the democratic ideal of the movement. If the spirit of "live and let live" be fostered and maintained among the rural people, or, in other words, if the people can be made to feel that their very existence hangs on co-operation, then and then alone any help that may come to them from outside to tide over a most unprecedented situation can be fully utilised to their benefit; otherwise, "money got will be money squandered," as it was done before. And for this the whole army of the officers of the Department, both high and low, may be mobilised to fight illiteracy, indebtedness, insanitation and a thousand and one other ills of village life through a movement which was so hopefully forecasted at the start. but which so dismally fizzled out in the end owing to lack of proper care and supervision in the past.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Social Progress : Food

Food is the most important of human requirements and the social progress of a country depends upon the abundance of the quality and variety of nutritious food available for its population. Writes P. G. Shah in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

India is eminently an agricultural country with 87 per cent. of its population living in rural areas, out of which 66 per cent. is directly engaged in agriculture. India is associated so much with poverty and famine that it is forgotten that, with its large population of about one-fifth of the whole world and its vast land resources, India is among the foremost producers of food in the world. India is the largest single producer of important commodities like sugar, groundnut, jute and lac. It occupies a very creditable place as the second producer in the world for tea, rice and cotton. This high position is not accidental, as will also be seen from the fact that India also holds the world's record for its cattle and livestock. It has the largest bovine population in the world holding nearly one-fourth of the total, *i.e.*, 167 out of 690 million, cattle population. Even though the vastness of the cattle population, like the human population, is not an unmixed blessing, if their health, vitality and utility are of a limited order, I mention these facts to indicate the lines of further progress.

If India with its resouces not yet fully developed already occupies such a high position in the world economy, what can it not achieve if her resources are fully and properly developed ?

In India, the average yield of cotton per acre is as low as 90 lbs., compared with 150 lbs. of the United States and the 450 lbs. of Egypt. In rice, the Indian average of 750 to 900 lbs. compares not unfavourably with that of Indo-China and Siam, but is far below America's 1,500 lbs., Egypt's 2,000, Japan's 2,300 and Italy's 3,000 lbs. In wheat, India's 650 lbs. is below Australia's 710, Argentina's 780, America's 850, Canada's 975 and Europe's 1,150. Here is scope for work for the scientific plant-breeder, for the rural development boards, agricultural associations, officers of the Agricultural Department and for the farmers themselves.

Not only larger production per acre but more intensive cultivation of the soil is also necessary.

Out of the total area of 1,005 million acres, only 340 million acres are actually sown with crops and only 74 per cent. of the cultivable area is brought under the plough. Over 100 million acres are shown as "culturable waste other than fallow," while the fallow land amounts to 58 million acres. If all this land is successfully cultivated, an enormous amount of extra food and earning power would be available for social progress.

The importance attached to questions of food, *e.g.*, those of its price, quality and quantity, procurement and distribution, at the present day should be a permanent feature of our social policy.

But I may mention in passing that in 1933 Major-General Sir John Megaw, Director-General, Indian Medical Service had collected sufficient evidence (*An Enquiry into Certain Public Health Aspects of Village Life in India*) to come to the startling conclusion that "only about 39 per cent. of the people were well-nourished, 41 per cent. as poorly nourished and 20 per cent. as badly nourished." In the opinion of another expert of international fame, Dr. Aykroyd, "if the entire population had enough to eat, an increase of 20 to 30 per cent. in food production would be absorbed." These facts indicate what further progress is necessary for increasing our food resources, in preventing their destruction by insects and pests, and in proper marketing and distribution. We should all wish success to the present Food Member, Sir J. P. Shrivastava who has declared it to be "his ambition to see India a country where every one has a square deal, and four square meals a day." We might as well specify that these meals should provide healthy and balanced diet containing from 2,400 to 3,000 calories of heat units and adequate variety and abundance of vitamins, to suit conditions of work, climate and constitution, if social progress is to be maintained.

## Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II (1686-1743)

The bicentenary of the death of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II, ruler of the State of Amber and founder of the city of Jaipur, deserves more than a passing notice, so varied were his activities and so remarkable his gifts. M. F. Soonawala writes in *Science and Culture* :

It would be well to glance at the political and intellectual setting in which Jai Singh was placed, if his worth is to be truly appreciated. Maharaja Jai Singh succeeded to the sovereignty of Jaipur, then known as Amber in 1699, at the age of thirteen. Eight years later, in 1707, Aurangzeb, the last of the great Moghuls passed away, and was succeeded by the line of the lesser Moghuls, from whose infirm grasp power was gradually to slip away. The house that Babar built was showing signs of decay; though the convulsion that cracked its very foundations came in 1739 when Delhi was sacked by Nadir Shah. This was in the fortieth year of Jai Singh's reign and four years before his death. The old empire was passing away, and new and powerful forces were gathering strength in the north, the east and the south. During these troublesome times Jai Singh stood loyally by the throne of Delhi, and his reputation in the court always stood high. He

was called upon to become, first, the governor of the province of Agra, and was later transferred to the governorship of Malwa. He was wise to take notice of the rising power of the Mahrathas, and as a result of his persuasion Malwa was finally ceded by the Emperor Muhammad Shah to the Peshwa to be held perpetually in nominal fief to the throne of Delhi. It was due to his intercession that the sore of the *Jeziya* tax (Poll-tax on non-Muslims) was finally removed. Jai Singh took the opportunity to establish the power of his house on a firm and solid basis amongst the Rajput States, and considerably extended the frontiers of his territories. He felt the situation of his capital at Amber too insecure against invaders, and he decided in 1728 to shift about seven miles southward to a new city he founded, and this he named Jaipur. This is unique amongst Indian cities in plan and layout, and still stands a monument to its founder's passion for precision and regularity; for its principal thoroughfares (width 110 ft.) run east and west and the main cross-roads run north and south. The Temple of the Sun stands a white-robed sentinel over it at the eastern extremity on a hill on the outskirts of the city. The chief engineer in the construction of the city was Vidyadhar Bhattacharyya, a Brahmin of Bengali extraction, and descendant of one of the Brahmins who was brought by Jai Singh's ancestor Maharaja Man Singh from Bengal.

The precision and elegance of the methods of astronomy and the mystic lore of astrology had early cast a spell upon Jai Singh.

By intense study and application he made himself conversant with the traditional Hindu system of astronomy, the principal source of which was the *Surya Siddhanta*. The origin and date of this work are not easily traceable. But, Jai Singh undoubtedly missed in it the precise observational data for which he longed. The dominant influence of the Greco-Babylonian school of astronomy had been felt in the East since the time of the Seleucids (313 B.C.—65 A.D.) and continued to be a living force when Europe, on the break up of the Roman Empire lapsed into barbarism during the times known as the Dark Ages. But during these times, the Moslems became the custodians of the culture of the Babylonians and the Greeks. The basis of the astronomical lore amongst the Moslems was Ptolemy's great work, *Syntaxis,* which in Arabic translation is known as *Al Majista.* It reappears later in Europe under the name *The Almagest.* But the Moslem Savants made constant addition to this store of knowledge, from their own observations and studies. Jai Singh studied it carefully from Muslim sources, and it is known to him as *Mijasti.* He appears also to have studied with diligence the elements of Euclid from the translation of Nasir ul Din al Tusi who lived about the middle of the 13th century. Jai Singh was much impressed and attracted by the work of the Muslim astronomers, whose anxiety to carry out precision measurements found a ready echo in his heart.

The work of Mirza Ulugh Beg (1393—1449 A.D.) and his assistant, Jamshid el Kashi, is especially noteworthy.

A grandson of Timur the Lame, Ulugh Beg was a ruler and an astronomer even as Jai Singh was in later times. Mirza Ulugh Beg devoted himself with great zeal to astronomical studies all his life till it was ultimately cut short by the dagger of the assassin. Ulugh Beg had erected an observatory at Samarkand about 1425 A.D., and from his numerous observations had compiled a set of useful astronomihal tables whirh superseded those of Ptolemy.

The tables of Ulugh Beg were adopted by Jai Singh as basis for his future work.

The Arabs and other Muslims astronomers were adepts in the construction and use of the astrolable; but here Jai Singh differed from them, and was always suspicious of brass instruments which, he argued, could never yield results of any high accuracy because of their mechanical imperfections. He early decided to erect firm and stable masonry instruments, giving them such generous dimensions that with their aid, accuracy in observations which was still then unrivalled could be achieved.

While Jai Singh was busy in these projects, a revolution had already taken place in European Astronomy, through the labours of Copernicus (1470-1542), Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), Kepler (1571-1630), Galileo (1570-1642) and Newton (1642-1727).

Jai Singh's thirst for knowledge was insatiable, and any source was welcome to him which could allay it. For this purpose, he sent emissaries to distant lands, Muslims like Muhammad Sharif and Muhammad Mahdi to the Muslim centres of learning; and "several skilful persons along with Padre Manuel," as the Maharaja himself puts it, to Europe.

Jai Singh invited scholars to Jaipur for consultation. Perhaps, the most picturesque of these was Jouvier de Sylva, the Portuguese, who made Jaipur his home.

From these sources Jai Singh became acquainted with the principles and use of the logarithms and trigo-

nometrical ratios, and also with the astronomical tables of Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal of Great Britain (*Historia Coelestis Brittanica*) and la Hire's *Tabula Astronomica*. Jai Singh does not appear to have realized the full significance of the revolution in astronomical knowledge brought about between 1473 and 1687. He valued astronomy, like most of his European contemporaries, on account of its use in astrology (*i.e.*, the pseudo-science of predicting the future from positions of planets, sun and the moon), and does not appear to have realized that after the successful explanation of planetary motion by Newton, astrology had lost all pretensions to a scientific basis.

About 1724, Jai Singh constructed his first observatory at Delhi with masonry instruments, which he preferred to brass ones.

He spent seven years of careful observation, which he decided to embody in proper tables. His principal collaborator in this as well as all subsequent work was Pandit Jagannath (a Brahmin of Telugu extraction) who was equally at home in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, learned in Hindu as well as Muslim astronomical lore. With the aid of Jagannath, he got the Arabic version of Ptolemy's *Almagest* translated into Sanskrit under the name *Samrat Siddhanta* (*lit.* the emperor amongst astronomical treatises) and Euclid's elements under the name *Rekhaganita*.

Ripe with experience gathered at Delhi, Maharaja Jai Singh constructed an observatory on an even more ambitious scale at his newly founded capital, Jaipur about the year 1734.

Jai Singh's Tables give the numbers of constellations and stars with their longitudes, latitudes, right ascensions, declinations, and magnitudes. It thus closely follows the lines of the catalogue of Ulugh Beg.

This important work Jai Singh dedicated to Emperor Muhammad Shah.

—

### Russia

During March, the Russian front remained the most interesting. *The New Review* observes:

Of the Russian front, the northern sector witnessed sensational changes but remained of secondary importance. The Red army achieved local victories but most of the initiative was on the side of the enemy who fell back on a shorter and stronger line; instead of mounting guard on a sinuous line round Leningrad, they have retired on the Narva-Peipus defences which have so far resisted all Soviet assaults. It is probable that the Nazi losses have been largely compensated by this orderly shortening of a difficult and unpromising front.

On the southern sector, operations were of a different type; most of the initiative belonged to the Soviet, and, on the Soviet side, the leading role was given to Marshal Zhukov who commands the first Ukrainian front.

Zhukov replaced Vatutin, the tank expert and the hero of Kharkov and Kiev. Zhukov is close to fifty, he fought in the Red Revolution, was a teacher at military schools and, like all sensible Soviet generals, stays away from the public eye. After the Finnish war, he helped Shaposhnikov and Timoshenko to train the new army under most realistic warfare conditions. Later he was entrusted with the outer defence of Moscow and with the winter offensive which pushed the Germans back to the Rzhev line; then in the summer offensive of 1942, he held the all-important pivot of Voronezh. When Shaposhnikov fell ill, Zhukov was brought into Stalin's inner military council; he is even said to be Stalin's favourite officer, his *Liubimets*. Early this year he was assigned to the decisive part of the southern front.

Vatutin had pushed the line across the Polish frontier and then vainly turned to achieve a break-through at Vinnitsa and Uman. Zhukov delivered his first mighty blow further north-west and struck at the German sector in front of Proskurov and Tarnopol; he succeeded in pushing through the German defences and reached the Odessa-Lwow railway-line which was the last rail communication running parallel to the German rear. Once it was clear that he could hold a few miles, he had won the battle of the Dnieper bend; his colleagues had only to exploit his victory to the full. Much later in the battle, Zhukov eased his position and extended his success by taking Dobno and Kremenets so as to prepare the advance across the Dniester's upper reaches.

In the Dnieper bend, the Russian generals were not slow in taking advantage of Zhukov's victory.

They rushed at the Nazi line with the fury pent up during the deadlock of the last weeks and played havoc with the Nazi divisions, cornering some in impossible positions, rounding off others which attempted a hasty withdrawal and pushing back the whole line in a tumultuous rout. Malinowski outflanked Nipolaev, Koniev crossed the Dniester and Zhukov pushed closed to Lwow. The battle is still in full swing, and the Nazi occupation of Hungary and Rumania is a desperate measure against the worst. The winter campaign has been disastrous to Hitler.

His stubborn clinging to any of his conquests has advanced the hour of his defeat. Had he been of a more supple mind, he would have fallen back on a shorter line of defence and built up a strategic reserve that would have checkmated the advance of invasion forces.

Several lines of defence were at his choice. The one nearer the front would have run along the Dnieper as far as Kiev, then across the Pripet marshes to the Berezina and then by way of Pskov to Lake Peipus and Narva: a length of 1,000 miles only and consequently a saving up of some ninety divisions. The Nazis had three hundred divisions on the eastern front, and a ten-mile stretch takes one division on an average, providing for small local reserves and allowing one-third of the troops to rest or reform in the rear.

The shortest of all ran from Odessa to Kamenetz, then along the pre-war Polish frontier, across the Pripet marshes to the Dvina and down the Dvina across to Riga. This line measures 950 miles, would take some 95 divisions and save up over one hundred divisons. Could the Nazis have established themselves on that line after having lost not more than one hundred divisions, they would have had a defence line as strongly manned as the Dnieper-Kiev-Vitebsk-Leningrad line which they held before the winter. They would moreover have gained the advantage of shorter communications.

But the Odessa-Kamenetz sector has been cut into pieces and their next possible defence is now the (longer and weaker) Siret-Danube line.

## Is Iranian Oil A Blessing to Iran ?

Dara Dastoor writes in *The Indian Review*:

Iran, like the United States of America, is a large producer of oil. In fact it stands fourth in the list of oil-producing countries, and if all the oil-fields existing and potential were brought to book, it would stand even higher. But there is a peculiarity about Iranian oil—not in its chemical composition—but in its relation with the economic life of that country. For whereas

American oil is the hand-maid of America's industrial structure, Iranian oil is not so; mainly because Iran's industrial structure is not yet well developed and also because of lack of communications in the country. Persian oil is being sold in most parts of the world, large steamships on the world's ocean-paths, thousands of aeroplanes in the skies above us and millions of motor-cars on the world's high ways are driven by the power of Iranian motor-spirit and yet Iran itself until very recently used to import the petroleum products needed for her own consumption.

The explanation of this paradox lies in the fact that the Iranians in the North found it cheaper to import oil from Baku, the Russian oil-port on the Caspian, than to bring the oil produced at Maidan-i-Naftun over the Bakhtiari Hills and the Zagros mountains. This position has been explained by Moustapha Khan Fateh by the following analogy : "Persia is like a hungry person who has plenty of food in another part of his house but is unable to partake of it because of his physical inability to walk."

But since these words were written (in 1926), the old order hath changed giving place to new.

Within a short space of fifteen years Reza Shah Pahlevi, the wizard of this ancient land, transformed the hitherto nomadic, primitive and poor Persia into modern Iran—a semi-industrial and semi-agricultural country.

In two decades he provided his land with some 16,000 miles of up-to-date motor-roads, some 1,200 miles of most expensive railways in the world, and with a number of factories producing a variety of articles, such as cotton, silk, woollen and leather goods, sugar, cement, arms and ammunition and even an assembling plant for air-crafts. No doubt much still remains to be accomplished to bring Iran to the forefront of industrial nations of this world; yet the progress so far is sufficient to take the sting out of the above quotation from Moustapha Khan Fateh. The hungry man has now begun to move and in a short time will be able to partake of the food.

But the truth of these words cannot be denied in the days when they were inspired (1926), or, say, forty years back when D'Morgan smelt oil in the soil of Iran, which ultimately resulted in the grant of a 66 years' concession to William Knox D'Arcy, the founder of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

The Anglo-Persian Oil Company opened up an entirely new field of Imperialism in Iran.

It has since become a State within a State, with its own administration, its own Tanker fleet, its own hospitals, cinemas and tobacco shops. It is not listed on the Domesday Book of Nations but it exists. The creation of Bandar Shahpur by the Iranian Government to serve as the southern terminus of the Trans-Iranian Railway while Abadan or Mohamerra would have served this purpose much better, manifests beyond doubt the existence of this petty Oil State as a separate *entente*. It becomes much more so on a study of the export figures published by the Government of Iran. In these figures are not included the figures of the value of oil exported by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, nor is it taken account of while calculating the balance of trade of the country.

The following emotional comments of Sir Arnold Wilson (then Lt. Wilson) to his father on the occasion when oil was first struck at well No. B1, Maidan-i-Naphtun on 26th May, 1908, bear ample testimony to the situation :



"It is a great event. It will provide all our ships east of Suez with fuel. It will strengthen British influence in these parts. It will make us less dependent on foreign-owned oil-fields."

The financial advantages to the British Government can best be explained by citing Mr. Winston Churchill's reference to this question in his book *The World Crisis* in which he estimates the amount gained and saved by the British Government at £40 millions made up as under :

| | millions. |
|---|---|
| Market value of Government's 5 million shares | £16·0 |
| Dividends and various taxes received | £ 6·5 |
| Amount actually saved in oil purchased as compared with current prices | £ 7·5 |
| Further savings estimated on the balance of the contract | £10·0 |
| Total | £20·0 |

Against all these gains—financial, political and otherwise to the British Government, we can place for comparison the only substantial gain to the Iranian Government, *viz.*, Royalties received from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which in 1927-28 amounted to £1,488,000. No doubt this Royalty has increased considerably during the last few years but so have the gains to Britain and the proportion remains almost unaltered. No doubt the Company spends a large sum of money every year in Iran for labour and supplies. The number of Iranians employed at the oil-fields and refineries exceeds 25,000, while towns like Mohamerra, Ahwazs, Abadan have gained much in material prosperity.

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Sun Yat Sen, Founder and First President of Republican China

A Chinese proverb says : "A man's greatness can only be estimated after his coffin is nailed."

On March 12, it will be 19 years since Dr. Sun Yat Sen, father of the Chinese Republic, died. That is long enough to estimate some part of what he has meant to China, to the East, to the world.

Born November 12, 1867 in South China, the son of a poor farmer, Sun like many poor but bright youths gravitated to college in Hongkong, gravitated some more into student underground activity, deserting a medical career therefor, was involved in the revolutionary plot of 1895 against the decaying Manchu dynasty, barely escaped execution decreed for his comrades.

As an exile, floating about the world, he determined to achieve a revolution in China based upon nationalism, democracy and socialism. An attempt to do so after the Boxer outbreak in 1900 proved abortive. Five years later the Chinese Revolutionary League was organised. The revolution came finally in 1911. Dr. Sun returned to China as president of the new republic.

During his 16-year exile, Dr. Sun had thrice visited the United States, read deeply into the life and works of Abraham Lincoln. Afterwards he attributed his philosophy of how China should be governed to Lincoln's three principles : "The people are to have, the people are to control, the people are to enjoy."

These principles Dr. Sun bequeathed to the Tungmenghui, forerunner of the present Chinese party, the Kuomintang. The history of China from Dr. Sun's presidency to his death in 1925, and subsequently, is a narrative of the slow struggle to apply them concretely. It is a story not without halts and turnings, but also with glorious re-beginnings and heartening advances.

Hoping to stop the story before it reached its happy ending, Japan declared war upon struggling China. The plot has failed militarily and psychologically. Well-equipped, well-trained, well-led Chinese troops are fighting the Japanese on the ground and in the air over China's coast and Burma today. And in a public utterance, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has said that they are still fighting for Sun's philosophies :

"The fundamental principle that guides China's destiny, China's faith as a nation, is based upon Dr. Sun Yat Sen's *Three People's Principles.*"

Sun's remains are entombed in a handsome mausoleum in the outskirts of occupied Nanking. The Japanese thus have his body, temporarily. The Chinese, and the world allied with China, possess his spirit.—*USOWI.*

---

## Baltimore Paper Applauds India's Post-war Planning

Commenting editorially on plans recently put forth for India's post-war development, the Baltimore *Sun* writes :

"Post-war planning is as popular in India as it is in the United States and Britain and, quite in keeping with the size and soaring population of that incalculable country, it is very ambitious post-war planning indeed. The Government of India is reported to be pondering what might be called a declaration of economic independence, a plan . . . for an economic expansion programme designed to raise 'by three times' the average Indian's standard of living. This is the so-called Bombay Plan, which envisages a series of three five-year plans after the war. . . .

"It is now increasingly clear that after the war India will be in a position to finance an extensive programme. Just as the last war transformed the United States from a debtor to a creditor, so this war has done the same for India. She will be able to enter the world markets not as a country in debt to her international neighbours, and Britain in particular, but as a creditor country with exchange surpluses available for large-scale purchases. . . .

"India will, moreover, have already in existence a broad industrial foundation on which to build. Her textile industry, while clothing her entire population, is now turning out more than 10 million military garments monthly. Her factories are supplying more than 37,000 separate items of the 50,000 required to equip and maintain a modern army. She is producing more than two million tons of pig iron and one million tons of steel annually. At least one-third of the world's output of manganese is coming from her mines. And, in most basic raw materials of modern industry, notably coal and iron ore, her natural deposits are immense.

"The lack of skilled labour would seem the major factor limiting India's future development, but even here considerable progress is being made. Under the pressure of war, hundreds of technical training centres have been set up and these are reported already to have graduated more than 50,000 relatively skilled workers. . . .

"India is rich in undeveloped resources."—*USOWI.*





### Research Expert, Born in India, Aids American War Industry

Alamjit D. Singh went to the United States from India in 1921, a student in search of adventure. Today he is a well-known scientist who has found his adventure in research work carried on in the laboratories of American universities and industries. He is famous for his work on camouflage and research on fuels.

The camouflage techniques he has developed are applicable throughout the United States and in other United Nations and he is a consultant for the American gas industry. He carries on research and acts as adviser for some 60 companies.

Alamjit was born in Birrauke, Ferozepore, Punjab, on March 20, 1901. Arriving in California in 1921, he began to work his way through college in typical American fashion at the state university at Berkeley. After three years there he went to work for the Ford Motor Company in Detroit, Michigan, where he obtained much experience useful in his industrial production studies. He became interested in research on coal and decided to go to school at the University of Illinois.

He graduated from Illinois in chemical engineering in 1929. He continued to do graduate work at the university research station until 1942.

While still in college, Alamjit undertook research on the production of acetic acid from carbon monoxide and wood alcohol by using methods developed by the Germans during the last war. The work carried on by Alamjit and his student colleagues eventually reached a stage sufficiently advanced so that one of the largest chemical companies in the United States began commercial operations for the production of acetic acid by this method.

Dr. Singh is married to an American woman and they have a son of eight who is interested in airplanes, paratroops and painting. Dr. Singh has not been back to India since he left, but he is very anxious to make a visit to the land of his birth and the trip is an important part of his personal post-war planning.—*USOWI.*

---

### Wallace Proposes Highway "Across Roof of the World"

Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, writing in the current *Survey Graphic* magazine, advocated construction of a parallel highway and airway linking Chicago and Moscow by a route literally passing across the roof of the world.

Wallace said the route should extend from the north central part of the United States, up through Canada to Alaska (this part, the Alcan highway, has already been constructed), out along the Alaskan Peninsula, across the 60-mile-wide Bering Strait (perhaps by ferry or causeway), across the immense spaces of Asiatic Siberia to the capital of the Soviet Union.

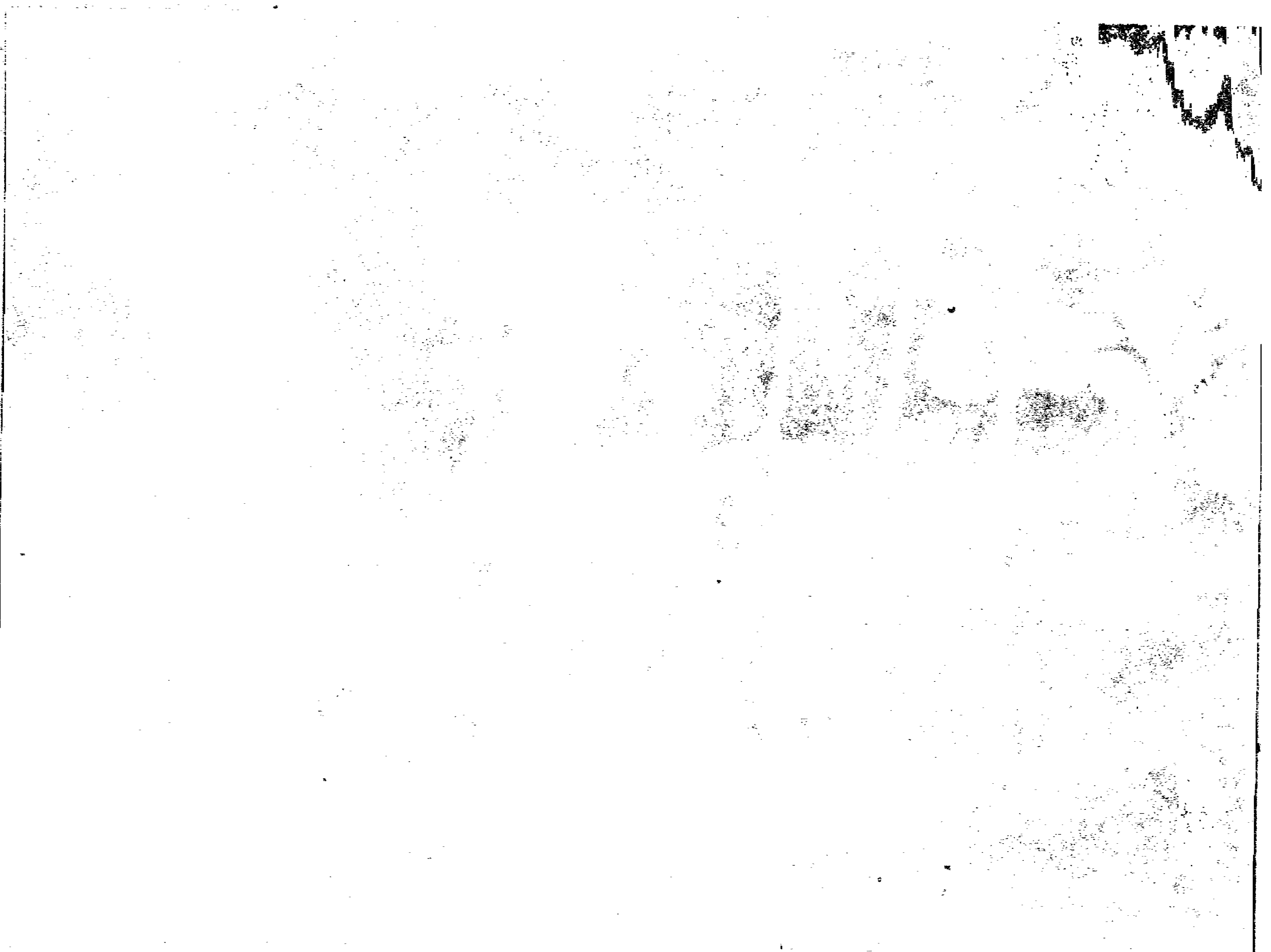
"It would mean much to peace in the future if there could be some tangible link of this sort between the pioneer spirit of our own West and the frontier spirit of the Russian East," Wallace said.

"The most important growing points of the world for the next century will be Asia, Russia and Latin America. We would be false to ourselves if we did not recognise this and act accordingly, so that we may have peace for our children and not a succession of bloody wars.

"I have every reason to believe that Russia will be the natural friend of the Americas in the years immediately ahead."—*USOWI.*

---

Printed and Published by NIBARAN CHANDRA DAS, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

A VILLAGE SCENE
By Maniklal Banerjee

# THE MODERN REVIEW

*JUNE*  *1944*

VOL. LXXV, No. 6 WHOLE No. 450


## NOTES

### *Denial of Education in India*

"Education in India under the British Government was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous and finally placed on its present footing"—thus writes not any political agitator in India, but an eminent historian, A. Howell in his celebrated book *Education in British India* published in the year 1872. At the time of the rise of British power in this country, India had her own system of education which had been in existence from time immemorial. There were the *pathsalas* or indigenous elementary schools covering the countryside which taught the three R's and at the same time gave a training in the moral codes. When a proposal was made in the early nineteenth century to induce the Company to take up the duty of introducing a new system of instruction under the control of schoolmasters and missionaries sent out from England, it was stoutly opposed by the Board of Directors and some of them urged that "the Hindus had as good a system of faith and morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learing or any other description of learning than what they already possessed."

It was however finally decided to take control of education in India. The problem resolved itself into two: (1) whether there would be mass education through the medium of Indian languages as the foundation of the entire educational system, or (2) a more restricted type of education through the medium of English language should be introduced. First of all, there was a proposal for an inquiry. The suitable person to undertake this gigantic task was found in William Adam, a friend of Raja Rammohun Roy. In January 1835, Adam was appointed Commissioner to survey the state of education in Bengal on a consolidated allowance of Rs. 1000. Lord William Bentinck believed him to be "peculiarly qualified for this undertaking." Macaulay, to whom Adam officially submitted his Reports, said that these were "the best sketches on the state of education that had been submitted before the public."

But Bentinck and Macaulay did not wait for Adam to submit his Report. Only six weeks after the appointment of Adam, Bentinck accepted Macaulay's Minute and passed a Resolution which laid down that "all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed in English education alone." Six months later, Adam submitted his Report. A careful perusal of this Report would go a great way to convince anybody, as has been pointed out by Prof. A. N. Basu, that if his recommendations were given effect to, "foundation would have been laid of what might justly be called (and was actually called by Adam) a truly national system of education for India." But the mischief had already been done. Aucland was unwilling to revise the decision of Bentinck and Macaulay. Western education got the monopoly of State patronage and protection. The fate of the then existing indigenous schools and the prospect of a national system of educa-

tion based on the language and culture of the people were sealed.

### *Primary Education in Bengal*

About the then existing number of schools, Adam said :

"In Bengal and Behar there is on an average a village school for every sixty-three children of the school-going age. These children, however, include girls as well as boys, and as there are no indigenous girls' schools, if we take the male and female children to be equal or nearly equal proportions, there will appear to be an indigenous elementary school for every thirty-one or thirty-two boys. The estimate of 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar is confirmed by a consideration of the number of villages in these two provinces. Their number has been officially estimated at 150,748, of which, not all, but most have each a school. If it be admitted that there is so large a proportion as a third of the villages that have no schools, there will still be 100,000 that have them."

A century after this survey, there were only 51,533 primary schools in Bengal, one school for every 131 children between the age group 5-10. Five years after the shelving of the Adam Report, Mr. Thomason, Lt.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces reorganised the system of education in his Province on the lines suggested by Adam. Elementary education was introduced through the medium of Indian languages, smaller English schools were abolished and instruction in English was confined to colleges. Thomason's experiment was highly successful. After his death in 1853, Lord Dalhousie wrote about him :

Alluding to the Districts in which the Government schools have not yet been established, Mr. Thomason has said : "In all these parts there is a population no less teeming, and a people as capable of learning. The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests with the Government, to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced, the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated, the agency is available. It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to call into exercise, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the same spirit of enquiry, and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterise the inhabitants of the few districts in which a commencement has been made."

For some time after the successful experiments of Thomason, Vernacular education received some stimulus. It was vigorously supported by Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India, in 1859. Sir John Peter Grant, Governor of Bengal, expected, in 1860 : "If the time should arrive when we could show one thousand village schools to a district, aided by Government, and affording the agriculturists a simple and practical education commensurate with their wants, the State, in such a case, might be held to have fairly done its duty by a neglected portion of its subjects. Whereas only thirty years ago, the number of schools actually in existence was one lakh as reported by Adam, Sir John Peter Grant in 1860 fixed 30 thousand schools as his goal !

### *British Control Over Indian Education*

The undercurrent remained as strong as it ever was. Occasional attempts to follow public opinion in this direction by persons like Adam or Thomason merely prolonged the process of destruction and could not prevent it. In 1844, Lord Hardinge had also tried to give some effect to Adam's proposals and 101 "Hardinge Schools" were established in rural areas. But for want of enthusiasm on the part of the Local Governments these schools proved a failure. By the time of the mutiny, Government had succeeded in establishing a complete control over education. This was the negation of the traditional Indian policy. From the dawn of civilisation down to the end of the Muslim rule, the State in India never attempted to *control* the system of education, it was *fostered and encouraged* by means of lavish grants both to the schools and to the intellectuals. This 2500-year-old system of education was altered for the first time by an alien Government whose only object was personal benefit. The obvious result is that not only Bengal, but the whole of India today is far down in the scale of education. It is not at all difficult to understand why and for whose benefit this was done. Even at the middle of the eighteenth century the level of education was sufficiently high, and it was since then that the deterioration began.

### *Officialisation of Education and its Results*

Officialisation of education was never allowed to proceed unopposed. Right from the start it was a continuous struggle of the non-official educationist against the threat of extinction of the cultural heritage of the people. The Calcutta School Book Society, founded as early as 1817, devoted itself to the production of text-books approved by the officials. Complaints were made that the school text-books were being costly. A Committee consisting of Mr. Woodrow, Rev. Long and Raja Rajendralal Mitra appointed to enquire into this subject, reported :

"A poor boy in the interior must pay a premium of 108 per cent. over the actual cost price for every spelling book or Primer he may have occasion to purchase, and as Native School-boys generally destroy six or a dozen before they master its contents, the matter, to their poor parents, is one of great moment. Yet the School Book Society receives a grant of Rs. 500 a month from

the Government for the express purpose of selling good cheap school books."

The use of text-books prevalent in the very year of formation of the School Book Society has been described by Marshman :

> Instruction of a higher order was to be given from dictation. The monitor, with the text-book in his hand, was to pronounce a portion of each sentence audibly and deliberately, each boy writing it down in his copy book. When the lesson of the day was completed, it was to be revised by the monitor, and the number of errors inserted at the foot of the page. Each boy was then to read it aloud in succession, sentence by sentence. The advantages of this scheme of instruction were obvious; one printed book served for a dozen children; they made progress in penmanship and orthography, and also acquired a facility of reading and writing their own language. A spirit of animation and emolution was created, and instruction was combined with pleasure. The most important facts and truths, thus written from dictation and read over three or four times could not fail to remain deeply impressed on the memory.

About the progressive deterioration of the quality of text-books, the less said the better. We all know where text-book manufacture under official guidance has led us to. Political history of the country has been distorted, cultural heritage buried and any growth of patriotism carefully prevented.

Other important weapons to break the national educational system were the method of recognition, the distribution of grants-in-aid, limitation of the number of schools within a given area, fixation of teachers' salaries at a ridiculously low level and the creation of the Department of Public Institution for the maintenance of a stranglehold through these channels. Liberal officials recognised the vicious nature of these measures and protested, but in vain. W. G. Young, the first D. P. I., wrote in 1865 about the grants-in-aid system introduced in 1855 :

> That this system, viewed as a means of disseminating education among the masses of the people of Bengal, has failed, and that unless the present rule be modified and the conditions on which grants are given be relaxed, it must continue to fail, is, I believe, the unanimous opinion, not only of the Inspectors and myself, but of every one engaged or interested in the work of popular education.

### *Fight for Education*

There were strong protests from the people as well principally voiced though the then daily *Sambad Prabhakar* edited by Isvar Chandra Gupta. When this grant-in-aid system was introduced, the number of schools for which monthly grants were sanctioned were 479, and that during seven years no fewer than 162 of this number, or nearly 34 per cent of the whole, were abolished. In a poor country like this, grants-in-aid is a very important weapon for the control of schools and the Government even today are bent upon retaining it in their own hand. Since the transference of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown, control over education has been made more and more rigid. During the Swadeshi days in 1905-6, serious attempts were made to nationalise the educational system. Men like Raja Subodh Mallik, Rash Behari Ghose, Taraknath Palit, Brajendranath Seal, Rabindranath Tagore, Gurudas Banerjee and several other intellectual giants combined to evolve a national system of education. Their attempts failed for want of State support, but the Calcutta University was enriched as a result of this movement. Under the leadership of Asutosh Mookerjee, the Calcutta University did exactly the two things which the Imperialist Government never desired —it placed the Indian languages on the same footing with English which inevitably led within a short time after his death to the adoption of Bengali language as the medium of instruction upto the Matriculation standard, and it had widened the field of education which led to the establishment of a number of schools. It is not at all difficult to understand why the Calcutta University has continued to be the eyesore of the diehard foreigner who never wanted spread of education in this country and who had imported the cancer of communalism for keeping people apart for the sole purpose of maintaining his stranglehold.

Bengal had led the rest of India for a full half a century and more in the matter of education due to the strenuous efforts of patriots, almost all of whom came from the rank of caste Hindus, against the ominous, though veiled, efforts of officialdom to relegate Bengal almost to total illiteracy. The reason for official opposition to advancement of education is not far to seek. Education leads to nationalism, education provides weapons with which to fight exploitation, and lastly education prevents people from being blindly subservient.

### *The Bengal Secondary Education Bill*

The proposal to control secondary education in Bengal cropped up as early as 1936 when Sir Md. Azizul Huq was the Education Minister. It was proposed to constitute a Secondary Education Board for the purpose of *controlling* education by limiting the number of high schools from 1200 to 400. When the 1940 Bill was introduced into the Bengal Legislature, Mr.

Fazlul Huq who also held the Education portfolio, repeated the same objective. A Board imposed along communal lines and with official dominance was proposed. Public agitation was so strong against the Bill, that the Huq Government did not proceed with it. In 1942, the Progressive Coalition Ministry under Mr. Huq drew up a second Bill in consultation with all parties. After his quitting of office and the installation of the present communal Ministry propped up with European support, the present Bill has been introduced which has all the sinister aspects of communalism embodied in it. It has provided separate electorates for Hindus, Muslims, Women and Scheduled Castes, it has ensured official dominance on the Board and it has made arrangements for the constitution of four separate Hindu, Muslim, Girls' and Scheduled Caste Committees with powers to set up separate schools under them, so that the entire educational fabric may be torn up into four separate pieces. In the objects and reasons for the present Bill it has been stated that the progress of education has been extremely rapid. The following extract from the Draft Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education will show how rapid it has been :

Although the last few years have witnessed a fairly wide public awakening in regard to adult literacy, the position on the whole cannot be described as anything but extremely unsatisfactory. Even if the rather generous provisional census estimates for 1941 are accepted and literacy is taken to mean no more than ability to read and write, the percentage of literacy above the age of 5 is found to be only 14·6%. The total population of British India within the age range 10-40 in June, 1940, according to the Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for that year, was estimated to be 14,86,45,389. Out of these 14·6%, *i.e.*, 2,17,02,227 are considered to be literate. The number of adults to be made literate is therefore 12,69,43,162. Th last decade saw the biggest jump in literacy figures, from 8·3% to 14·6%. If this rate of progress is maintained and no other help is given, it will take nearly 140 years to reach the 100% figure.

Even this amount of progress in literacy has alarmed the officialdom here, and in the midst of a war on the very soil of the country they have impatiently set themselves to the task of forging a weapon for the denial of education with the help of their henchmen. Whatever powers the present reforms gave, they were utilised to spread education, and even this slow rate of progress has become alarming.

The Central Advisory Board of Education in India composed of eminent educationists drawn from all over the country, has released their Draft Report for the *post*-war Educational Development in India. In the opinion of this Committee, Bengal should have 7,26,576 boys and 6,91,789 girls, *i.e.*, 14,18,365 pupils to be accommodated in high schools. This shows that with about 500 pupils for a school, Bengal needs about 3000 high schools. This Committee estimates that total expenditure on salaries will be Rs. 10,78,90,283 per annum for teachers alone. Other expenditures will be Rs. 4,62,38,693 per year. The backward nature of higher education in India has been pointed out by the committee in these words :

If the total number of University students is calculated in relation to the total population, it will be found that India is perhaps the most backward of all the principal nations of the world in University Education. In pre-war Germany, the proportion of students in the Universities to the entire population was 1 to 690, in Great Britain 1 to 837, in the United States, 1 to 225, in Russia 1 to 300, while in India, it is 1 to 2,430. There are 12 Universities in England for a population of 41 millions. In Canada, there are 13 Universities for a population of 8½ millions, in Australia 6 for a population of 5½ millions. In the U.S.A. there are 1,720 institutions for education of a University type for a population of 130 millions, while in India there are 18 Universities for a population of 400 millions. All this goes to prove that when India has a proper educational system, she will need more University education and not less than she has at present, but the *growth of Universities should be in proportion to the expansion in the lower stages* and conditional on the introduction of a sound selective process in higher education.

One thing deserves special attention in this connection. It is curious that a provincial Government is allowed to introduce retrograde measures at the very moment when the Central Government is said to be planning for the expansion of education all over India on a co-ordinated and planned basis. The Government of Bengal is represented on this Committee through its Education Minister. It is therefore exceedingly queer that the Central Government placidly looks on while the Bengal Ministry proceeds with the Bill.

The present Bill is nothing but an attempt on the part of the henchman of the foreigner to please his master and incidentally to provide himself and the member of his caucus with gain at the cost of the freedom-loving section of his fellow-men in the province. But even at that the question remains : what of the children of both the parties, the party that is eager to show loyalty to the interests of the foreign master and the party which owes allegiance primarily to the cause of its own people ? Is there any doubt that a general lowering of educational standards would hit all alike in the future ? Does present gains to the "Party" outweigh all considerations of the future ?

It is impossible to put forward any justification for the present Bill from the point of view of advancement of education. No educa-

tionist worth the name has uttered a single word in its praise, indeed what has been said to the contrary is only too enormous in volume and argument to be refuted.

### *Introduction of Vicious Elements in the Bill*

The cumulative effect of several elements introduced into the Bill is found to be vicious. The provision of four separate Committees under the Board for the control of Hindu, Muslim, Girl and Scheduled caste education is bound to disrupt the whole educational structure into four heterogeneous sections. The Bill does not state whether the present Matriculation examination will be retained or the school final system adopted. In respect of this matter of principle, the powers of the Legislature have been abrogated in favour of the Board. A Board composed of communally-minded men will augment communalism in school committees and is sure to lead to the appointment of teachers on communal considerations rather than on efficiency and merit. This may provide an ample scope for strengthening the communal parties. The same may happen in the approval of text-books as is already happening in respect of primary school boards. M.L.A.'s and other party members may become authors of text-books and the Board may open a very lucrative market for them. The present medium of education may have to suffer a change. Either it may result in a re-introduction of English as the medium, or it may be a peculiar hybrid language of a mixture of Bengali and Persian, as is found today in the communal Muslim dailies published in so-called Bengali. Grants-in-aid for schools may be distributed on the recommendation of Muslim stalwarts of the communalist parties. The educational grant will thus follow the way of all public utility grants in Bengal, that is to say money allotted for the welfare and advancement of the people of the province will mostly find its way to the pockets of the intriguers, the party-jackals and their unworthy myrmidons, and thus the cause of secondary and higher education will be dead as mutton in the province within a quarter of a century. We do not know whether the henchmen of foreign interests realise in full the implications of such a calamity and therefore we do not know whether it is any use further remonstrating with them. The real guardians of foreign interests would undoubtedly crave for what would serve them better than to have in Bengal a province full of uneducated helots entirely under the control of subservient time-servers.

### *The Dacca Riots*

Riots have once again broken out in Dacca after the lapse of about ten years. The instigators and the perpetrators of the riots deserve unequivocal condemnation. But we are unable to support the principal method adopted by the Government for its suppression, *viz*., the imposition of collective fines. Heavy collective fines had been imposed on the last occasion as well, and the present instances prove that it had no lasting effect. We refuse to believe that it has become impossible for the Government to maintain order in a comparatively small city like Dacca by the strengthening and expansion of mobile armed patrols and the stationing of armed pickets at a visible distance from one another. Drastic action against the rioters either on the spot or in the law-courts may receive general support, but the victimisation of many innocents for the crime of a few will be strongly resented.

### *A New Fishery Adviser*

Dr. Baini Prashad, Director of the Zoological Survey of India, has been appointed Fishery Adviser to the Government of India. We do not know who is going to be selected as the Director of Z. S. I. An organisation which had Dr. Annandale, Dr. Stanley Kemp and Dr. R. B. Seymour Sewell as Directors, certainly deserves a scholar of repute in his own subject to hold this important post. Dr. Baini Prashad was appointed Director in 1933 in succession to Dr. Seymour Sewell. Since then up till now he has published no papers in his own subject but confined all his energies to the translation of Persian works with the help of Moulavis. His proper place should have been the Islamia College, and not the Z. S. I.

The work of the Z. S. I. has badly suffered a drop during the past decade except for the work of a few brilliant research workers; and because the outgoing Director had made no contributions worth the name during his tenure of office, it is all the more necessary that a worthy successor to the traditions of Annandale, Kemp and Seymour Sewell should be chosen so that the Department may recover its lost prestige. We think it proper to utter this note of warning as we hear that there is some chance of a gentleman with very meagre qualifications being appointed Director.

### *Sale of the Kanheri Caves*

The *Indian Social Reformer* writes :

The *Free Press Journal* published last week the impending sale of the site of the famous Kanheri Caves

near Bombay, to an Arab pearl merchant by the present owners, the firm of Sassoons. These caves, Buddhist in origin, are a remarkable feat of engineering skill. Particularly the supply of fresh water to every one of the one hundred and twenty cells in the group has astonished modern engineers. The caves contain valuable inscriptions dating from the fourth century and even earlier. They have also been regarded as Hindu shrines. When the Portuguese acquired Bombay and Salsette, they converted the principal cave into a cathedral. There is a tradition that the caves are joined by an underground tunnel to some distant city in the North. A Roman Catholic monk who undertook to explore the tunnel found after going seven miles that the darkness and stuffiness prevented further progress. The site of the caves has passed through several hands since the last century. The caves themselves are protected monuments but the surroundings are liable to be built upon or otherwise used so as to mar the historical importance of the caves. The only way of preventing this is for Government to acquire the site. Some years ago when there was a proposal to remove the Bombay University outside the city, the site of the caves was considered as most suitable for the location of a University. The Buddha Society of Bombay has passed a resolution urging Government and the public to prevent the contemplated sale.

Any civilised Government would have moved of its own accord to protect such ancient monuments of civilisation. The caves occupy 300 acres out of a total 4700 acreage of the village.

## *Physician, Heal Thyself*

The *Statesman* comments editorially :

False rumours as to China's policy, circulating in India, coincide with a plenary session of the Kuomintang. Possibly they have been caused by accidental or malicious misreporting of deliberations there. According to a *Reuter* message from Chungking, where the Kuomintang met, a five-point programme was agreed upon, the two principal items being the winning of the war against Japan and the stabilization of prices. The former was expressed in vehement terms. The pressing need for the latter is well-known in India, which is affected in various ways by fantastic price movements in China. The report speaks of the probability of a more liberal Press censorship. There were slight signs of this before the session met. The Chinese Government may decide that its difficulties, particularly the internal ones, are less when openly discussed than when made the subject of rumours and half-truths.

## *An Unworthy Attack on China*

The attack of a British daily on the Chinese people is an unworthy one. For about eight years China has borne the main brunt of the fight against Japan. For more than five years she bore it alone. Even today she is rendering a good account of herself both in the home as also in the Burma front. This Tory paper has earned a notoriety since it brought about the collapse of a British Labour Ministry by the publication of the Zinovieff Letters. It therefore seems to matter what this newspaper says about China.

During the first five years of her war, China received no support either from Britain or from the U. S. A. Instead, the English-speaking Powers were sending immense warlike supplies to Japan even a few months before she was involved in war with her. Britain went to the length of the closing of the Burma Road for the sole purpose of placating Japan. When Japan jumped upon her, the Chinese Army did not lag behind in checking Jap advance against unprecedented odds. The success of General Stilwell in Burma owes in no small measure to Chinese valour and sacrifice. China has immensely relieved the Anglo-American powers by pinning the flower of the Japanese Army in her territory to the great disadvantage of the intruder. She has, and is still fighting with one of the strongest and toughest powers of the world, with antiquated arms, bad in quality and quantity and with a half starved army. Although Anglo-Saxon Tories may sniff at it, this noble heroism of an Asiatic people will be recorded in red letters in the history of mankind.

The odds with which China is faced are many. For two or three years past, a terrible famine is passing over the Honan province of which very little is heard in Europe or America. The aid she gets in war materials are meagre. Her fate in this respect is the same before and after the closure of the Burma Road. Cost of living has increased to unimaginable proportions. Wholesale price indices on April 10 last showed that foodstuffs were 388 times, building materials 421 times and fuel 796 times higher than in 1937. One wonders how anything but praise and admiration comes out of human hearts for a people who are fighting for their freedom in the midst of such terrible conditions.

China is an ally of Britain. It is difficult to conceive how false ideas about an ally, which run directly counter to collective war effort are allowed to circulate in British papers. In this country, any such comment would have brought down the severest visitations on the offending paper from the authorities. Such criticism might lead foreign countries to diminish their still rather small assistance to China. There are internal party rivalries in many of the allied countries including Britain and the U.S.A., and it is not only useless but mischievous to magnify such internal party differences in the case of China. Compared man to man and material to material, China has given a far better account of herself than any other Power except Russia. We believe it is a crime against humanity to add to this already too heavy odds

under which China is fighting the Rising Sun in the East.

### MM. Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan

Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan, the renowned Sanskrit scholar, passed away at Benares on May 22. He was 79 at the time of his death. Pandit Pramathanath was born at Bhattapalli, 24-Parganas, in Bengal. His father was also a well-known scholar. He received his education at Benares. After finishing his studies he came over to Calcutta and was appointed professor of Smriti at the Sanskrit College. But he resigned this post and returned to Benares. He was appointed Head of the Department of Oriental Research of the Benares Hindu University. He was very much loved and respected by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He was awarded D.Litt. of that University in 1942. On several occasions, Pandit Pramathanath was elected president of various sections of the Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan. In him India has lost one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of the modern age. We offer our sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

### Maharaja Sashikanta Acharjya

The death occurred of Maharaja Sashi Kanta Acharjya Chaudhury, a premier Zemindar of Bengal, in Calcutta on May 27. He was 59. Although a prominent member of the landed aristocracy in Bengal, the Maharaja imbibed democratic ideas of the age and always tried to maintain cordial relationship between him and his tenants and mixed with them like a commoner. He lent his support for the Hindu consolidation movement. He was the adopted son of the late Maharaja Surjya Kanta Acharjya Chaudhury of Mymensingh, who had played a prominent part in anti-partition movement of Bengal. Maharaja Sashikanta was a member of the old Legislative Council as well as the present Legislative Assembly in Bengal. He was associated with many public bodies. He interested himself in the industrial advancement of the country and was director of several limited companies. He married a daughter of the late Byomkesh Chakrabarty. We offer our sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

### Poll Tax in South Africa Contested

The light of freedom has penetrated into the darkest corners of the earth as evinced by the following extract :

NATAL, S.A.

The formation of an organization to fight the poll tax levied on natives and to investigate and report on more equitable forms of taxation is reported by the Natal *Daily News*. The organization asserts that the native poll tax should be replaced since it has "created a lot of prisoners out of decent men." The group is composed of educated natives who can express themselves in English. The inaugural conference was addressed by two senators, and the hope was expressed that greater native representation would be secured in Parliament.—*Worldover Press.*

The world has now had enough of the cant and hypocrisy about the "white man's burden." That man as he is born, should obtain equality and freedom as his birthright; regardless of creed or complexion, is now an axiomatic truth. We felicitate the "educated natives," who in reality have more right to the soil of South Africa than any other person, on their realisation of their fundamental rights and on their attempt at asserting the same.

### Making Paper From Castor Plants

The castor-oil plant is a native of this country and was of immense use to the cultivator and the villager. Its seed provided illuminating and medicinal oil—later used as a valuable lubricant—its leaves provided food to wild silkworms and its stem was used for fuel and for rough thatching. Cheap kerosine oil drove the plant out of the field to the immense loss of the peasant and to the far greater gain of the foreign oil magnate. It seems that science has still some use for the plant as the following extract would show :

> A means of relieving, within a year, America's estimated shortage of 3,000,000 cords of wood needed for paper making was proposed by J. E. Goodrich, Vice-President of Woburn Chemical Company, at a recent conventon of the National Farm Chemurgic Council.
>
> It could be done, he said, by planting 300,000 acres of marginal ground to castor plants. The beans, he said, can be pressed to obtain a large quantity of very important oil, the leaves could be treated to obtain a necessary agricultural insecticide and the stalks would provide a high yield of alpha cellulose from which paper is made. More than four and a half tons of alpha cellulose would be obtained from an acre of plants.—*USOWI.*

Castor-oil plant cultivation, if revived in the United Provinces might be of great use to the paper manufacture there. In these days of paper shortage this new channel for the production of a valuable raw material should be well-investigated.

### India's Army Viewed Through American Eyes

The Indian army mostly figures in the war news as "British" or "Imperial forces." Unlike Australian, New Zealand or Canadian

troops, Indian troops seldom get the publicity or full credit in the news or broadcasts that their valorous exploits deserve. As such the following news extract is of special interest :

NEW YORK (By Cable).

War Correspondent Ernest O. Hauser writes about one of the world's great fighting forces in this week's issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, America's leading fiction-article weekly. Under the title "What About India's Army ?", he tells the *Post's* millions of readers :

"You heard about them in the news—when the famous Fourth Indian Division fought one of the war's most gallant actions at the Mareth Line, again when Von Arnim and the remnants of the Africa Korps surrendered to the Second Gurkha Rifles. The Indians made news again last month when hand-picked Indian combat troops landed in American-piloted gliders far behind the Japanese lines in Burma. You keep reading about their exploits on the European and Asiatic fronts and ever so often you are stirred by outstanding feats of heroism performed by Indian troops fighting far from their home. The Indian army is one of five large armies fighting on our side. It is 2,000,000 strong and still growing. It is unique in that it consists entirely of volunteers. The uniqueness goes far beyond the aspect of voluntary service. This army is easily the world's most polyglot and motley group of men. The differences between the various elements are vast. Yet it marches and fights as one body forged into iron unity by leadership and tradition.

"Until yesterday the Indian army was a mountain army. The advantages of the army's pre-occupation with mountain frontiers have been demonstrated in the rough terrain of Italy, where Indian units are used with great success.

"Though enormous contrasts separate man from man, the soldiers of this army are the citizens of the same country, bound together by common bonds of history and a great intermingling of blood streams in the distant past. The picture of the Indian sepoy then as it emerges from the vast colourful mosaic of his background is something like this : he is a fellow from the village with a piece of landed property to which he will go back once he is discharged. Consequently in the tough training at camp or in the heat of battle, his few acres of cotton, rice or wheat land remain foremost in the sepoy's mind.

"The Indian sepoys have learned to use machine guns, mortars, armoured cars and heavy artillery. They know how to fight on the ground and in the air, on the high seas as well. India's infant navy, which thus far consists mainly of sloops, sub-chasers and minesweepers, has seen action in the Mediterranean and is likely to get other assignments in the future.

"In the crucible of this long war the Indian nation may be born. In this army which is larger than any army ever raised on this sub-continent, Indian nationhood is being put to a decisive test."—*USOWI.*

## *Mr. Roosevelt's "Messenger" to Asia U. S. Vice-President to Visit China*

In view of the recent reports on China published in the British press the following news item about Vice-President Wallace's forthcoming trip to Asia is of special interest. China has had visitors of eminence during the war, but none of the status of the Vice-President of the U. S. A. The critical role that she is now playing is well illustrated by the following extract :

LONDON (By Cable).

Mr. Roosevelt has decided to send Mr. Henry Wallace, U. S. Vice-President, to Asia as his "messenger." His tour will take in both China and Siberia to whose fighting people he will carry a message of greeting and congratulation on their mighty achievements, writes *The Times.*

China will, apparently, be his predominant concern, the paper adds. He goes with a mandate to study the situation on the spot and make a "first-hand report" to the President and the people of the United States. The Chinese have been fighting aggression longer than any other member of the United Nations. Ill-equipped and lacking industrial resources essential to waging a total war, the stubborn Chinese people have endured terrible losses without flinching. Apart from all else, then, the visit of the Vice-President of the United States will bring them an impressive reassurance that their present sore trial is sympathetically understood and that their future is not forgotten.

The Japanese have failed either to beat or to bribe the Chinese out of the war. Their recent operation, designed to give them complete control of the Peking-Hankow Railway, may well have been the latest of their abortive attempts to force China to her knees; and General Chiang Kai-shek, who from the first took a true measure of the enemy, may be trusted to deal as faithfully with this latest manoeuvre as he has done with its predecessors. But the achievement of peace will require, as victory itself requires, the co-operation of the great democracies. Mr. Roosevelt's messenger bears with him the pledge of powerful aid in meeting difficult problems of reconstruction which are already looming on the horizon.

## *Exhibition of Chinese Art*

That the cultural mission of China to the civilized world is best expressed through her art is an well-established fact and as such the organisers of the Exhibition of Chinese art in Scotland are to be congratulated for their war-time cultural venture the details of which are given in the following news item :

LONDON (By Cable).

In the presence of a large and distinguished gathering including the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton and Sir Frederick Ogilvie, Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Ambassador in London, opened an exhibition of Chinese Art in Scotland, says the "Scotsman." Madame Wellington Koo was also present.

Among the outstanding exhibits are three large vases from Anthony Rothschild's collection which are valued at £9,000.

The Duke of Hamilton, who presided, spoke of the function of art in bringing peoples together in understanding and goodwill and said that air power properly used could also do much in the same cause. Dr. Koo said that the exhibition with nearly one thousand items on show was the most important held in Britain since the one held in Burlington House in 1935 and would serve to bring the people of Scotland closer to the Chinese people by enabling them to get a glimpse of the character and traits of their Far Eastern Allies. Sir Frederick Ogilvie paid a tribute to the courage and spirit of the Chinese who are now in their eighth year of war with Japan.

### *Let not the Voice of Karl Marx Speak—Smuts*

Speaking at Birmingham on May 19, General Smuts made certain declarations about the war in the East and the West, warned people not to make the serious mistake of concentrating all attention and victory hopes on the coming western front, and in the usual style with European politicians expressed his concern about the European civilisation. He said:

> Is Europe sinking under self-inflicted wounds? That is the crux of the present situation. Her decadence would mean immeasurable loss to all that is most precious of our human heritage. Salvaging Europe is the first problem of our post-war reconstruction and she must not be carved up, atomised and reduced to chaos or fragments. She should receive a new structure as United States of the European Commonwealth enabling her again to be the custodian of the rights and freedoms to which she herself gave birth.

The greatest achievement of Europe has been in the science of destruction. In this respect, she has surpassed in each instance her own efforts in previous wars. Ancient cities, ancient monuments, ancient buildings, fine paintings, sculptures and whatever other treasures civilisation had so long cherished as a sacred legacy of the past, are all being sacrificed before the altar of Mars. If this power of destruction is the real measure of civilisation in Europe, we do not know what heritage it will hand over to the future generations. The claim of Europe to guide the destiny of the world through a "reformed League of Nations" will be nothing beyond a prolongation of present-day world tragedy. It is a crime in human history for a country with later or lesser civilisation to control a country or continent bearing a civilisation millenniums older and finer than their own.

General Smuts had a lot to speak and think about Europe, but not a word for India and China. What Smuts said on May 19, Mr. Cordell Hull had already declared in a radio broadcast from Washington on April 9, to the American people in which he said: "For us, for the world, and for the countries concerned, a stable Europe should be the immediate objective of Allied policy." Before Smuts Cordell Hull, and only five days after Smuts, Premier Winston Churchill told the very same thing to the British Parliament.

One nasty thought seems to trouble the well-wishers of the European civilisation—the Russian Sphinx. U. S. S. R. is their ally but Karl Marx is their anathema. Smuts has sought to solve the thorny problem when he said: "*Let the voice of Tolstoy speak rather than that of Karl Marx who was no Russian and never was of Russia.*" Karl Marx was no Russian so long as he lived but today Marx *is* Russia and Russia is Marx. The new civilisation that modern Russia has built up on the bedrock of Marxism has stood the severest test in human history.

### *What About India?*

The *USOWI* quotes Mr. John Chamberlain, the well-known New York book reviewer, who, in reviewing Mrs. John Gunther's book *Revolution in India*, writes:

> "A generation ago a visiting British lecturer in Chicago or Muncie had inevitably to reckon with the intransigent Sinn Feiner who would rise in the back of the hall and shout, 'But what about Ireland?' To-day, the visiting Britisher is faced with a quieter but no less insistent opponent. The Britisher may be talking about Dunkerque or the R. A. F. or the American troops in Yorkshire. But invariably the question comes from the back of the hall, 'But what about India?'
>
> "It is a valid question no matter what answer you may ultimately favour. Frances Gunther, wife of John Gunther, puts the question well in a small book called 'Revolution in India.' If her answer seems a trifle unreal in a world still organised on balance of power principles, it at least is complete enough to face up to the implications of our beliefs.
>
> "Revolution in India is a cold douche thrown full in the face of those who would try by some mystic process to equate force and freedom. Part of it consists of facts, part is philosophy and ethics. But practically none is geopolitics, which is a shortcoming as long as the world contains prowling nations that are eager and ready to fill any power vacuum that is created by the sudden abdication of the *status quo*.
>
> "England, says Mrs. Gunther, has an obsession about India. The obsession is to rule. To this the Indians counterpoise an obsession to be free. The two conflicting impulses keep the battled nations from mutually exploring the possibilities of a 'middle way' compromise such as economic freedom and local political autonomy under Dominion Status. In 1940, Nehru offered the British complete military co-operation on the condition of India's freedom. Mrs. Gunther says: 'England turned it down: it meant the end of English rule.' Conversely, when the Cripps plan of 1942 offered India certain concessions, the Indians turned them down; the concessions fell short of complete freedom. But the stalemate must some day be broken for history doesn't stand still.

Since the Councils Act of 1892, India has had ample opportunity to realise to her cost what Britain means by freedom when that word applies to India. The Indian National Congress has taken upon itself the task of winning freedom for India—not the British brand, but freedom in the real international sense. India has concentrated all her energies upon achieving this freedom from within.

## *What does England get out of India ?*

Mr. John Chamberlain continues :

What does England get out of India? Mrs. Gunther mentions certain capital investments, trading, shipping and banking interests, and benefits that accrue to England through control of Indian tariff and currency. But the British people, she argues, have lost a good deal of their own freedom through English control of India. To hold India the British must hold Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Suez and the oil and pipe lines of the Near East. The job of protecting and policing the 'life-line of empire' has necessarily involved England in many wars both small and big. The British people have had to pay the bill whether in blood or money. Even though relinquishment of India might mean a short term economic loss to the English, it would mean a happier England in the long run, says Mrs. Gunther.

It is needless to elaborate what England gets out of India in employments, dividends, interests on capital, Managing Agency Commissions, Home Charges and the like. During five years of this war she has got nearly ten billion rupees out of India for her own benefit on the basis of an extremely elastic system of credit.

## *Vagaries of Indian Censors*

The *Evening Star* of Washington, discussing Gandhiji's release, says :

So strict has been British censorship on Indian affairs that we know relatively little of what's going on in that vast peninsula with its intricate jumble of races, castes and creeds.

Therefore it is hard to evaluate their background of Government's decision or the political effects.

Indian censorship came up for discussion during question time in the British Parliament. The following is a report of what transpired there :

The question of responsibility for censorship of private letters in India was raised in the Commons today by Mr. William Astor (Conservative) who asked whether Mr. Amery was satisfied that letters were not censored on any other grounds than military security.

Mr. Amery replied, "The responsibility for postal and telegraphic censorship of correspondence entering or leaving India has been entrusted by the Government of India to the Commander-in-Chief of India.

It is exercised on grounds of military security in the broad sense of the term, that is to say in the general interest of National Defence of public safety. Indian Censorship regulations are based on those of the United Kingdom and follow the guiding principles of the latter. Some variations in the application of the general rules by individual censorship are inevitable, but censors are instructed to apply the rules with commonsense liberality."

Mr. Astor asked, "Is he aware there have been cases where purely political or administrative matters have been censored which have nothing to do with military security. Will he send a reminder to the censors of Government's pledge that only military security, in the strict sense, is to be subject of censorship."

Mr. Amery replied "I think a broad reminder in that sense has been sent to censors by the Commander-in-Chief but censors like all others are sometimes fallible."

Mr. Sorensen said, "Can we take it that anyone writing from India to this country has a right and complete opportunity to express his views about the House of Commons and about the Secretary of State for India."

No answer was given.

Mr. Amery's reply definitely indicates that purely political and administrative matters have been censored and it seems he is unwilling to put an end to this sort of censorship and to confine it strictly to military matters.

Censorship of famine news had evoked strong protest both in India and abroad. It was strongly argued that a ban on famine news for transmission outside India did incalculable harm by delaying aid from abroad. The kind of censorship imposed on famine news has recently been revealed in an interpellation in the House of Commons where it was complained that the very word 'hunger' from a news about hunger was scissored out. The interpellation is given below :

Mr. Amery was replying to an inquiry by Mr. William Dobbie (Lab.) who asked if he had considered a complaint made by the Editor of *Reynolds News* against political censorship applied to their special correspondent D. V. Tamhankar, and if he was taking further action to prevent political censorship in India.

Mr. Amery added that he understood Mr. Dobbie was referring to an article in *Reynolds News* on May 23.

Mr. Sorensen (Lab.) : Is Mr. Amery's reference to a message sent from India to this country referring to hunger, from which the censor eliminated the word "hunger ?"

Mr. Amery : It referred to that message from Mr. Tamhankar.

Mr. Tom Brown (Lab.) : Is Mr. Amery aware that this political censorship now being applied by his department is causing grave disquiet among the Indian people ?

Mr. Amery : My department applies no censorship and I have already stated in a previous answer the principles on which the Government of India censorship is applied.

Miss Irene Ward (C.) : Is Mr. Amery also inquiring into the censorship of letters ?

Mr. Amery : My communication with the Government of India covered that subject also.

Mr. T. E. Driberg (Ind.) : Is it not the case that this censorship did prevent the British public from knowing the full extent of the famine in India ?

Mr. Amery : I must await an answer to my communication.

## *An Australian Sermonises India*

Sir Keith Murdoch, an Australian newspaper proprietor, writes in the *Daily Mail*, London :

"India has been promised Dominion Status with the right to clear us out, and it is taken for granted that she will cast us off and rush into some sort of disordered nationalism.

"It is not for Australians to object to Indians having their complete freedom, if it will be good for them and for the rest of the world. We have been rather out of the discussion although our forefathers strove, lived and died for Britain's causes, both before and after founding Australia and took as great a part as any other British folk in the evolution of British freedom. But we may be allowed to point to facts of the Indian position.

"I believe it means not only reduction of economic strength everywhere and renunciation of opportunity, but also creation of a doubtful block of martial power between Australia, Asia and Europe, and on the flank, of South Africa.

"Full liberty for a nation is a pretty thing. But mankind has made so little progress towards complete goodness yet in the very few thousand years since it merged into the knowledge of good, that we may be excused for looking right round this interesting fact."

After reviewing the position of other parts of the Empire, Sir Keith Murdoch adds, "This is not the occasion for a dirge. The greatest thing of all has happened."

The Australian newspaper proprietor talks of "complete goodness" but thinks of another war. He is unwilling to see India as a strong military power between Australia, Asia and Europe. He believes that great good will emerge out of this war, which he terms, as the "greatest thing of all that has happened." He seems to be oblivious to the fact that no good has ever come out of a war however 'righteous' its objects were declared to have been. The last Great War has not done any good to the European nations, not excluding even the victors. Materially, morally and socially they have all lost heavily as a result of the past struggle. Their moral standards have all been upset. The strife after the life of the moment, and the disregard for truth and honesty in international dealings have brought down this second disaster within a period as short as a quarter of a century.

### *Accommodation Difficulties in Calcutta*

The difficulty of accommodation particularly for middle-class people in Calcutta has become indescribably hard. The population of the city has greatly increased but rented accommodation remains practically the same. Control over building materials have prevented the construction of new houses. Rent control measures have no doubt provided some relief to the tenants in respect of payment of rent, water supply, etc., but the authorities have completely failed to keep pace with the intensely growing demand for the provision of new accommodation. No financial assistance from the Government is sought. The only demand at the present moment is for the release of some building materials for the construction of new houses in the suburban area of the city. There are plenty of vacant land nearabout Calcutta within the existing range of communications. This will bring relief not only to the civil but to the military people also.

### *Firoz Khan Noon in the Empire Conference*

A Special London Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* reports :

LONDON, May 11.

Tentative decisions on matters like the regional division of colonial countries, inter-imperial economic relations, post-war reconstruction, treatment of Germany after the war, foreign relations of the Empire as a whole *vis-a-vis* U.S.S.R. and U.S.A., peace with the Axis Powers and the formation of a new League of Nations are stated to have been reached by the Dominion Premiers' Conference which commenced session on May 1.

Although they are working hard—frequently they meet twice a day—they have not been able to finish half the items on the agenda. One Dominion spokesman said : "We are a little behind schedule."

It is understood that the Conference is working in a most helpful and harmonious spirit and decisions are being taken almost unanimously, the Indian members—Sir Firoz Khan Noon and the Maharaja of Kashmir—fitting in the scheme admirably.

It is generally agreed that Mr. Curtin, the Australian Premier, and Sir Firoz Khan Noon are two new "finds" of this Empire family. *Sir Firoz Khan who has made a very favourable impression is described as one* who "convinces any one, who has the opportunity of *listening to him that Mr. Gandhi is not the only spokesman of India.*"

Sir Firoz Khan Noon is faithfully doing what he was expected to do and is discharging the duties for which he was despatched to England as "India's representative." But one thing needs attention. Mr. Churchill's spirit is having full play in this gathering of Dominion Prime Ministers. The nomenclature "Dominion" was for some time past being replaced by an unreal and deceptive term "Commonwealth." This new nomenclature in its turn is being slowly dropped and the realist term "Empire" is being increasingly used by the Press while reporting the proceedings of the Conference.

### *Dr. Katju's reply to Sir John Beaumont*

Speaking in London at a meeting of the East and West Association, Sir John Beaumont, the former Chief Justice of Bombay, made a disparaging remark that the Federal Court of India was an expensive luxury and that the establishment of this Court was not needed till federation was introduced. Dr. K. N. Katju, writing in the *Allahabad Law Journal*, gave a suitable reply to Sir John. Dr. Katju wrote :

Sir John Beaumont, late Chief Justice of Bombay, was exceedingly unhappy over the judgments, which

became classical as soon as they were delivered, of the Federal Court regarding the validity of Rule 26, D.I.R. It is difficult to imagine a High Court employing more unbecoming, inappropriate and undignified language regarding a judicial pronouncement of the Federal Court by which every High Court is bound than the language used by Mr. J. Beaumont, in the course of a reference made by that court to the Federal Court for directions as to the proper order to be made on the application of Keshav Talpade. The Federal Court ignored all such unworthy comments and insinuations by silent disdain.

Referring to Sir J. Beaumont's remark that the Federal Court is an expensive luxury, Dr. Katju says: "We are truly astonished at this observation. The judgment of the Federal Court, dated April 22, 1943, declaring certain Sections of the Special Courts Ordinance *ultra vires* was acclaimed by the legal profession as a luminous exposition of the Constitution Act and created a good deal of feeling in the bureaucratic circles where a brake, however slight, was applied on the exercise of unchecked arbitrary power. *The Federal Court has won a place for itself in the constitution of India by its independent and correct approach to all questions in which the liberty of the subject is involved.* It enjoys the confidence and respect of the Indian people."

Sir John's opinion will be discounted in this country because he himself had happened to get involved in a controversy with the Federal Court while he was Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, in which he did not come out with any amount of dignity. It may be remembered that when the appeal of Keshab Talapade came before the Federal Court, the latter referred it back to the Bombay High Court for orders with the remark that Rule 26 of the D. I. R., as then framed was *ultra vires*. The Bombay High Court returned the reference to the Federal Court with the remark that it was for the Federal Court to pass the necessary orders in the case. The Federal Court again returned the reference to the Bombay High Court but meanwhile Talpade was released. The Lahore *Tribune* has pointed out that "In view of what happened in this case, Sir John Beaumont's opinion cannot be said to be free from prejudice and for the sake of his own reputation he would have done better if he had refrained from making these remarks about the Federal Court."

## *Congress Attitude on the Separation of Executive and Judiciary*

Sir John Beaumont had made another curious remark in that the Congress went behind their declarations of separating Judiciary from the Executive, that nothing was done when the Congress came into power and that the Congress Working Committee prevented the provincial ministries to fulfil their pledges in this direction. This is a gross travesty of truth. Dr. Katju, in the same article, writes:

In the first place Government of India Act, 1935, does not contemplate separation so far as the Magistracy is concerned. Under Section 256 no order could be made about the subordinate criminal magistracy in any district save after consultation with the District Magistrate of that district. In the second place from the political angle it felt that so long as High Court Judges are not subject to the control of the Indian Legislature, Central or Provincial, there is no reason whatsoever why they should be invested with powers larger than those conferred on them by the Act but, within the limits of the Act, there was a desire, everywhere to free the magistrates from direct or indirect pressure of District Magistrates or Superintendents of Police. In U. P. a scheme had been worked out under which all criminal work was to be performed exclusively by magistrates known as Judicial magistrates. They were not to be under the control of the District Magistrates. This scheme could not be put into force as the Ministry resigned on a much larger issue.

## *Nationalist Muslims Demand National Government*

The Nationalist Muslims who had met in a Conference at New Delhi have released two resolutions: one asking for the formation of a National Government and the other setting out fundamental considerations on which communal problem could, in their view, be solved. The first resolution is:

"This meeting of Nationalist Muslims views with great concern the hardships to which India has been subjected in the present phase of the war and the sufferings borne by the Indian people under the existing system of government, evidence of which is to be found in the intolerable rise in prices, burden of taxation, scarcity of certain essential commodities and the total absence of others.

"In the opinion of this meeting, experience has shown that the present Government is not capable of saving the people from this distress, that no satisfactory solution is possible until a real National Government, exercising full authority, is formed at the Centre.

"This meeting further declares that all Indians, irrespective of creed or community, and all patriotic organisations, without exception, are deeply interested in the defence of India. They are inspired by a real patriotic urge and a true spirit of sacrifice which can be directed most effectively, under a National Government, for the protection of the country against foreign invasion and aggression by Fascist Powers.

"This meeting deplores the fact that the British Government, in spite of its knowledge that the Indian people are opposed to Fascism, is still unwilling, on account of its shortsighted policy, to transfer power to them through a National Government.

"This meeting now declares that the formation of a National Government is no longer a political issue but has become a first-rate military question, in view of the exigencies of the present phase of the war. The victory of the democratic forces, the defence of India, and resistance to Japanese aggression, all these considerations demand the immediate establishment of a National Government and the transfer of power to the Indian people.

"This meeting, therefore, urges the British Government to start negotiations with the leaders of India, without any further loss of time, so that a real National

Government, wielding effective authority, should be established in the country."

The arguments for and against National Government have been discussed threadbare over a pretty long time. But one good purpose will be served by this resolution inasmuch as it comes from a powerful section of Muslims in India who favour the establishment of a National Government expressing their willingness to work with the other progressive forces in the country. They have completely dissociated themselves from the unhelpful and unrealistic isolationist attitude of the Muslim League.

### *Nationalist Muslims Oppose Pakistan*

The Nationalist Muslims, in this conference, declared themselves against Pakistan as detrimental to the country and their advice to the Muslims was that they should not want Pakistan but should let India remain a united country for all time to come. The second resolution, which sets out a formula for the solution of communal problem, runs:

"This meeting of Nationalist Muslims considers, in the best interest of the country, that a Hindu-Muslim settlement should be brought about without any delay. It appeals to both Hindus and Muslims that, having regard to the urgent need of such a settlement, they should take necessary steps towards this end, and considers that the release of Gandhiji offers an excellent opportunity.

A solution of the communal problem, satisfactory to all parties concerned, can be secured on the following fundamental considerations and such a solution will satisfy the needs and aspirations of Indian Muslims:

(1) India should continue to remain a united country.

(2) The constitution of India should be framed by its own people.

(3) There should be an All-India Federation.

(4) The units of Federation should be completely autonomous and all residuary powers should be vested in them.

(5) Every unit of the Federation should be free to secede from it as a result of a plebiscite of all its adult inhabitants.

(6) The religious, economic and cultural rights of minorities should be fully and effectively safeguarded by reciprocal agreement.

The concession of the right to secede, we fear, would provide foreign intrigue with a breach in the dyke against domination and aggression, if it qualifies the federation from the very outset. The establishment of an indissoluble federation in the beginning with the largest measure of autonomy and with constitutional safeguards against the possibility of usurpation of the rights of the units by the federation is the ideal solution. To give the units the right of secession before they have been finally united into a federation will leave open the floodgates of disruption which may in the end dismember Indian unity.

### *New Statesman on Gandhiji's Release*

The *New Statesman and Nation* writes editorially under the caption 'India and the Empire':

"Mr. Gandhi has been released from prison because if he died in jail his ghost would have for ever haunted the British in India. But Mr. Gandhi who has cheated death so often may still have years of life before him, and Lord Wavell will see in the Mahatma's release an opportunity too good to lose."

"He must long ago have discovered that no one else can speak for India. This does not mean that leaders of the Congress believe in the non-violence philosophy of Mr. Gandhi. It does mean that in or out of Congress, in or out of jail, Mr. Gandhi remains a decisive personality who must be consulted. Neither Mr. Rajagopalachari nor Pandit Nehru nor any other Indian would negotiate without his assent. *He has the detachment that enables him to support the democratic decisions with which he is not in personal agreement. As a realist, and as one who minds supremely about Indian independence he is prepared to bless any solution likely to promote the cause of a free India.*"

Stating that the Government would demand a complete assurance that during the war there be no recurrence of Civil Disobedience the paper writes:

"No evidence has been published which connected Mr. Gandhi or other leaders of Congress with acts of violence. We only know that the Government of India declared that they had found a document in one province which connected the Congress with violent plans. Yet Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad and other Congress leaders were outspokenly in favour of supporting the war in 1942 and would repudiate the policy of sabotage."

The *New Statesman and Nation* says that the formula of 1942 as embodied in the Cripps proposals would no doubt need be revived. There seems still a basis of agreement if Mr. Gandhi is once more allowed to meet the leaders of the Congress under conditions of amnesty and if they discuss the whole situation freely both with the Muslim League and with the Viceroy Lord Wavell.

There can be no last word in politics. The Cripps offer did not provide any lasting solution of the Indian problem and it was not accepted by anybody in this country as the final formula. In the determination of future Indo-British relations the Cripps plan may not form the basis of agreement. The Congress has her own formula for the future political structure of the country. That a political settlement with India is an urgent and indispensable necessity, has been stressed by the paper in the following words:

"Let no one think that India does not matter because it is superficially quiescent. It matters supremely and for many reasons. Chief of them is that 400 million people matter and that until India is governed by her own responsible representatives there can be no solution for the economic or political miseries of India."

## *Absurd Claims of Representation*

In the same article, the *New Statesman and Nation* writes about the claim to represent India by Government of India's hirelings. It writes :

"Nothing but discredit can follow from statements such as made by Sir Firoz Khan Noon who with Mr. Amery and the Maharaja of Kashmir absurdly form the representation of India at the present Commonwealth Conference. English people scarcely mark the absurdity. *Let them not imagine that it passes without ridicule or worse in India, United States or the rest of the world* that Sir Firoz Khan Noon says : "There are no two opinions in India so far as ties with Great Britain and the prosecution of the present war are concerned."

"Why talk rubbish which every one knows to be rubbish ? There are not only two opinions in India about the ties of the Empire and the prosecution of the war. There are many. The Congress which represents far the largest body of organised Indian opinion has for years demanded no Dominion Status but independence."

By the selection of such people for "representing" India abroad, the Government of India's prestige is injured beyond repair. Intelligent opinion outside this country has by now learnt to differentiate between India and the Government of India, it is now widely known that not only the two are not the same, but they are widely apart with little relation between them. India is not injured by Firoz Khan Noon's utterances, it is the Government which sent him is brought into ridicule.

## *Priority for Race Horse Transport during Famine*

A *Reuters* message says that reviewing the book *Tell the Folks Back Home* by Senator Ames Mead of New York, one of the five Globe-flying Senators, Frank S. Adams of the *New York Times* says that Mead has written :

"A breezy, brash, entertaining book in which he does not back down on a single one of the points in dispute between the Foreign Affairs Committee and its critics. India made Senator Mead angrier than anything else he saw on the 45,000-mile trip. *He was shocked that at the time when thousands of starving people lay on the side-walks of Calcutta, the authorities were still devoting precious space in freight cars to race horses en route for the Calcutta Gold Cup.*"

This was not the only instance. Priority for the shipment of whisky was granted at a time when the whole country was crying for medicines.

## *Half the World in Deepest Poverty*

The British Labour Party's report on full employment and financial policy to be submitted to the party conference at the end of May, declares :

"Outside Europe—in Africa, India and China—half the population of the world lives in the deepest poverty, ill-fed, ill-clothed and dwelling in squalor. We can help them meet their urgent needs. The standard of living of the poorer peoples of the world can be raised through the International Development Board. It would be the business of this body to use the immense industrial resources of the wealthier parts of the earth to raise the productivity and the purchasing power of the thousand million human beings who live in China, India and Africa, and who are at present without the elementary means of subsistence."

Conditions in India and Africa speak volumes about the 'success' of British administration in these two places. In spite of all these revealing facts, all attention is still directed to Europe.

## *Health and Wealth*

In a speech at Karachi, Dr. B. C. Roy, Chairman of the Medical Relief Advisory Committee of the Bhore Committee on Health Survey and Development, outlined the following scheme of medical relief :

Dr. Roy pointed out that the aim of any health policy should be to prevent and not merely cure disease. The prevention of disease is dependent on a number of factors, not the least important of which is the economic environment in which the individual lives and works. Under-nourished people fall easy victims to disease and no public health drive can effectively succeed unless by determined effort the productive power of the people is increased, so that the country comes to have more for distribution than it has today. In its broader aspects, the work of the Health Committee is intimately bound up with economics and the problem of combating disease cannot be tackled successfully without a simultaneous effort to improve economic conditions.

Dr. Roy emphasized that the country would within the next 30 years need at least 300,000 doctors. He foreshadowed an increase in the number of medical institutions in the years to come. In progressive countries national health insurance schemes have, by a system of cash and medical benefits, helped the citizens who fall ill, to secure proper medical attention. But a health insurance scheme means money.

Any provision for health insurance in India must be preceded by a rise in the general standard of living. The average annual income in this country is Rs. 65 per capita, but when the income of the peasantry alone, who constitute 75 per cent of the population, is taken into account it works out to the meagre sum of about Rs. 25 per annum, or barely Rs. 2 a month. The Congress sought to raise this income at least to Rs. 15 per month *for the cultivating masses*. When that is done, and an adequate number of

trained medical men with the requisite medicine and equipment are turned out, the problem of medical aid may easily be resolved. Health insurance schemes for a people living on half diets and without any means to take nutritious food is bound to be a costly failure.

In this connection, Dr. Roy's pronouncement about the inadequacy of *post* famine medical relief from the Government deserves special attention. The following is the summarised report of his speech :

LAHORE, May 16.

Dr. B. C. Roy, President, Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee, Bengal, in a public speech in Y. M. C. A. Hall opined that money and medical relief were the crying needs of famished Bengal at the present moment. He stated that about three millions had fallen prey to the cruel hands of famine. He asserted that there was bungling on the part of the Government and the famine was not merely God-made. He added that medical relief from the Government was inadequate and quinine was not supplied in sufficient quantity to meet the needs of the people.

Concluding Dr. Roy said, "Let us now succeed where the authorities have failed to achieve by not seeking the co-operation of the people."

Raja Narendranath requested to experiment with Tulasi in the absence of quinine. He appealed to the Punjabis to rush all possible aid to Bengal.

## *Scheme for Voluntary Rationing in C. P. Villages*

The *Hitavada* reports that Mr. D. K. Kane, Vice-President of the Yeotmal District Association, has addressed a letter to the Commissioner, Berar, on the scheme of voluntary rationing in villages and for groups of families in towns. An extract of his letter is given below :

The Yeotmal District Association with a view to solve the rationing and supplying problem particularly in the villages and in small towns are making efforts to start voluntary "Co-operative Stores" in villages and also in towns. The minimum number of shareholders required is fixed at 10 and the minimum capital to be collected is Rs. 500. The "Sahakari Bhandar" (Co-operative Stores) has at the outset to prepare a chart, which is virtually a rationing chart, in which a detailed information of the monthly requirements of the family of the share-holders and of the agriculturists and villagers who agree to be affiliated to the store by becoming the customers and purchasers of the articles from the store, is to be prepared. This will give the correct figure of the quantity of the commodities required by a village or of a group of families. When this is ready, the President of the Store has to make arrangements for securing the commodities or articles from central places and from the bazar. In the case of the controlled articles, the President will have to secure a license in his name to make the retail sale and then to purchase the articles from some licensed wholesale dealers after satisfying the Food Control Officer of the locality about the monthly requirements of the Store. If the supply of the required articles is not in full, but is less in certain proportion, the registered shareholders and the consumers of the Store will all get their supply less in the same proportion. It will thus be Co-operative Rationing Agency. The Co-operative Stores (Sahakari Bhandar) is not to be started on merchantile basis for making profits only, but is intended to serve as distributing centre which will regularise the supply and will effect economy in the use of the controlled articles.

It will be possible to bring under one "Co-operative Store" a group of about 200 families and if necessary more stores should be organised if the population of the town or village requires it.

The Yeotmal District Association have printed the application forms and the bye-laws of the Co-operative Stores. So far about 15 applications are submitted for registration under the Co-operative Societies Act to the Registrar of the C. P. and Berar, Nagpur. The capital is already collected by different stores and they have started working, of course, by selling in the beginning, the articles which are not controlled. The Presidents are asked to apply to the Deputy Commissioner for licenses to purchase, store and sell in retail all the controlled articles.

*This voluntary effort of the agriculturists and villagers will be successful only if the stores get the licenses and permits to deal in controlled articles by retail sale, and if they get the supply of these articles from wholesale license-holders from time to time from the wholesale licensed dealers.*

Such Co-operative Societies, besides introducing voluntary rationing in villages, may render a very great service by setting up a machinery for the procurement of food-grains. The use of co-operative societies instead of middle-men out for profits for this purpose will make procurement both cheap and effective. The reaction of the C. P. and other provincial Governments to this voluntary effort of the Yeotmal villagers will be watched with great interest.

## *Challenge to Social Conscience*

The *Social Welfare* writes :

Reports are coming from various parts of India of rescue of minor girls sold for prostitution and the prosecution of culprits charged with the crimes. The disaster in Bengal last year left a terrible trail. Hunger and destitution drove hundreds and thousands of young women and girls into the whirlpool of vice. Some of these unfortunate victims are slowly being rescued. Meanwhile, there are reports from the Punjab and the South of more regular traffic. These traffickings are carried on with great organisational skill and great daring. A recent Madras case refers to 31 girls being sold into Hyderabad State during a period of two years.

In hunting up these criminals the Police do not seem to show a tithe of the vigilance that they show in pursuing men and women whose political opinions are unpalatable to the Government. In fact these traffickings are carried on so openly and so systematically that it is difficult to believe that all the sections of the Police were entirely unware of them all the time. The growth of prostitution in the more populous towns is making a heavy demand and this demand is presumably being met by growing traffic in minor girls from the districts and far-off provinces. There is imperative need for a comprehensive clean-up campaign. Public opinion also is culpable in so far as it does not effectively

express itself against this immoral traffic. These criminals cannot carry on their activities in absolute secrecy. People roundabout are bound to know but they do not intervene. This attitude of tolerance is anti-social in the extreme. The harm that accrues to society from this attitude, whether it is lethargy or complacency, is incalculable. It is a challenge to the social conscience that could not be ignored without disastrous results.

It is a pity that requisite attention has not yet been focussed on this very important social problem which has already become an All-India one. Rescue homes and prevention of gangsterism are necessary no doubt, they do not provide any solution. This evil is a product of economic derangement and unless the womenfolk are provided with adequate employment, this evil cannot be stamped out. We had suggested long ago that in Bengal the rice mills might be restricted for some time and the work of paddy husking might be distributed to the village women through standing organisations like the Union Boards. The various relief centres might also be utilised for the purpose. We had also advocated the provision of spinning and weaving as an employment of village women. The wages for spinning might have been low in normal times, but in these days of cloth famine, there is no doubt that spinning will provide at least some relief. The various spinners' organisations and Khadi centres might have been utilised.

### *An Exemplary Punishment*

A Delhi message stated that Mr. P. G. Kripalani, proprietor, Bombay Sports, was fined Rs. 5000 under the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance for selling poker dice at Rs. 11-8 whose cost price was Re. 1-9.

Such are the sentences that are needed if the Government really desire to stamp out hoarding and profiteering. Following some hard sentences passed by the Calcutta High Court on some similar criminals against the society, the magistrates began to take a little stronger view. But this has died out. The Court records both in Calcutta and in other places show that profiteers get rather lightly out. We believe it is time for the Government to enact that hoarders and profiteers would be fined at least 500 times the excess profits charged. Similar exemplary provision for the punishment of Government officials concerned with these crimes, if any, should also be made, irrespective of their status or position in office. Criminals against the society, however highly placed, deserve no mercy.

### *Injustice to Indian-owned Collieries and Maladministration in Coal*

120 collieries, all Indian-owned, have been served with an order of stopping despatches for the alleged purpose of creating reserves for emergency. Space in these small collieries being limited, the object would have been better achieved if big British-managed collieries with greater facilities for stacking coal had been requisitioned. Thus the attempt made originally by Sir Edward Benthall as Railway Member to stop supply of wagons to Indian-owned second class collieries against which he had inveighed years ago as a Clive Street magnate is at last bearing fruit though the present order, lamentably enough, emanates from the Department of Labour, Government of India in charge of an Indian Member. How we wish that the patriotism and sense of justice of Sir Joseph Bhore (an Indian Christian) who as Railway Member years ago placed for the first time large orders with Indian-owned collieries in the teeth of opposition from British merchants of Calcutta could move the present Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council and come now to the rescue of Indian-owned collieries which have been the Cinderella of the industry for decades. Payment will of course be made to these mines for coal reserves but their progress will be jeopardised by their raisings being restricted to small space available. Most of these collieries produce soft coke so that the suffering of the masses in cooking food is going to increase enormously.

As regards decline in raisings the evil can not be remedied so long as colliery managers have to devote the greater part of their time and energy to distribution of rice among miners at controlled rates. At least in respect of collieries situated in Bihar this work can easily be taken over by the local Government which had excellently managed controlled shops in all towns of the Province last year while such shops in Calcutta visibly demonstrated administrative break down.—SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA.

# OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN—I

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

## I

THE private European trader was allowed the right to do business in India after the Charter Act of 1813 which deprived the East India Company of its monopoly. Gradually, the number of European businessmen increased and they organised themselves into Chambers of Commerce first in Calcutta in 1834, then at Bombay and Madras in 1836 and, later on, at other important centres of trade. It was under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 that European businessmen were granted representation regularly in our legislatures. With the passing of subsequent legislation, the number of seats occupied by Europeans has been gradually increased.

The position today is that the European community under the Government of India Act, 1935, has been accorded 96 to 97 seats in the Indian legislatures provided of course that the Federal part is implemented without any change. What is regarded as a grievance by Political India is that this measure of representation has been given to it without anything like a large increase in the number of non-official Europeans carrying on various kinds of activities in our motherland.

Rightly or wrongly, Political India has come to feel that what it regards as excessive representation has been granted to the non-official European community because our rulers have felt that, with the gradual diminution of British control, European financial interests are not likely to be adequately safeguarded.

## II

European businessmen demanded the inclusion of statutory safeguards in the 1935 Act against any future legislative or administrative measure calculated to injure their interests even when they were aimed at the promotion of the interests of the nationals of India.

The point of view of Political India was clarified in the Sapru-Jayakar Memorandum submitted to the Third Round Table Conference in which dealing with this matter the signatories observed :

> "We are clear in our minds that for the future development of Indian industries, many of which are lying fallow or are struggling in an impoverished condition, it is absolutely necessary to leave in the hands of the Central and Provincial Governments enough power to initiate, subsidise and protect industries which can be briefly described as key or infant industries, even if such initiation, subsidy of protection should occasionally look like discrimination."

Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar also expressed the view that it was desirable that both the Central and the Provincial Governments should be accorded ample power

> "to control the evil effects of unfair competition, such as sometimes has been practised in the past by powerful organisations against their weaker rivals."

It is hardly necessary to add that these Indian patriots were referring in both cases to the disadvantages Indian enterprise had suffered and, in future, was likely to suffer from the incursions of non-Indians into our economic life.

## III

The decisions ultimately reached by the British Government were incorporated in the anti-discrimination sections of the Government of India Act, 1935, some of which have a direct bearing on the development of Indian commerce and industry. Without attempting any examination of these clauses, it may be said that they disregard Indian public opinion because they fail to give the first place to Indian interests.

In addition, we have the Instruments of Instruction to the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors which require them to "prevent" discrimination against British interests. Here they will act at their own discretion.

When Lord Salisbury described these and similar other measures as being made out of paper, Sir Samuel Hoare according to *Hansard*, December 10, 1934, p. 56, replied :

> "No, Sir, these safeguards are not paper safeguards. They are safeguards with sanction behind them and with effective executive action to be put into effect if need arises."

## IV

The various measures by which the economic interests of the non-official European community have been safeguarded have been sought to be justified on various grounds the most important of which are the social service it has rendered to India and the benefits it has

conferred on us through the development of our foreign trade and our industries. Our attention has also been drawn to the many advantages we have derived from the investment of European capital in India.

It is proposed in this and the following articles to ascertain whether the benefits we have derived under these heads have been of such a magnitude as to lend countenance to the view that the non-official European community is entitled to the favoured position it now enjoys in our political and economic life.

This, the first of the series, will be devoted to the discussion of the question of the recognition due from us to the non-official European community as a whole on account of the social services rendered to us by a particular section of it.

V

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 and the Simon Commission Report of 1930 divided the European community into three sections. The first of these consists of the British section of the Indian Army, the second of those employed in various departments concerned with the civil administration of British India and the last of Europeans not employed by Government with whom only we are concerned here as it is to them that certain economic privileges have been given and it is also from them that the representatives of the European community are drawn.

This third section, the non-official Europeans, fall into four broad classes. The most important and influential among them in the language of the Simon Commission (Report, Vol. I., Paragraph 64) are

"the men of business, who with their families, are found in the principal shipping and trading centres and in other places of organised production, like the tea estates of Assam, or Darjeeling or Chota Nagpur, the tea or coffee plantations in the Nilgiris, certain coal fields, or the rubber plantations and oil producing areas."

It is to be noted that here the Simon Commission has lumped together Europeans engaged in commerce, industries, mining, planting etc., probably because the one thing common to all of them is their connection with capital invested in India with a view to the earning of profits.

Another class, confessedly small, of non-official Britons found in large centres of population consists of journalists, medical men, lawyers, engineers and other professional men.

Then we have some retired officials, army officers and planters who have settled down in the cooler parts of India with the idea of making India their home. The number of such men is so small that, for the purpose of the present discussion, they may be safely neglected.

A more important section consists of missionaries, male and female, of various Protestant denominations and members, male and female, of various Roman Catholic orders directly engaged in Christian propaganda. With these should be mentioned a small and devoted band of workers, male and female, engaged in educational, medical and other social work.

An examination of the directory issued by the National Christian Council in behalf of all the Protestant denominations and of the Roman Catholic gazeteer issued from Madras will show that this section of non-official Europeans consists approximately of 10,000 adult males and females of whom roughly 25 per cent, as citizens of Britain or the self-governing Dominions, are entitled to exercise franchise in India, to seek election to our legislatures as representatives of the European community as a minority community and also to enjoy the advantages flowing from the economic safeguards incorporated in the Act of 1935.

VI

Even the most orthodox non-Christian Indian will admit readily the unselfish devotion of these people to what they consider their primary duty —the preaching of Christianity. He will still more willingly acknowledge the important services rendered by those among them who have spent and are today spending themselves for educational, medical and other social work for the benefit of Indians irrespective of caste and creed.

Paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 referred to their work as consisting in

"furthering education, building up character and inculcating healthier domestic habits...for which India should be grateful."

Continuing it was stated in the following paragraph that

"It is difficult to over-estimate the devoted and creative work which missionary money and enterprise are doing in the fields of education, morals and sanitation."

VII

These missionaries and other social workers are stationed not only in the larger towns but also in remote corners of our motherland and it has to be admitted that their primary aim is to convince the Indian of the superiority of Christianity and then to convert him to their

faith. Even though, according to many, their theological propaganda has, from the standpoint of the material results achieved, been more or less a failure, it cannot be denied that they have done great service to India by spreading widely the knowledge of Christian ethics which the present writer, himself a Christian, regards as one of their most precious contributions.

With the spread of political knowledge among the middleclass intelligentsia and its communication to the masses by the politically minded middleclass leaders, the position of these missionaries has become very difficult. It is pointed out to them that the cardinal principles of the religion to which they seek converts and, worse still, the ethical standards to which they exhort their followers to adhere, are not always strictly observed by the more prosperous or the more honoured among their countrymen. If, led away by enthusiasm, they preach unselfishness which manifests itself in the political sphere as non-communalism, they are immediately confronted by the selfishness of a large section of non-missionary non-official Britons.

Their unselfish devotion to what they consider their duty is only too often ascribed to the necessity of earning their salary, which, few Indians are aware, is so small as hardly to deserve this description. In this connection, it is perhaps scarcely necessary to add that they could have easily earned far more than their meagre allowances had they but chosen some other walk of life.

## VIII

So far as the knowledge of the present writer goes, the Roman Catholic missionaries are not permitted by the rules of the different orders to which they belong to take active part in politics. As for those belonging to the different Protestant denominations, it is well-known that they too are not encouraged to do so if only for the reason that they are sent to India for an altogether different purpose to which they are expected to devote all their time and energy.

From the contacts the present writer has been able to establish with European missionaries coming from Britain, Ireland, the self-governing Dominions, the United States and the Continent, scattered in nine British Indian provinces and more than two dozen of the larger and more important Indian States which he has visited and these, it may be added, have been many and intimate, he feels justified in stating with all the emphasis at his command that, as a class, the only preoccupation of these servants of God is whether in an independent India, they will be permitted to carry on their present beneficent activities and the preaching of their faith with the same freedom as at present. On many occasions, apprehensions have been expressed that their liberty in the matter of propaganda would be curtailed and probably hindrances placed in the way of conversions.

On not a single occasion has any missionary expressed any desire to secure political influence by entering our legislatures in order to ensure the permanent enjoyment or extension of the existing political and economic rights guaranteed to the non-official European community under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

From enquiries made by the present writer it appears that since 1919 when communal seats were thrown open to Europeans in our legislatures, not a single European missionary, Roman Catholic or Protestant, has even once tried to enter them through election. It is also a fact that in two or three instances, European missionaries were nominated to them for particular purposes and for a limited period only as for instance when the Rev. Dr. George Howells was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council under dyarchy in order to pilot the Serampore (Theological) University Act.

## IX

Where British businessmen have to safeguard their economic interests in order to continue earning profits the major part of which, Indians have always maintained, is taken away from and spent outside India, European missionaries collect money from their homelands and spend it here for our benefit. This fundamental difference is responsible for their attitude in regard to the question of both European representation in our legislatures and the continuance of economic privileges.

As a class, the European missionaries seek the friendship of Indians with whom they mix more intimately than any other class of aliens and are always unwilling to say or do things which are likely to lead to misunderstandings between them and the people among whom they have cast their lot. While they may not always be able to approve of the technique adopted by nationalism specially of the militant type, almost all of them sympathise with the economic and political ambitions of India.

On many occasions, as for instance during the last fast of Mahatma Gandhi at Poona, many of these mission workers have advocated an approach to the Indian problem much more

sympathetic than that recommended by European businessmen on the one hand and British officials on the other. Whenever there is something like a crisis, British missionaries have, as a class, very rarely failed to react to them in the truly Christian manner. And this true from the time of the Jallianwala tragedy down to more recent dates when efforts were made by some leaders among them to persuade the British Government to end the Indian political deadlock by releasing those Congressmen including Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad and others who were not associated with the disturbances of August 1942. And all this has not certainly added to their popularity with all their countrymen.

## X

If he is a student of Indian politics, the Indian cannot forget that in none of the numerous reports of Committees and Commissions appointed by the Parliament or the Government of India has any mention ever been made as to any permanent organised efforts for conferring educational, medical and social benefits on Indians irrespective of caste and creed initiated by non-missionary non-official Europeans. The obvious reason for this is that they have been drawn to India by other considerations. What the present writer regards as an admirable trait in them is the frankness with which they confess it. Thus Mr. Geoffrey Tyson, an English journalist said to be connected with *Capital*, the organ of British commerce and industry operating in Eastern India, says on page 37 of his *Danger in India* published in 1932 that

"The British businessman is in India primarily for business purpose, and for the making of money for the concerns which he represents"

which, naturally, does not bar out the making of money for himelf.

What, however, seems ridiculous is that non-official Europeans, of whom businessmen form the most influential section, supply the leadership and shape the policy, should claim representation on the ground that their missionary countrymen have served India in these particular directions. If the Indian is told by non-missionary Europeans that some seats have to be reserved for these friends of India if only as a recognition of the services rendered by them to us, he would regard it as a very obvious subterfuge adopted with the definite purpose of increasing the influence of other and probably more selfish sections of the European community in our public life. Nor will he change this view unless and until he finds these European missionaries claiming representation in Indian legislatures through their own organisations or, in the alternative, seeking election to our legislatures from the European communal constituencies and, in doing so, being supported by their non-missionary countrymen.

As none of these things has happened in the quarter of a century which has elapsed since elected seats from communal constituencies were thrown open to Europeans, the only conclusion the Indian feels he is entitled to draw is that missionaries do not seek recognition of the services they have rendered to India in the form of representation in Indian legislatures and the granting of economic privileges to their countrymen and that those who claim them for the European community as a whole on that score are not only guilty of misrepresenting the views of this most estimable class of people but also of exploiting, for their own purposes and probably in ways which often do not find their approval, the very great benefits conferred on us by them.

## XI

Indians, irrespective of caste and creed, feel that, under these circumstances, what they regard as excessive representation of the European community cannot be explained as being due to the necessity of granting facilities to European missionaries to voice their opinion. So far as the attitude of European missionaries in regard to the diminution, maintenance or enlargement of the economic privileges granted to British business under the Government of India Act, 1935, is concerned, it is obvious that this can possess little, if any, interest for people who live in a world apart and stand neither to gain or lose whether they are abolished, kept up or extended. Nor has the present writer ever come across anywhere any evidence to show that this matter has ever interested any European missionary with whom he is acquainted.

The suggestion that European missionaries are in favour of securing over-representation and economic privileges to the non-official European community because they have served us does not seem to be based on facts so far as they are known to the present writer.

## XII

What grieves the present writer, a Christian Indian, is that the work of the British missionaries is almost always made difficult by claims, such as those concerned with the protection of British vested interests often urged by people who, sometimes barely tolerating them, claim to,

speak in their behalf and that without caring to ascertain their views—an attitude only explainable by the selfishness of the business section of the non-official European community.

It is, however, only fair to add that from such contacts as the present writer has been able to establish with non-official European businessmen in the executive of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Bible Society and other Christian organisations, he is convinced that almost every Briton associated with these organisations is a devoted Christian. Not only these men but others who do not profess to be strict Christians, and among these he would include some of his European colleagues in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, as individuals are not only upright by nature but also make every attempt to be fair to those who are unable to agree to their point of view. Some among these have even gone so far as to admit, but invariably in an indirect way, that they do not approve of the over-representation in the legislatures accorded to their community as also that they have sufficient confidence in Indian goodwill to forego the special safeguards provided for British interests under the Government of India Act, 1935.

But, it has to be observed at the same time, that whenever it is a question of acting as a community, the policy followed is the policy of the European Association, a policy dictated by the leaders of business and, as such, conditioned exclusively by business considerations.

### XIII

This reminds one of what Lord Acton said nearly half a century ago on page 506 of his *Historical Essays* where he expressed the opinion that

> "The principles of public morality are as definite as those of the morality of private life, but they are not identical."

What Christ whom these men profess to follow stood for long ago and what Gandhiji is advocating today is the identification of public and private morality, the divorce between which is leading today to such awful carnage and destruction that the human imagination reels back at their mere thought.

It is to be hoped that, by the time we have the next revision of the constitution of India, non-official Europeans will have acquired sufficient unselfishness to set an example to our Indian minorities so as to place general above sectional and group interests failing which what leadership under the profit motive they have given in the development of our industry and commerce will be regarded by us not as a blessing but as a curse specially if it leads to the creation of yet another disruptive force in our national life.

## THE CHINESE RENAISSANCE

By SHANTI SWARUP MATHUR, M.A.

There is a Chinese maxim that action is not so good as inaction. The maxim may have served as a good ideal of conduct in the ancient days but it was woefully suited to the temper of the nineteenth century when a lust to secure domination over the rich lands of the Orient had seized the European powers of the West. The result was that when the Westerners landed upon the Chinese soil and implored for exchange of commerce the Chinese people regarded them with supreme contempt as barbarians. They were, however, soon made aware of their folly. These barbarians, they soon realized, were not so simple as they looked. They came behind bayonets and fire-cannons-improvements upon their own invention of gun-powder and began to wrest by force one concession after another from them. Worst still, their neighbour Japan also started to emulate the tactics of these western powers. In fact she did this with such consummate skill that she soon outdid the Westerners in their own game. The Chinese people were rudely shocked by these happenings which gravely jeopardised their national existence. A reawakening, unparalleled in the annals of human history, began to take place. The Chinese leaders called for a sweeping away of the old traditions and customs that stood in the way of the progress of the people. A new spirit pervaded the nation, a spirit which Madame Chiang Kai-shek has summed up in one word as courage; courage to resist the Japanese hordes, courage to abandon outgrown customs, courage to develop a new standard of citizenship placing the welfare of the state above the clamour of the individual.

Nowhere is this spirit of New China better seen in action than in the Great Migration that followed the Japanese invasion and is still in the process of taking place. Ruthless air

bombardment of civilian population, wanton destruction of private and public property, systematic closure of educational institutions—these were some of the high notes of Japanese savagery. The Chinese people simply fled in terror before such barbarism towards the unoccupied provinces of the West. This migration, it is surmised, has beaten all previous migrations known to have taken place in world history. Up to 1939 a total of 30,000,000 human souls, forming one-fifth of the entire population of the war-ravished country, has migrated to the West. A striking feature of the migration has been that it includes tens of thousands of intellectuals. We are indeed witnessing an astounding phenomenon of history.

To be more efficient in the conduct of war against Japan the National Government also transferred its seat of Government from Nanking to Chungkiang in November, 1937. Chungkiang is the commercial metropolis of the Province of Szechwan, the most populous and fertile province of the West and being situated on a rocky hill has excellent sites for dug-outs against air-raids. As such it is an ideal war-time capital.

From Chungkiang all the military and civil affairs of the state are directed. The civilian machinery of the Government has at its head the Supreme National Defence Council over which General Chiang Kai-shek presides. It is divided into five departments of Yuans—the executive, legislative, judicial, examination and control. The Executive Yuan is the most important of these and is responsible for the executive side of the Government and includes as subordinate organs the various ministries and commissions.

The Government, allowing for the exigencies of war, is essentially democratic in nature. Shortly after the war began, the Government convoked the People's Political Council, a representative body of two hundred leaders from all walks of Chinese life. The provinces have similar councils of their own. In 1940 a People's Convention met and adopted a constitution for the country. Similar democratization has been effected in the village and district Governments. The Chinese above all believe that democracy is the best form of Government for people.

These western lands where the refugees have emigrated comprise some of the richest provinces of China. They abound in minerals, vast timber resources and alluvial loess soil which is capable of producing three to five crops a year. The Chinese have been quick to realize that good transport was needed if this wealth was to be fully exploited. It was no easy task. The land is traversed by deep river gorges, high mountains and thick forests but no obstacles are too great to be surmounted by the Chinese people. As a result of their superhuman industry and patience the Chinese today boast of eighty thousand miles of surfaced highways—most of them built without the help of modern machinery. Some of these roads pass through the most difficult terrain imaginable. Land slides and accidents are frequent but minimum of time is lost in repairing them and making the roads serviceable again. Equally satisfactory has been the development of her rail transport. New railway lines have been laid down to connect Kunming with Lashio, Kunming with Chungkiang, Chungkiang with Chengtu etc., etc. Not only these railways help in opening the rich interior, inaccessible hitherto, but they also provide employment for thousands of refugees who have emigrated before the Japanese terror. Waterways which are the most important channel of transport have also not been neglected. The rivers are constantly dredged; a new type of junk that has more cargo capacity than the old outmoded type of vessels and is convertible into a motorship has been evolved. The river waters have been also harnessed to yield electric power which will greatly foster the development of light industry. Three hydro-electric plants have been projected, one just below Chungkiang, one to the west on the Copper river and a third near Kunming in Yunan and they are estimated to yield a combined output of a hundred thousand horse-power.

Side by side with the political and economic development, a social ferment is also agitating the Chinese people. A new spirit breathes through its literature, its ways of living and thinking and its customs and beliefs. The war of resistance and the need for national regeneration dominate the literary scene, and books now either breathe blood, death, clenched fist and definance or describe the diverse ways which other nations of the world by adopting have achieved great heights in social, economic and political fields. The art of vernacular drama has also made rapid strides of late. Its value as a very potent instrument of propaganda has not been lost sight of by the Chinese authors. The titles of the new dramas are: *It Rained the Ancient City, Song of the Refugees, Blood Drips from the Blazzing Sky* and so on. Outdoor dramatic performances are very common. Parties of players roam the country-side and the market towns mix with the crowds and suddenly begin to act. The vernacular press has also progressed by leaps and bounds. In

Shansi province, for example, where there were formerly four newspapers there are now over four hundred. Many are mimeographed or lithographed. Wall newspapers with illustrations in colour have also made appearance.

Perhaps the greatest triumph of the Chinese reconstruction movement has been the development of the Industrial Co-operative system. It boasts of a membership of thirty thousand workers and aims to inoculate in the Chinese worker a spirit of comradeship and co-operation. The workers, who are mostly refugees, work in small units scattered throughout the country with implements salvaged from the Jap-invaded countries or use local materials produced by the farmers. Besides the Industrial Co-operative, there are other types of co-operative societies—mostly credit societies. Worthy of mention is the Farm Credit Bureau which has lent millions of dollars to the Chinese farmer for construction of storage granaries, development of farm irrigation and other kindred farm projects. The Government is also restricting poppy cultivation and the land thus made available is being utilised for more profitable crops.

The Chinese have held to the educational front with no less vigour. Such a front has been maintained against overwhelming odds. There are too few text-books so that four or five students have to share a single book. There are no proper buildings and it is a common sight to see classes being held in the open when the weather permits this or in old houses, unused barracks or even old halls of Confucian temples. Even while the classes are on, the siren would ring and students and teachers would hurry to the shelter of the dug-outs. But nevertheless, instead of bowing to the might of the Japanese aggression, the educational centres decided to move to the west. About one hundred and ten universities, colleges and technical schools were in existence in 1937; only twenty of these have closed down; the rest have removed themselves to safer haunts in West China. The Government has also not neglected to encourage them in these efforts and extend a helping hand where necessary. It has placed a high premium upon the graduates of its universities and has never encouraged them to enlist as privates in the army. On the other hand, those of them who have a flair for military life and come up to the requisite standard, are trained at the Officers' Military Academy. Attempts have been also made to formulate a common programme of education for the whole of China. With this end in view was convened the Kuomintang Emergency Congress in April, 1938. As a result of the deliberations of this Congress a programme was drawn up and presented before the People's Political Council in 1938. Another conference was called in March, 1939 to deliberate further on the problems of national education. A feature of this programme is the increased emphasis laid on practical education. New courses in natural sciences were drawn up; a net-work of two years' technical training schools was established and encouragement was given to research conducted for the development of agricultural resources. On the whole a new educational spirit is surging through the country and it may prove a determining factor in the evolution of the New China.

It is not enough if this new urge for education is confined to a small section of the people living in the few great cities. The Chinese farmer constitutes eighty-five percent of the entire population and unless he is educated China cannot play an effective part in contributing her due share to world peace and prosperity. With this end in view a mass movement for rural reconstruction has been started by those Chinese intellectuals who have the good of the Chinese farmer at heart. This mass education movement started during the last World War when a few Chinese educated youths were assigned the task of looking after the welfare of the one hundred and fifty thousand Chinese labourers who were sent to work as coolies in France at the close of the War. These youngmen returned to China determined to improve the lot of the Chinese farmer at home. Tinghsien, a district of four hundred thousands people in the southern part of the Province of Hopei, was selected as the venue of the first experimental centre. The experiment proved highly successful and since then such centres have been started all over the country. A School of Public Administration was also established to impart technical and administrative training to the future district magistrates and junior officials recruited chiefly from college graduates. A National Institute of Rural Reconstruction for both research and training has been also launched near Chungkiang, the present headquarters of the Mass Education Movement. The foundations of a rejuvenated and regenerated China are thus being laid deep.

In the war of liberation and the programme of reconstruction the Chinese woman under the inspiring leadership of Madame Chiang-Kai-shek is playing a no less significant part than her male compatriot. Before the Japanese invasion Chinese women for the most part lived their lives within the four corners of their hearths

but the war sent them a new challenge to come out in the open and to this challenge they have heroically responded. The concern of women for the national defence of their country, in fact, appeared much earlier, for in the Revolution of 1911 a few hundred girl students petitioned General Yuang-Hung to send them to the battle front. The war with Japan afforded them still greater opportunities for showing their mettle in the national struggle. In August 1937, the National Association of Chinese Women for cheering and comforting officers and soldiers of the war of Self-Defence and Resistance was started; in March 1938, a second women's national organisation also under the leadership of Madame Chiang was inaugurated to deal with the problem of orphaned children. It took upon itself the task of removing orphaned children from war areas, setting-up of receiving homes for them and helping the mothers in the nursing of their little ones. As a result of the exertions of this organization about forty homes scattered over eighty provinces and caring for more than twenty thousand children have been set up. Women students too have combined service with study. In their spare hours and during vacations they organize themselves in parties and visit hospitals, cheer the patients, write letters home for them and carry the message of the New Life Movement to the convalescent and recovering. After short courses of training the young women are deputed to go to rural areas where they provide games for the children, enact plays or teach the village people a few Chinese characters, so on and so forth. An anecdote is related of a head-man addicted to opium-eating who upon hearing of the arrival of such a party hid himself until three weeks later when he had cured himself of the obnoxious habit. So that this work of reconstruction may not run along haphazard channels a women's conference was called at Kuling in Kiangsi and unanimously they chose the Women's Committee of the New Life Movement as the co-ordinating agency for all their activities of war and reconstruction. The Chinese woman is thus playing a vital role in the rebuilding of her country's life for she has realized that no nation can rise to great heights unless its women also make their peculiar contribution to national life.

China thus stands at the threshold of a new age. The lesson has been brought home to the Chinese people that if they wish to lead a free, independent and honourable life of their own, they must pay the price in blood, tears and sweat. Thanks to the Almighty they have risen equal to the occasion. The fortitude, patience and skill with which they are today struggling against great odds will not only later constitute some of the brightest pages of their national history but are today a shining example and source of inspiration to all the allied nations who are locked up in a life-and-death struggle with the forces of darkness, evil and iniquity.

## RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By CYRIL MODAK

In some distant, golden, faëry-peopled past,
Dreaming of the joy of new-wrought Beauty,
Love all-powerful breathed into a dream at last
Breath of life, you stood, a poet. Duty
Beckoned with her world-renewing strains that guide
Planets through infinite space, and taking
Left you with the Master Flutist to abide,
Learning fiery secrets of song-making :
To our temple when you came,
Thus it was you brought song-flame
For the worship of Love's Name.

Like a Vaishnav priest in shining vestments clad,
Here you stood before us, Poet, singing
Of the beauteous life for ever sadly glad,
Little bells in every heart-shrine ringing.
And the West leaned forward ah ! to catch the strain
Of your melodies that ached with rapture,
Of your threnodies that had the lilt of pain :
With the wiles of music you did capture
Beauty's vision that doth bless
With a happy restlessness
Souls that yearn for Loveliness.

Prince of pilgrims ! Comrade of the lonely way !
Yours it was to blaze new trails untiring,
Trails that bravely pointed to the Newer Day ;
Ages yet unborn will stand admiring
Your immortal triumphs; seeking to regain
India's lost dominions you implanted
Regal manhood in a nation's heart again.
Let Time lisp her faltering praise enchanted,
Poet of Life's pageantry !
Poet of Death's mystery !
Poet of Love's victory !

# THE BENGAL SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL, 1944

By Shrimati Renuka Ray, B.Sc., (Econ.) Lond., M.L.A., (Central)

The Secondary Education Bill which is now on the anvil of the provincial legislature and sponsored by the Bengal Government, has evoked much legitimate criticism and extreme discontent amongst responsible elements of society. In the mind of the unbiased educationist, it gives rise to serious cause for alarm in regard to the future of education in Bengal.

This bill has a history behind it. In 1940, a bill on somewhat similar lines was brought forward by the Government. Though purporting to be based on the recommendations of the Sadler Commission it left out some of the essential features of the Commission's recommendations. The bill did not receive public support and was allowed to lapse. Later in 1942 the bill was revived and a Select Committee of the Legislature was appointed to consider it. In the committee stage, the bill under went several *important* and fundamental changes. A new bill incorporating the proposals of the Select Committee was first published in the *Calcutta Gazette* in April 1944. Against all canons of legislative procedure, this new bill has been taken up for discussion in the provincial assembly without re-circulating it for public opinion and is now being pushed through to its final stages. Even the opinion of educationists in the country has not been sought in regard to the present bill which has changed considerably in character in the Select Committee.

In the statement of objects and reasons of this bill, we find it mentioned that education has been un-planned and that there is need for a unified authority with power to regulate development according to a planned scheme. No one will deny the truth of this contention. But the most careful scrutiny of this bill, in regard to its composition, its powers, and its finances fails to reveal any provision for a unified authority or an adequate scheme for development. Nor is an autonomous Board provided on the line of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. In the first place representations on this Board is not only on the basis of community and sect but through the method of separate electorates. Thus we find that the Calcutta University has six representatives of whom two are Muslims elected only by the Muslim fellows of the Senate, two are caste Hindus to be elected by caste Hindus, and one scheduled caste and one member of other communities to be elected in the same manner. The same method of separate electorates is followed for the representation of the Dacca University and for electing representatives of Head Masters and even of Head Mistresses of the high schools and of the legislature. The eight members appointed by the Provincial Government are nominated on a communal basis. Apart from this, there are ex-officio representatives, amongst whom are included the Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, the head of the Sanskrit Department of the University of Calcutta, the head of the Department of Islamic Studies and Arabic of the University of Dacca and the Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa. Yet experts on technical, engineering and scientific education whose presence on the Board are far more necessary in the light of modern education do not find a place here. Out of a Board of fifty-three members, the only two who can have any claims to be independent educationists are the Vice-chancellors of the two Universities and even they are not represented on the Executive Committee in their ex-officio capacity. There is not even an attempt to give educationists a chance to direct the choice of the President of this Board as he is to be the direct nominee of the Provincial Government. The representation of the Managing Committees of Schools is not provided for and yet the legislature has ten representatives. An analysis of the composition of this Board drives one to the conclusion that control is intended to be vested in the hands of politicians rather than of educational experts. Selection on communal lines is bound to bring the reactionary element of each community to the fore-front. Those who believe in educational progress or social reform will find no place on this Board. By the very nature of its composition, the Board will be unable to develop a progressive educational policy and all the defects of the present system of education will be perpetuated and magnified beyond measure.

No provision or scheme can be found anywhere in this bill for developing Secondary Education along sound and progressive lines. The funds at the disposal of this Board will be Rs. 25 lakhs per annum with an additional sum reaching up to another 25 lakhs by 1949. It would be impossible to carry out any real measure of expansion or development of Secondary Education with such inadequate resources. If Secondary Education is to be expanded and developed, if technical, commercial and art

education are to be given their proper place along with academic education then the money needed will be in crores. The estimated net minimum annual cost under the Sargent Scheme for high school education is 50 crores of which Bengal's share would be five to six crores per annum.

It is true that a separate Board for Secondary Education would be in a better position to direct and develop high school education than the University which being the seat of academic learning, is not the best authority to lay down the syllabus and method of examinations for a stage of education where the practical side has to be developed equally with the academic. But apart from being vested with the power of direction, the proposed Board is neither composed in such a manner nor given any such authority, as will enable it to improve upon the present system. The proposed Board cannot be called autonomous in any sense of the word, as it is under the direct supervision of the Provincial Government and can be disbanded, reconstituted or have any of its orders suspended by Government without the previous sanction of the legislature.

Let us examine how this Board can fit in with the new educational ideas that are current. In India today, along with other nation-building activities, education has been relegated to the background. The result is that only an infinitesimal minority can claim to have any education, and even the education provided for the few, suffers from obvious and glaring defects. With the growth of national consciousness and the desire for economic prosperity, the need of providing an educational structure which will meet the requirements of a country which has to make up much lee-way to take its place with economically advanced and independent nations, has engaged the attention of our educationists and thinkers. Russia and China have shown us how this can be accomplished in an incredibly short period. This need not be a vague longing after an ideal but a practical and immediate possibility that faces India. An entire scheme for educational reconstruction has recently been placed before the public by the Central Advisory Board of Education covering every stage and every phase of educational development. It is a scheme for a national system of education based on equality of opportunity for every child, boy or girl, irrespective of class or community and giving scope for a wide variety of talents. It emphasises the need for a new educational approach for all stages of education through the basic system in the earlier stages. Practical education is placed on an equal footing with the academic. Above all it lays down the essential minimum training for citizenship.

The scheme laid down by the Central Advisory Board stresses that an educational scheme has to be treated in its entirety, each stage being considered an integral part of the whole. Secondary Education cannot be separated from primary education which is its basis, or from University education which is its superstructure. Any attempt to do so would be unbalanced, and likely to cause disruption. This does not mean that Secondary Education should not be developed and supervised under a separate autonomous Board provided it is in keeping with, and forms a part of, the entire educational edifice. The Sadler Commission recommended an autonomous Board of this nature. Today, an entire scheme of educational development is before the country and provided that all the stages of this scheme are put into operation there is no reason why there should not be a separate Board to follow up and develop the educational policy for the different stages. But it must not be forgotten that the mere appointment of an authority to control Secondary Education without an accepted plan for educational development will not serve the purpose.

One of the most important features of the Sargent Scheme is, that there is no place in it for separatist treatment for different sections of the community, whereas under the proposed Board the education of different sections, such as Hindu, Muslim, scheduled caste and women are to be under the guidance of separate committees. This separatist treatment will tend towards keeping back the progress of education as a whole, as it is now recognised that separatist treatment of any section does not help the progress of education of that section, and this is particularly true in the case of so-called educationally backward classes. The report of the Central Advisory Board points out clearly that it does not make specific reference to the question of the education for girls and women because separatist treatment has not advanced the cause of their education and that it is better to provide equal educational facilities for all. Provincial Governments have for years past, treated women's education as a separate section, presumably because women are educationally backward. Statistics show that the rate of progress of women's education remains far behind the pace of general education. Anglo-Indian education too was given separatist treatment so that the community might gain certain

advantages but this has failed in its effect. Thinking members of this community are now clamouring that Anglo-Indian education should be brought into conformity with the broad lines of the general educational structure. Separatist treatment cannot benefit any community but will be to the detriment of all. The only way to do away with the existence of any educationally backward section is to provide equal facilities for all as provided under the Sargent Scheme. Whatever justification there was for the bill of 1940, born as it was out of a desire to overhaul Secondary Education, circumstances have now completely changed. No such justification exists now for rushing through a bill to provide a Board which will be antagonistic to the fundamental principles underlying this new educational scheme.

Education is inextricably bound up with the structure of society. It shapes man's behaviour, his ideals and his way of thinking. In fact it is the foundation on which the State itself has to be built. H. G. Stead has said, " Education will be the instrument by which the function of society is made explicit to its developing citizens." No country that desires to exist or to uphold its way of living can afford to ignore or neglect the education of its future citizens. If the seeds of dissension and disunity are laid in the educational structure, then the harmonious development of society becomes impossible. The secondary stage of education is one of vital importance for it is here, that the future leaders of the country will have their first training in the different walks of life. We cannot afford to allow the education of those who are to inspire others and to give the lead for the regeneration of the nation, to be vitiated at the source, and torn by conflicting interests and disharmony. No rational man or woman desires that the culture of any section should be super-imposed on all. Nor would it be possible, for in a society which is dynamic and changing a fusion of all cultures must take place. A rigid separatist movement can only spell disaster and is fundamentally opposed to all the forces of evolutionary progress.

It is greatly to be deplored that this bill should have been made a bone of contention between community and community. This has only resulted in clouding the real issues. There is no provision in this bill that will help forward the educational growth of any section or of the province as a whole. The theory that it will help the education of Muslims at the cost of other communities is as absurd as the contention that Hindus are responsible for the present educational backwardness of the Muslims. Where the percentage of literacy is so low and education still more rare, the blame for the lack of educational development and facilities either rests on all communities equally or on extraneous factors and causes. Education is in the same plight as all other nation-building services in India. The Secondary Education Bill must be judged on its educational merits alone and as such it fails to provide any scope for progress. On the other hand, it gives facilities for the Madrassa and Toll type of education to be extended to all high schools. The net result will be that a large majority of our people will be deprived of such education as a progressive community requires. If the sponsors are determined to go forward with the measure, and prove successful in their attempt, it will mean that Bengal will revert back to the dark medieval ages, while the rest of India builds up a sound and rational educational structure.

# A SURVEY OF THE CALCUTTA DESTITUTES

By J. K. BOSE, M.A.,

*Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University*

THE movement of people for want of food from the adjoining districts of Calcutta started in the month of July, 1943 and in the course of a month the city population felt this influx. The street pavements, the covered and uncovered verandahs, the market places, the railway platforms, etc., were the usual shelters for these people. From morning till midnight they came out in batches and begged from door to door for a morsel of food. But the middle class people who were already hard hit by the soaring prices of articles could not give them anything for their proper nourishment. Rice-water which was generally thrown away from every household was the only food to be distributed, with remnants of dishes left in their daily courses. This type of food could not keep them alive for a long time and very soon, death from starvation and malnutrition became a common sight in the streets of Calcutta. The local people organised and took up the cause to tide over the distress. In each locality free-kitchens were started out on the

subscriptions of the local people. But the shortage of foodgrains came in their way. The quantity of foodstuff necessary to keep them alive could not be found in the ordinary markets. Some of the relief organisations became paralysed for want of foodgrains. Foodgrains could be available in the black market at a very high rate but these relief organisations could not take advantage of it for fear of the Government Ordinances, and the net result was the increasing number of deaths everyday from starvation. This was the condition of Calcutta with death-rate increasing in greater number everyday.

From the month of September with the help of Government and relief organisations, such as Bengal Relief Committee, Marwari Relief Society, People's Relief Committee, etc., a number of gruel kitchens and free-kitchens were started. But the quality and the quantity distributed by these kitchens were not sufficient to keep this starving masses alive. Cases of malnutrition became apparent among these people and death from it could not be avoided. In these centres the same kind of food was generally served for the adults, children and infants, the result was the death of numerous infants and children in the course of a few days. It was apparent that separate arrangements should be made for infants and children but it was difficult to procure proper food for them. Some of the relief organisations started milk canteens but they were out of proportion to the needs of the people. In this way stumbling at each step with the difficulty of procuring necessary materials the relief organisations in Calcutta helped these distressed people in the best possible manner under the circumstances.

The people of Calcutta were anxious to know the proper cause of this sudden influx and movement of a larger number of women and children in relation to adults. The Department of Anthropology with its staff and students took up the cause seriously and tried to collect actual facts from these famine-stricken people. Data from about 800 families had been collected during the month of September. The writer was entrusted with a portion of this work to collect facts from these people in the Ballygunge area within the Municipality of Calcutta and to extend that work in the villages of Howrah, Hughli and 24-Parganas—the places of their dispersal. The writer has collected data from 100 families in Calcutta and another 150 families from the adjoining districts of Calcutta.

Now I shall give you some instances of the experiences of these destitutes. Out of curiosity to get an idea about the cause of movement of this large number of people from villages the writer enquired of some of these people who were daily visiting the gruel kitchens.

Under the shade of a tree a number of women and children were sitting together waiting for the distribution of their daily meal. I was passing by the place and found a woman among them was crying incessantly. I knew the woman for several days as she was living in the locality and was a regular visitor to the free-kitchen. I asked her the reason. She gave a graphic description of her suffering for the last few months. Here is the story. She was living in a village at 24-Parganas with her husband and four children. The husband was an agriculturist and they were well-off in their village for the last twelve years after her marriage. They had two big rooms, a kitchen, a cowshed with a pair of bullocks and a number of agricultural implements. With the failure of crop last year they had the first taste of difficulty. In the course of June, July and August, 1943, they incurred a debt of one hundred rupees and they were forced to sell the pair of bullocks, tins from the roof, windows and doors of one of the rooms. In this way with some earnings of her husband as day labourer they managed with difficulty to live upto the month of August. But then it was difficult to secure any loan. Not getting a full meal everyday for more than a month the husband was also unable to do any hard work. Starvation faced the family. They began to sell their household utensils, ornaments and other household furniture. But as most of the cultivators were willing to part with these articles to save them from death by starvation there was hardly any market for them. And all these articles were sold for a paltry sum of rupees twenty only. In this way they spent another twenty days taking one meal with boiled vegetables and pulses sometimes with half a seer of rice. Now the only thing left was their room in which they lived. They mortgaged it for twenty rupees at an interest of annas two per rupee per month with the intention to release it with the harvesting of the next crop. But by this time rice had disappeared from the market and it was difficult to secure even at rupee one per seer. They had no alternative but to live on boiled vegetables and were getting on with great difficulty. This type of food told upon the health of the whole family and the oldest child of ten years was suddenly attacked with cholera. The best doctor of the village was called upon and they spent to the last furthing to save him but it was of no avail. The child died leaving them in a state of helplessness. Cremation was impossible for want of money

and the local people came to their rescue by helping them to cremate the dead child. But this was not the end. In the next three days two more children died of the same disease. They were perplexed and the father unable to bear these calamities left the house and was not heard of ever after. Hearing this news her mother came and took her to her father's village. There she lived for three days with one meal a day but found the conditions were becoming worse day by day. From the villagers she learnt that a large number of people were going to Calcutta where food was being distributed free. She with her only child of two years and the mother came in with a batch of other women of the village. After coming to Calcutta they became separated as they moved from one place to another. Now they have settled in this locality with other women and spent their night on the street pavement. The only child who was moving with her died yesterday and it was impossible for her to bear this loss. With this she began to cry again. The story was told in a minute or two with such vividness that I was at a loss and unable to find a word of consolation for her.[1]

On another occasion a destitute woman who was a regular visitor to the free-kitchen asked me for a piece of cloth. I wanted to know the cause of her movement from her native village. She gave a graphic description of her pitiable adventure. This unfortunate woman came from Midnapore There she had a happy home with her husband and children. They had a commodious house of two rooms, a kitchen, a cowshed with a pair of bullocks and a large number of agricultural implements. Her husband was a tenant-cultivator and they had never been in want. Last year at the time of flood, water rushed into their house and they were forced to climb on the roof of the house. She with one of her children was on one roof and that roof was washed away before her husband could climb on it. In this way she was afloat for about four hours. Then some boatmen picked her up with her child. She was eager to know of her husband and other children but it was of no avail. She then came with these boatmen to Kulpi, 24-Parganas, where they helped her to build a small hut in which she was living. Here she was engaged in pounding rice and sometimes working in some households. In this way she was managing herself. In the course of six months she managed to purchase a goat and some household utensils. But with the failure of crop in this area, there was scarcity of food and she was unable to get any work. She began to sell her household utensils, the goat and lastly when it was impossible for her to get even one meal a day she came out with other girls of her village to Calcutta. In the course of movement they were all separated and she is now living under the verandah of a gentleman who is very kind to her. She regularly takes her meal in the free-kitchen but she is in great difficulty as she has only one piece of cloth which is also torn in several places.[1]

From the above statements it could be easily understood that these girls were not beggars. They had their family life and they were forced by circumstances to come to our doors. They had unavoidable claims on our sympathy. Our enquiry among them in the villages of 24-Parganas and Howrah reveals how this agricultural labour class is on the verge of extinction and if proper arrangement to send these people to their original villages are not made in time, Bengal will face the problem of disruption of the families of agricultural labourers. This is a problem which should be properly thought out by the people and the Government and it is high time to see that these families are united.

Now I shall deal with my data on a hundred families collected in Calcutta. The total number of persons included in these families is 346, out of which there are 220 females and 126 males. This total number may be divided into the following age-groups :

| | |
|---|---|
| Infants upto 5 years | 102 |
| Children between 5 and 15 years | 111 |
| Adults above 15 to 50 years | 126 |
| Old persons above 50 years | 7 |

95 per cent of these families came from 24-Parganas and only 5 per cent from Midnapore district.

These families include Hindus and Muhammedans. Among the Hindus scheduled caste tops the list with 188 individuals, *i.e.*, 54·3 per cent and the caste Hindus numbering 16 *i.e.*, 4·6 per cent. The Muhammedans number 142 individuals, *i.e.*, 41 per cent.

The number of unmarried persons among them is 207, *i.e.*, 59·9 per cent, the married 103, *i.e.*, 29·7 per cent and widowed 36, *i.e.*, 10·4 per cent.

To ascertain socio-economic status of these people the principal occupation of these families has been taken into account. The occupation is divided into the following categories :

1. Bose, J. K., *Calcutta Review*, January 1944.

(*a*) Agriculturists—those who possess land and also those who work as tenant-cultivators;
(*b*) Farm labourers—those who work as day labourers in the field of others;
(*c*) Small traders—those who carry on petty trades such as vegetable selling, pedling, hawking etc.
(*d*) Beggars—those who were professional beggars in their villages;
(*e*) Others—such as carpenters, fishermen etc.

The farm labourers are the worst sufferers with 65 per cent; agriculturists come next with 17 per cent, small traders 11 per cent, beggars 5 per cent and others 2 per cent.

I have also taken height and weight measurements among the destitute children between the ages of five and nine. Measurements of the adults were not possible as most of them were women who were reluctant to go through this ordeal.

The average height of the children of five years is 92·85 cm. and the weight 9·6 kg. (1 kg. —2·22 lbs). The maximum height of the individual in this group is 105·2 cm. and the minimum 87·2 cm. The maximum weight of the individual in this group is 13·1 kg. and the minimum 8·1 kg.

The average height of the children of six years is 104·4 cm. and the average weight is 12·0 kg. The maximum height of the individual is 112·9 cm. and the minimum is 94·8 cm. The maximum weight of the individual is 15·0 kg. and the minimum is 8·6 kg.

The average height of the children of seven years is 114·2 cm. and the average weight is 15·0 kg. The maximum height of the individual is 124·7 cm. and the minimum is 102·1 cm. The maximum weight of the individual is 20·0 kg. and the minimum is 12·7 kg.

The average height of the children of eight years is 118·8 cm. and the average weight is 17·1 kg. The maximum height of the individual in the group is 125·9 cm. and the minimum is 112·1 cm. The maximum weight of the individual is 21·3 kg. and the minimum is 14·0 kg.

The average height of the children of nine years is 120·8 cm. and the average weight is 18·4 kg. The maximum height of the individual is 137·0 cm. and the minimum is 116·6 kg. The maximum weight of the individual is 25·4 kg. and the minimum is 13·6 kg.

I may cite here an instance of the reduction of weight. In the age-group of nine I found a boy with a height of 137·0 cm. which is the highest individual height in that group but his weight had reduced to 14·0 kg. which is just above the lowest individual weight of this group. The boy's mother told me that he was tall and robust among the children of his age but they were on starvation diet for about three months and were practically without food for the last three days. Cases of this type were not infrequent.

One striking thing among the destitutes was the large number of females and children. This led us to enquire why they had left their village homes. The general answer was that their husbands were unable to maintain them at the present moment and they asked them to go elsewhere in search of food. In some cases the husband had already deserted the family being unable to maintain them.

Among these families about 80 per cent had never come to Calcutta before and were observing purdah system. When enquired into, how it was possible for them to come over to Calcutta, they answered that the railway authorities did not rigorously insist on payment of the due fares to come to Calcutta and some elderly persons of the villages informed them that food was being distributed free in Calcutta. In the first instance they came in a group with a man of the village but after reaching Calcutta they became separated as they went out in search of food. Some of them lost their relations and children and were unable to meet them again. When these people were separated from their groups they generally stopped in one locality where they could get food regularly either from the free-kitchen or from some local people. In this way new groups were formed with members from different villages. As they lived in one locality they became familiar with the people of the locality and some of them were utilised by the local people as daily workers of different types, such as maid-servants, for gardening purposes, carrying loads, making cowdung cakes, standing in controlled shop on behalf of a family, etc., and in this way some of them earned something which although negligible yet helped them to get a shelter in nearabout *bustees* at a monthly rent varying from annas eight to rupees two. This type of earning attracted them and at the time of enquiry we always met with requests to find out some work for them. When the question of repatriation to their village homes was asked, most of them replied in the negative but the rumour of forcible removal of the destitutes from Calcutta by the Government created a panic among them and in the course of a few days most of them left Calcutta and the result was the increasing death-rate in the villages where there were very little arrangements for their food and shelter. In this way the problem of influx population in Calcutta was solved.

# RABINDRANATH AND LITERARY ETHICS

By GURDIAL MALLIK

Some time ago, one day, I was reading a book of Rabindranath when suddenly I heard the strains of a song. So I pricked up my ears to listen to it a little more attentively. And this was the burden of the song, which was being sung in infectious ecstasy by my neighbour :

> "Verily, the man of the world is foolish.
> All around him, day and night, there flows the ocean of joy and yet he proclaims to the people in a piercing voice that he is thirsty. Only if he were to deep dive, he would come upon the elixir of life ! He looks at the world and is confounded by its meandering mazes. Only if he were to see everything with the eyes of the Soul, he would discover the truth of delight and the delight of truth everywhere !"

The song ended. But the train of thought it set in motion continued its journey through layer after layer of my consciousness. After a while, however, it stopped and I found that it had brought me to an illuminating understanding of the literary ethics of Rabindranath.

For, what is the pivotal principle of all true literature ? It is the realization by the writer, first and foremost, of his own soul and then of the soul of things. But most of the authors start the other way round. They call in the aid of the intriguing intellect to unravel the mysterious universe which surrounds us. And, alas, it proves to be a soiled and smudged piece of glass through which they see but darkly. This might be the reason why the ancients defined the mind as "the slayer of the Real."

The truth is that no sooner does one contact consciously his own soul than he begins to transfigure every molecule of manifestation. For, the soul is like Majnun who searched for, and saw, his Leila in every speck of sand. With this Alladin's lamp the Self-realized person can enter the darkest cave in the valley of existence and bring out precious pearls.

The unveiling of the soul in one's own being unveils the soul of every aspect of life one after another. For, the joy of self-discovery endows everything with the joy of self-revelation. And so the universe, in the hour of spiritual communion, becomes one, though the masks it wears may be many.

Furthermore, a sense of independence supervenes. It files away the fetters, which usually bind one's conscious mind to a set of particular prejudices and patterns. And the delight that one experiences is akin to that of the primitive caveman, who having witnessed for years the play of shadows on the walls of his cave, at long last stood face to face, on coming out of his little world, with the Reality.

And strange to say, this sense of independence is followed by a sense of complete submission to the Power or Person, "other than ourselves." Hence, the conception of *Jeevan-Devata*, the Lord of Life, to whom Rabindranath owed affectionate allegiance. As Emerson has said somewhere, "He (the author) is great only by being passive to the superincumbent spirit."

Along with the sense of joy of self-discovery, of the unity of the universe and the independence of the spirit, there is also the sense of newness. Every sunrise is not only reminiscent of the first morn of creation, "when the stars sang," but it brings with it the feeling and fragrance of unadulterated originality. And so the author welcomes it with the love and loyalty of the virgin. This is the reason why one of the major refrains in Rabindranath's song is, "Thou comest to me in the shape of the ever-new."

But all this sublimation of the senses into the soul or the indwelling of the soul in the senses is conditioned by the presence in the author's heart of "peace that passeth understanding." To this end, he must, as Emerson would say "embrace solitude as a bride." And Rabindranath wooed this bride for long stretches of years on the banks of the Padma and in the idyllic environment of Santiniketan. It will not be an exaggeration, therefore, to assert that Santiniketan saved his soul, just as he saved the soul of Santiniketan.

"Be still and know I am God," thus runs a scriptural statement. The world, too, says in a similar strain. "Be still and know I am God's."

But the authors of today believe in rush and in realism, forgetting that realism is animalism, as Rabindranath observes, and rushing about with the restlessness of a sufferer from eczema makes it impossible for the light of the soul to burn as if in a windless atmosphere. They may have the speed of the cinematograph film, but they deprive themselves of the solid stateliness of the Himalayas and the fragrant flow of the spring-breeze.

In short, Rabindranath's literary ethics were born of the truth of the soul and of the soul of Truth. And so while his genius gave us burning truth (and, believe me, Truth burns), the majority of writers send forth scintillating sparks of truisms.

# SANDALWOOD CARVING IN SURAT

By S. I. CLERK

LOCAL tradition ascribes the introduction of sandalwood carving in Surat to the middle of the last century. At present there are about twenty families engaged in this craft. Some of them manufacture the boxes including inlaid work; some others manufacture only all sandalwood boxes (*i.e.*, without any inlaid work) and the rest specialise themselves in carving designs on sandalwood pieces which are required in preparing the sandalwood boxes. The first two are known as Pettigaras and the last as Nakshiwallas. Among the Nakshiwallas some work independently while others are labourers. The Pettigaras mostly take the work from the Nakshiwallas on a contractual basis. At present owing to the wartime brisk demand quite a number of Nakshiwallas have established themselves as Pettigaras mostly making all-sandalwood boxes.

In this Surat craft limitations of caste do not at all exist. Sutars, Parsis, Ghanchis, Kachhias and Kumbhars are to be found among the Surat sandalwood carvers. These craftsmen work daily from about 9-30 a.m. to 7-30 p.m., with an hour and a half rest interval. They observe holidays on No-Moon days (Amos) and on some of the Hindu festival days.

## PROCESS AND MATERIALS

The Pettigaras work for about eight months in an year on the manufacture of the boxes and during the monsoon they are engaged in making the borders of ivory, ebony and a species of inlaying known locally as "sadeli." Obviously, those Pettigaras who make only all-sandalwood boxes work on the boxes the whole year as they do no ivory inlaid work. The process of ivory inlaid work is very interesting. Long narrow strips of ivory, ebony, tin, stag horn and 'pattan' (*i.e.*, Indian Red Wood) cut generally into triangular and/or hexagonal shapes are fitted together; the pattern appears in the cross-section. The stick so made is lozenge-shaped; it is cut into pieces of about six inches long and these are placed together with the result that a slab is produced which has the patterns on the edge as many times as there are pieces of the sticks. These strips of about 1/16th of an inch in breadth are cut from this edge and are kept ready for use during the rest of the year. These inlaid borders are generally made only during monsoon because the humidity in the atmosphere helps to make the process less troublesome than otherwise as the glue cannot be kept sufficiently moist in another season and the final product is more durable and better. On the other hand, there are one or two craftsmen, who having entered this craft, only recently, have been compelled to manufacture these borders in the winter season; this shows that these borders can be prepared even in summer or winter months, but that is only exceptional.

The materials required in making sandalwood inlaid boxes are :—sandalwood, teakwood, redwood, ivory, stag horn, tin, glue, velvet, hinges, screws, locks, nails and copper sulphate and green colour (the last two for colouring stag horn). On account of the present war, the prices of most of these materials have reached fantastic levels and some of them, such as tin, ebony and teakwood are hardly at all available.

We give below the pre-war prices and the present prices of these raw materials :

Sandalwood—
Pre-War Price Rs. 24-25 per maund.* Present Price Rs. 45 per maund.

Teakwood—
Pre-War Price As. 1-3 per sq. ft. Present Price As. 3 per sq. ft.

Redwood—
Pre-War Price As. 0-3 per lb. Present Price Rs. 2 per lb.

Ivory—
Pre-War Price Rs. 2 per lb. Present Price Rs. 13 per lb.

Stag horn—
Pre-War Price Rs. 6 per maund. Present Price Rs. 13 per maund.

Tin—
Pre-War Price Re. 1 per lb. Present Price Rs. 12 per lb.

Glue—
Pre-War Price As. 6 per lb. Present Price Rs. 3 per lb.

Ebony—
Pre-War Price Rs. 3 per maund. Present Price Rs. 20 per maund.

Copper Sulphate—
Pre-War Price Rs. 3 per lb. Present Price Rs. 12 per lb.

Velvet—
Pre-War Price Re. 1 per yard. Present Price Rs. 3 per yard.

---

*1 maund is equal to 80 seers.

Hinges—
Pre-War Price Rs. 15 per gross. Present Price Rs. 100 per gross.

Locks—
Pre-War Price Rs. 15 per gross. Present Price Rs. 115 per gross.

Screws—
Pre-War Price As. 4 per gross. Present Price Rs. 3 per gross.

Even the prices of the tools such as saws, chisels, drills, planes, files and hammers are to-day at least more than almost three times what they were in the pre-war days.

Against this we give below the popular sizes of the sandalwood boxes, their pre-war and present-day prices :

Money Box—Size 6 ins. by 4¼ ins. by 2 ins.
Pre-War Price Rs. 9. Present Price Rs. 30.
Handkerchief Box—Size 7 ins. by 5 ins. by 2 ins.
Pre-War Price Rs. 19. Present Price Rs. 35.
Handkerchief Box—Size 9 ins. by 6 ins. by 2¼ ins.
Pre-War Price Rs. 20 to 22. Present Price Rs. 40.
Pen Box—Size 8 ins. by 4 ins. by 2¼ ins.
Pre-War Price Rs. 16. Present Price Rs. 35.
Glove Box—Size 12 ins. by 5 ins. by 2¼ ins.
Pre-War Price Rs. 20 to 22. Present Price Rs. 40.

The above-mentioned figures are to be taken merely as rough indication of the existing state of affairs. They are average figures arrived at from various estimates supplied by a number of craftsmen. Although not verified in a scientific manner, they do indicate the trend of the things.

*(To be continued)*

# THE WAR AND THE YOUNGER WRITERS IN BRITAIN

By JOHN LEHMANN

For the younger generation of writers, the under 40s, who were in Britain in September 1939, the four years of war conditions have brought many changes. If one looks at the literary scene today and compares it with the scene in that last summer of peace which seems so far away, one finds that several young writers, who were active then, have now relapsed into silence; in a great many cases, the tendency, the mood of those who are still writing has changed; and a number of new writers, particularly poets, have come forward, whose aims seem, at first sight, to be markedly different from those of their predecessors.

It has been the gradual extension of mobilisation for total war which has been the chief cause of silence. Some writers joined the armed forces early on, and have found it difficult to achieve the concentration necessary for creative work in the middle of their duties. Others have been working in Government Departments, or on the B. B. C., and leisure has been severely restricted : the harassing daily routine work of an office under wartime pressure is not the kind of background which encourages the production of a literary masterpiece. Nevertheless many of these authors have continued to write, though their output has been much smaller; as with the newcomers, poetry has been their chief—though not their only—activity.

It is easy to understand this. A poem can be written in a shorter time than a novel or a serious critical work; it can be worked on between manoeuvres or sea voyages, between air raids, between office hours, and all its apparatus is a pencil and a piece of paper. It is also the natural vehicle of expression at a time of heightened emotion and ever-present danger, and when—as in war—the fundamental loyalties are uppermost in men's minds.

The change in the theme chosen, the mood communicated, has been due, I thing, to more complex causes, many of which it may be difficult to assess until the war is behind us. One important thing, however, can be found in the evolution of the attitude towards political and social action of these younger writers. For many years before the war their interest in politics had been growing. Their hatred of Fascism, the deep anxiety they felt as they saw Europe accelerating towards war, brought many of them to believe that only by radical action on the part of the whole community, themselves, included, could disaster be averted. For a time revolutionary dogma had a powerful appeal for them, and this produced, as often before, an impatient and visionary optimism, strongly reflected in their work.

The outbreak of war shattered many of their hopes and their beliefs. As time went on and

the true nature of the world crisis revealed itself, and the peril and historic opportunity of Britain became more sharply illuminated, their preoccupation with party political or economic issues of the moment gave way to deeper, more permanent and more purely human problems. If one is looking for partriotic enthusiasm, in the cruder sense of the word, one will not find it in their work; but one will find a new assumption, the sense of a community united in a common purpose, so completely accepted that scepticism, pity, horror at human suffering can play over it without affecting its strength.

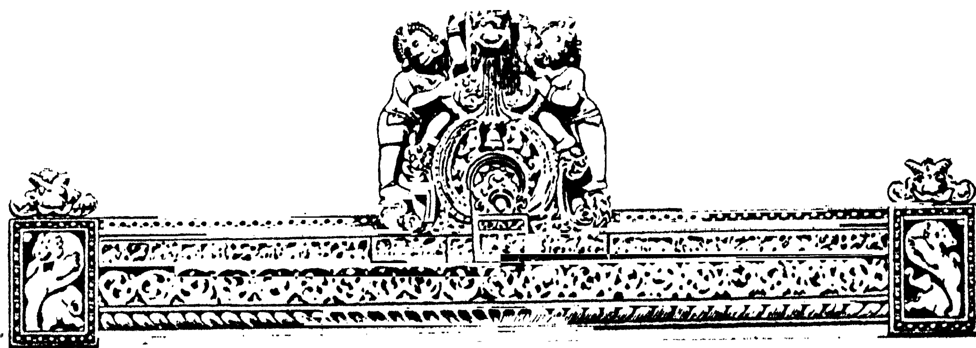
This preoccupation with the human side of the conflict is also characteristic of the work of many of the poets who have recently begun to make their names. The revolt against the ideas of Day Lewis, Spender, MacNeice, which their protagonists have made much of, is more theoretical than real; they are attacking a position which the poets of the thirties may be said already to have abandoned.

The poetry, for instance, of Alun Lewis, one of the most gifted of the new generation, is at times strongly reminiscent of Stephen Spender's recent work. This is not, of course, true of all, and there is great variety of temperament and style among them: such poets as Laurie Lee, Terence Tiller, Nicholas Moore, Alex Comfort, Norman Nicholson, Vernon Watkins and Peter Yates already have distinct personalities as well as promise of interesting development in the future. Nevertheless, the differences between the generations are less than the iconoclastic impatience of youth may be inclined to claim. One of the most interesting and accomplished of the poets writing at the moment is Roy Fuller. He has been in the Fleet Air Arm for over two years, and his poems have been for many serving men the most eloquent and poignant expression of the tragedy of the war and the supreme reality of human relationships as they have felt it. Fuller had begun to write some years before the war, and his early poetry was deeply influenced by Auden and Spender; his active service has brought a striking new simplicity and intensity to his work. He and Alun Lewis, who is now an officer in the army overseas, have attracted a good deal of attention among the poets in uniform, though several who showed considerable promise, among whom Sidney Keyes and Gervase Steward were outstanding, have most unhappily been killed in action.

Poetry is undoubtedly very much alive in Britain at the moment. A great deal of bad poetry is being written, but the impulse is so strong, and the experiments are so diverse, that one cannot help feeling optimistic about the future.

There are two tendencies in particular which encourage me in this hope. The first is the renewed interest which is being shown in long poems or series of poems. Cecil Day Lewis has recently published a beautiful sonnet sequence on childhood and youth; George Barker has also just published a striking sonnet sequence in *Horizon;* Stephen Spender has been working on a number of long, elaborate Odes; Roy Fuller's *Teba,* Terence Tiller's *Birth of Christ,* Peter Yates's *Motionless Dances* are a few among many examples of long and highly wrought poems in the work of the new poets.

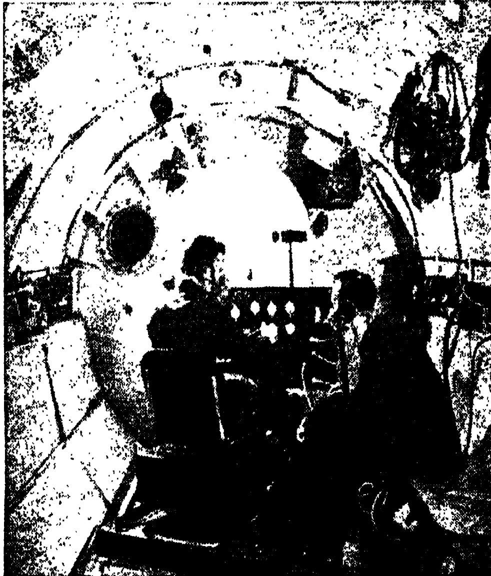
The second tendency is the return to strong technical structure, a renewed feeling for the subtleties of music and texture. This is just beginning; it is by no means a flight to an empty classicism, but an infusion of classical form with modern feeling and modern rhythms. The next few years in Britain may yield much that is exciting for those who care deeply about poetry.



# BRITISH AIRMEN AND HIGH ALTITUDE FLYING

By ADAM GOWANS WHYTE, B.SC.

In deep-sea diving great care is taken to avoid the effects of breathing compressed air. If the diver is brought up quickly into air at normal pressure the nitrogen absorbed by his body forms

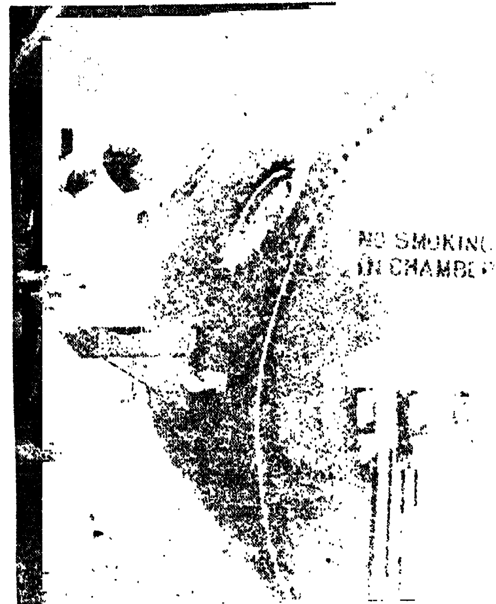


Pilots undergo pressure tests in this chamber and their response to orders given them through inter-communication telephone under these artificial conditions is recorded by various meters and gauges

bubbles in his tissues and causes a painful and dangerous form of paralysis. In the early days of diving this trouble was overcome by bringing the diver up by short stages, with a rest at each stage, in order to give the gas time to escape harmlessly. Later the eminent British submarine engineer, Sir Robert Davis, invented a submersible compression chamber which is lowered into deep water; the diver enters it, removes his diving gear, and sits in comfort and warmth while the pressure is gradually reduced to atmospheric level. The British Admiralty, which undertakes deep-sea salvage on a large scale, made experiments to discover the best decompression times for various conditions, and the results were published in "diving tables" now adopted all over the world.

A somewhat similar problem is met with in flying at high altitudes, where the pressure of the air is much lower than it is at ground level. Any great and rapid reduction of pressure below the normal is liable to cause "decompression sickness." High altitude flying, however, has its own special dangers. About 10,000 feet up the air is so rarified that the oxygen supply becomes insufficient; the airman's breathing is disturbed, and he suffers from headaches and impaired sight and hearing. Above 17,500 feet the effects become still more serious, as the airman cannot either think clearly or control his limbs. At such heights, therefore, the wearing of an oxygen mask is absolutely necessary.

All these facts, and many others of great importance, were learned from experiments made by the British Air Ministry with a special pressure chamber. Most of the equipments used are mobile, being mounted on trailers so that they may be transferred from one training centre to



Through the port-holes experienced doctors watch the reaction of pilots undergoing pressure tests and also observe their response to orders given them through the inter-communication telephone

another. Each chamber consists of a cylindrical tank of welded steel, approximately 7·5 feet in length and 5·5 feet in diameter. Seats are pro-

vided for six men, who enter by an air-tight door at the rear, and the interior of the chamber is lined with white felt to deaden sound and



An airman is undergoing blood pressure tests before being allowed to undergo high altitude flying tests

prevent the condensation of moisture. Each man is provided with an inter-communication telephone and an oxygen mask, the oxygen being supplied from steel cylinders stored at the side of the chamber. On a platform at the rear of the trailer is mounted a vacuum pump driven by an electric motor or a petrol engine.

The medical officer conducting the experiments sits in an observation cabin at the front of the chamber, and by operating the vacuum pump he can produce, inside the chamber, all but one of the conditions of flying at high altitudes. The exception is the intense cold of the upper atmosphere, but the precautions required in that connection are too well known to call for investigation. Exhausting the air from the chamber corresponds to climbing in an aeroplane, and flooding the chamber with air corresponds to descending. The equivalent height at each stage in the experiment is recorded on an altimeter, and the rate of ascent or descent is shown on a separate instrument. The chamber is constantly ventilated by exhausting the air from the bottom of the cylinder and admitting an equal amount through the top.

Not only does the medical officer watch the effects of changes in height upon the men, but he tests them by means of the inter-communication telephone. Each man is told to repeat a familiar nursery rhyme over and over again, and it is found that as the height increases his memory tends to become confused through lack of oxygen, or "anoxia," as the deficiency is officially described. At great heights he completely forgets the simple words he has known since his childhood. The effect of "anoxia" on his hearing can also be tested by the inter-communication telephone. The airman is thus trained to detect the symptoms which warn him that he must put on his oxygen mask.

One of the most important points in these trials is to determine the safe rate of ascent and descent. Repeated observations show that the maximum rate of ascent is 11,700 feet per minute, and that the maximum rate of descent is about 29,250 feet per minute. It has been found, however, that there are considerable differences among the men in this connection; some of them can stand much higher rates of both ascent and descent than other. Similar differences exist among divers, and in diving and flying alike the



A pilot fully clad in electrically heated flying clothes and oxygen mask is ready to take off on a high altitude flight to collect meteorological data for weather reports

ability to adapt oneself to rapid changes can be greatly increased by training. Indeed, airmen who have had many hours of high flying may

be hardly affected by quick rises or falls. The tests thus enable the Royal Air Force to select the recruits who have a natural aptitude for flying at very high altitudes, and also to observe the effects of training upon their power to withstand the severe conditions and to deal promptly and efficiently with any mishaps which may occur. In fact, the full resources of modern science have been utilised to ensure that British airmen will achieve the highest possible standard in a type of air warfare which has become of vital importance.

## THE MOLD THAT FIGHTS FOR THE LIFE OF MAN

By DANIEL SCHWARZ

USUALLY the first thing doctors say when the subject of penicillin is brought up is, "Please don't call it a 'wonder drug.'" But then they proceed to grow enthusiastic.

Penicillin inspires such enthusiasm partly because it has come on the medical scene at exactly the right time. Army doctors have always searched for a drug that would cure infections in open wounds. The sulfa drugs help, but they aren't always completely effective against pus-forming bacteria. Penicillin has cleared infected wounds that had defied all the usual treatments.

In addition, penicillin has proved extremely useful in treating types of pneumonia that have resisted all other treatment; boils and abscesses, infected burns, the bone disease called osteomyelitis and dozens of other less familar illnesses.

Moreover, unlike the sulfa drugs, which are sometimes hard on the kidneys, penicillin has the great advantage of being practically non-toxic.

What is penicillin? A rare drug secreted by a greenish-blue mold similar to the familiar mold that forms on cheese, oranges that have spoiled, bread, etc., as Dr. Alexander Fleming, and English bacteriologist, discovered by accident in 1928. The particular kind of mold from which penicillin is secreted is called technically Penicillium Chrysogenum notatum.

It was not until 1939, eleven years after Fleming's original discovery, that a group of British scientists at Oxford, led by Dr. H. W. Florey, Professor of Pathology, began work on penicillin in earnest. They knew that if they grew Penicillium in a liquid under favourable conditions something that killed bacteria was somehow added. So they grew Penicillium by the square yard and after a week or two poured off the liquid in which it grew and tried to extract from it the essential compound. The problem of extracting penicillin was, and is complex. Its properties were unknown, it proved to be exceedingly unstable and it was mixed with a number of other organic materials any of which might have been a part of it or a necessary ally in its work.

So the job was difficult but, with the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Oxford group of bacteriologists pushed it along and began to get results. In time they were able



Unless it is in its purest form, penicillin is a very unstable drug and must be handled with the utmost care

to make a concentrate over 1,000 times the strength of the original fluid. They tried it on mice and it had no poisonous effects. They shot deadly doses of bacteria into other mice, produced infections that were "incurable"—and then cured those infections with their concentra-

ted penicillin. By 1941 they had a pure enough form of penicillin and enough evidence that it was non-toxic to justify experiments with it on human cases, people desperately, hopelessly ill, and it produced amazing results. They went to America and demonstrated their technique here.

From all this work some of the advantages of penicillin became clear. Other drugs that killed bacteria worked much faster than penicillin, but they had some nasty toxic effects. Even the sulfa drugs, despite their amazing results, had the disadvantage that a number of people were apparently allergic to the forms of sulfonomides known at the time and some persons even suffered permanent harm. But penicillin singled out the bacteria and left the patient alone. Furthermore, penicillin worked against some bacteria that the sulfa drugs could not cope with, in particular the pus-forming bacteria that gather in open cuts and wounds.



In bottles like this, an ordinary mold produces that amazing new drug penicillin which has proved to be such a powerful weapon against pneumonia, meningitis, syphilis and gonorrhea

Then came Pearl Harbour. Medicine, like everything else, was mobilized in the U. S. and penicillin research and production, up to that time conducted only on a laboratory scale, was given an A-1 priority. Manufacture was strictly controlled; a number of chemical houses were encouraged to set up plants for the mass production of penicillin (there are now about twenty such plants in operation); twenty-two groups of investigators were promised supplies of penicillin to carry out experiments in hospitals; and the U. S. Army and Navy created penicillin units to do similar work in the armed forces.

Complete authority over every drop of penicillin produced for civilian use was given to a sort of penicillin director, Dr. Chester S. Keefer of Boston. Now requests come to him from doctors all over the United States and he doles out the precious-stuff on the basis of a set of principles set up by a group of doctors. If previous experience has shown that penicillin won't fight a particular kind of sickness, he is in duty bound to refuse a request for the slightest bit of it. But if penicillin seems likely to help, he rushes the necessary supply and keeps a check on the result.

While penicillin has probably been the most carefully rationed war essential of all, the output is being stepped up so rapidly that a surplus for civilian doctors may be available by this spring or summer. Details of how penicillin is being mass-produced are a military secret, but it isn't revealing anything to Hitler's technicians to say that three methods of growing the temperamental mold are in use : surface culture, bran culture (in which the mold is grown on bran moistened by a liquid nutrient) and submerged culture.

In submerged culture the mold is grown in huge, covered vats holding hundreds and perhaps thousands of gallons of nutrient fluid (the preferred culture medium is corn steep liquor). The necessary air is pumped through the fluid. After several days, when the mold has produced a sufficient supply of penicillin, the fluid is led through pipes to other containers, where it is concentrated at low temperatures and under high vacuums by a technique somewhat similar to that of drying blood plasma. It has been estimated that the cost of producing penicillin is Rs. 58,500 a pound, but the doses needed are so small that each costs only Rs. 6-8-0.

Penicillin must be concentrated some 20,000 times, or until it is completely dry, before it can be stored without deteriorating. It arrives at the hospital as a yellow or yellow-brown powder and is stored in refrigerators until it is needed. Then it is diluted and jabbed with a hypodermic needle into the muscles (not necessarily near the point of infection) or allowed to drip into a vein in a glucose mixture.

According to an estimate made early last year, five gallons of culture fluid were needed to yield a single gram of penicillin. Current production is a secret but it probably is still a

relatively low percentage of the fluid treated. Fortunately the potency of penicillin is extremely high : it requires only one part in 2,50,00,000 to stop the growth of the pus-forming germ, staphylococcus aureus, which causes boils.

One object of current penicillin research, and a most important one, is to synthesize the drug with known chemicals, as some of the vitamins have been synthesized. The first step, obviously, is to decide what penicillin is made of, itself an exceedingly difficult thing, and progress has been made on that line. Then, since many houses can be made with the same set of bricks, the particular molecular structure of penicillin will have to be worked out. Biological chemists are convinced that both these things will be done before very long.

Another thing that nobody knows yet is how penicillin does its job; it is known to work relatively slowly—in a matter of hours rather than minutes, as some other bactericides do. Therefore, one hypothesis is that it doesn't kill the bacteria but simply upsets their process of reproduction. That is enough to do the job. If the total number of bacteria can be kept constant, the white blood cells can be relied on to clean them out.

It hasn't yet been possible to explore all of penicillin's possibilities because the supply has been so limited and the need so great that even qualified researchers have had difficulty in getting it. Moreover, after penicillin is synthesized, it seems likely that variations of it will be worked out, just as they were in the case of the sulfa drugs, and these derivatives may do miracles as yet unthought of. Finally, the success of penicillin seems certain to lead to extensive research on similar properties of other fungi, a field whose possibilities have hardly been scratched.

*Courtesy* : USOWI.

# COMMENT AND CRITICISM

## The Bombay Economic Plan and Agricultural Classes

The Bombay Economic Plan seems to contain certain defects which, it is essential, the Planners should remedy.

The Plan attaches disproportionately greater importance to industry than the interests of a predominantly agricultural country would warrant. 70 per cent. of our population are maintained by agriculture and even if industries be developed to the point of saturation, the number of industrial workers can not increase from the present figure of 1 per cent. to more than 5 per cent. The average national income per capita is Rs. 65 while the average income of the agriculturist is Rs. 22 per capita. The increasing disparity in the standards of living between rural and urban areas is a disquieting feature of India's economy and calls for immediate redress. Under the circumstances the allotment of Rs. 1,240 crores to agriculture as against Rs. 4,480 crores to industry and the targets of 130 per cent. increase in one case and 500 per cent. in the other are, to say the least, irrational. India's poor have been getting poorer since the adoption of the policy of 'discriminating' protection of industries by the Government and the process of merciless exploitation by big business, as in cloth, has increased five-fold since the beginning of the war. The vast masses of the country look forward to the day when hostilities will cease and prices will crash as after the armistice of the last Great War. If the Plan be put into effect, these hopes will be belied and inflation not only maintained but augmented for a fearfully long period of 15 years. Rs. 3,400 crores, *i.e.*, one-third of the total capital to be spent is to be obtained by 'created money' which is another name for inflation. Even borrowing in foreign countries like America to the extent of Rs. 700 crores is counted upon while our experience of industries worked with foreign capital, such as jute, coal, paper, shoes and motor tyres is the bitterest imaginable.

The Sterling securities of Rs. 1,000 crores should be spent entirely on the improvement of agriculture, rural industries and of rural areas by the import of tools, agricultural implements and machinery for irrigation. A true plan for the development of India will begin at the right end of agriculture which, when rendered prosperous, will lead to savings that will naturally be attracted to industry.

We may point out here that the rural industry of handloom weaving which, next to agriculture, employs the largest number of persons, needs immediate relief and any scheme of planning in future will be meaningless if weavers be allowed to die out. The Handloom Board recently appointed by the Central Government will prove useful only if it copy the example of the Government of Madras and secure yarn from the mills all over India under the D. I. rules on the basis of standard profits and supply it to weavers at cheap rates.

Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.



# THE EDUCATION OF THE BLIND

By J. M. RITCHIE

The high honour of being the first to undertake the organised education of the blinds belongs to a Frenchman, Valentin Hauy, who founded the earliest school of the kind in the world. This was in 1784, when he established in Paris the Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles.

His splendid example was quickly followed by philanthropists in other lands, and in 1791 the first School for the Blind in Great Britain was opened in Liverpool. Before the end of the eighteenth century, four other Institutions had been opened in different parts of the country and by 1850, 16 more had been added to the list. These Institutions were established and maintained by charitable funds. They varied in type, some providing education to junior children, some technical training to older pupils, some workshop employment and some an asylum for the aged and incapable blind. Not a few included within their walls several of these sections.

### Statutory Measure

In 1890 a law was passed for Scotland and in 1893 a similar measure for England and Wales whereby it became a statutory obligation on School Boards or local elective Councils for education to see that efficient elementary education was provided for all the blind children in the country between the ages of five and sixteen years. This education was mainly furnished by the existing charitable Institutions, but partly by new schools established and maintained by the School Boards or by the Local Education Authorities which took the place of School Boards in England in 1902. In England the central body responsible to Parliament for national education is called the Board of Education. In Scotland the corressponding body is the Scottish Education Department. By the Acts of 1890 and 1893 these bodies became charged with the supervision of the education of blind children and sent their inspectors into all those schools which desired financial assistance from the State. During the next generation this central control did much to bring a higher standard of efficiency. Buildings were extended and equipment modernised, while a certain uniformity of method and curriculum was established.

In 1907 there was founded the College of Teachers of the Blind whose object was the advancement of the education of blind children. Since 1908 it has conducted examinations and granted diplomas to teachers in schools for the blind. The securing of this diploma is made a condition of permanent recognition by the Board of Education.

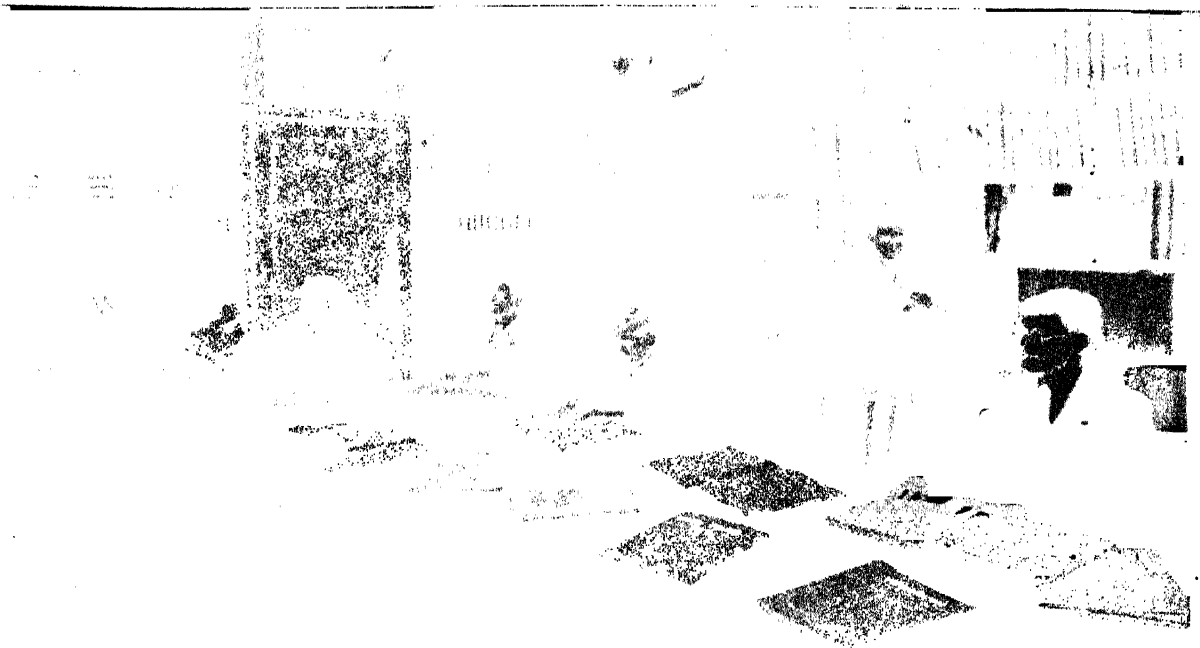
In 1924 the number of blind children in England and Wales from 5 to 16 was 1,400, and the number of young blind persons from 16 to 21 was 1,100. This is an interesting index to the size of the problem.

### Three Stages of Education

At the present time the educational machinery is in three stages : (1) Nursery Schools for children under 5 years of age, (2) Schools for general education for pupils from the age of 5 to the age of 16 and (3) Training Institutions where pupils from 16 to 20 years are taught the occupation at which it is hoped they will earn their livelihood. There are also schools, one for boys and one for girls, which prepare blind pupils for the University with a view to academic careers and the learned professions. These types of schools are all residential, that is to say, the pupils are boarded in the school and are thus guaranteed good food and regular hours in suitable surroundings.

The medium for reading and writing is exclusively Braille and the principal piece of apparatus for arithmetic is the Taylor frame, of board in which square pegs are used in octagonal holes, the varying positions of the peg determining the digit. The curriculum and timetable of these schools closely approximate to those of schools for seeing children. In addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, history, geography, nature study, English literature and language find a place. Special attention is paid to the physical education of the pupils and most of the schools have on their staff a teacher specially trained for this branch of the work.

The occupational courses include music and pianoforte tuning, shorthand and typewriting, basket-making, shoe-repairing, mat-making, brush-making, machine-knitting, and a few other



The well-equipped braille library of Worcester College for the Blind. Books on every conceivable subject have been transcribed in braille for the use of the blind boys



Special maps are used for blind boys to teach them the outlines of countries and to give them an understanding of the world's configuration



A happy party of blind girls at a school for the blind in England enjoying a swim



A well-equipped nursery in a school for blind boys

trades. During the four years in which the student is receiving this training he is also being given general education so as to widen his mental horizon and to fit him more adequately for the deeper purposes of life.

### Out-of-School Activities

It should also be mentioned that most schools encourage out-of-school organisations, such as scout and guide companies, folk dancing, literary and debating societies, and hobbies of all kinds. The aim of the school is to make the most of the pupil's powers, to give him as full and active a life as possible, to prepare him for his future career and to enable him to mix normally and happily with people who possess their sight.

At the end of training the pupils pass to specialised workshops or if they are unable to attend a workshop daily, they are usually given supervision and assistance under a Home Workers' Scheme where, as the name implies, they are enabled to work in their own homes. This is no part of education but it is mentioned here because in Great Britain it is considered essential that continuing service should be extended to the blind from the cradle to the grave.

## THE BRITISH POSTGRADUATE MEDICAL SCHOOL

By Colonel A. H. Proctor

In 1921 a Committee was appointed by Dr. Addison (now Lord Addison) to investigate the needs of medical practitioners and other graduates for a further education in London and to submit proposals for a practicable scheme for meeting them. It was presided over by the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Athlone, and the committee has since been referred to as the Athlone Committee.

The London *School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine* and the *British Postgraduate Medical School* are the direct result of its recommendations. The former was made possible by a grant of £250,000 from the Rockefeller Trustees and was opened in 1929.

It was not till 1931 that funds were provided by H.M. Government for a postgraduate school, and considerable delay arose owing to the difficulty in finding a suitable hospital with a site for school building available. Eventually an agreement was entered into with the London County Council whereby one of their hospitals was made available for the purpose of postgraduate medical education.

### Whole-Time Staff

The British Postgraduate Medical School was opened on May 13, 1935, by the late King George V. At present it provides postgraduate medical education in Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, and Pathology, free from the limitations imposed by providing undergraduate education at the same time. No undergraduates were to be admitted and postgraduates were expected to join one or other department and to devote their time to attendance in that department.

The staff provided were almost entirely whole-time staff, but large use was made of well-known teachers and authorities for individual lectures. The school was associated with Hammersmith Hospital, a large London County Council hospital of 750 beds and the school staff



An attentive audience of physicians and surgeons of considerable experience in the lecture room

were appointed as Physicians or Surgeons in charge of beds, while the pathology requirements were provided for in the Department of Pathology. The school steadily developed in the four and a half years preceding the war. Its work was organised by departments and to those mentioned above was added a Department of

Radiology; a special department to organise Revision Courses for general practitioners; and a central information bureau situated in the centre of London.

The number of students enrolled showed a steady increase from 479, in the year 1936-37, to 1,124, in the last year before the war. Not only had students been enrolled from all parts of the British Empire but in addition there had come students from 23 foreign countries.

### Wartime Changes

It was with genuine regret, therefore, that at the outbreak of war the founders of the School saw the carefully built-up organisation broken up by the mobilisation of some of the staff and the departure of practically all the students. Fortunately a number of the members of the staff were required to stay on to staff the hospital which came under the administration of the *Emergency Medical Service.*

Organised by the Minister of Health in preparation for air raid casualties the hospital had been emptied of all patients who could be moved. The staff had been reinforced and suitable arrangements had been made for the reception of air raid and other casualties. A number of undergraduates from St. Mary's Hospital Medical School were attached for general duty and while waiting for casualties the staff found an outlet for their energies in instructing these students and starting or expanding research on wartime problems. The two problems on which they concentrated were the preparation and value of serum in the treatment of shock and on blood volume and haemo-concentration in shock.

### Steady Expansion

For three months it remained doubtful whether the British Postgraduate Medical School should continue its activities as a Medical School. Towards the end of this period it became evident that there was still a considerable demand for postgraduate instruction. Many doctors who had retired or never been in active practice, had decided that their most useful war-work would be to resume practice. They wished to refresh their knowledge and bring themselves up to date. A large number of refugees from occupied countries wished to acquire British degrees and diplomas or to continue in close touch with professional work till they secured employment. Convalescent medical officers of the Armed Forces were anxious to improve their knowledge and usefully occupy their time.



In the post-mortem room doctors are listening to the pathologist's discussion of the illness of a deceased patient

Though the need for undergraduates to be attached for general duties had ceased, the removal of the Medical Schools outside London and partial closing down of the central hospitals raised difficulties in their education, more especially in Obstetrics. The Governing Body, therefore, approved as a wartime measure that undergraduates should be admitted to the School if their own School was unable to accommodate them. As a result teaching duties increased to such an extent that it was found necessary to increase the staff and since that time the activities of the school have steadily expanded.

It was also at about this time that correspondence in the medical journals suggested that a number of doctors, joining the Services including the Emergency Medical Service, were anxious for instruction in the treatment of casualties.

### The E. M. S.

The E.M.S. is the service specially organised for the collection and treatment of air raid

casualties. It was staffed largely by medical officers who had no experience of war wounds. The suggestion of special war courses was taken up and the British Postgraduate Medical School began in a modest way with a demonstration of plaster of paris technique given by Colonel



A minor operation is watched intently by a group of doctors of different nationalities

Buxton of King's College Hospital. It was so successful that it had to be twice repeated at short intervals before the applicants were satisfied. Sixty seats were provided at each demonstration but many more attended.

The next war course was a course on the "Treatment of Fractures" conducted by Mr. Watson-Jones of Liverpool. This was essentially a practical and intensive course. From 10 a.m. to lunch, Mr. Watson-Jones lectured with the aid of lantern slides, patients and models. In the afternoon the members of the class actually applied the splints demonstrated in the morning, and after tea reassembled for discussion. This course is limited to 40 as the practical work requires considerable space. All places are taken up at an early date and there is usually a waiting list for the next course on fractures.

### Surgery Courses

Thus encouraged, the School proceeded to organise further courses of instruction and the present series is as follows:—*War Surgery of the Extremities; The Surgical Care of the Soldier in Training; War Surgery of the Abdomen; War Medicine; Treatment of Fractures; War Surgery of the Chest; War Surgery of the Nervous System;* and *Special Problems in War Surgery.*

These are held in rotation every alternate week. They do not lend themselves to such practical work as the Fracture Course, but a demonstration is given in each surgical course of operative work on the Cadaver; and from time to time a practical operative surgery course is held which has special reference to war wounds.

The British Postgraduate School is therefore continuing to fulfil a valuable educational function during the war. Its wartime courses are probably the most effective way in which recent advances and the lines upon which research is being conducted, can be brought to the notice of serving officers. This is being increasingly recognised and many serving officers who attend these courses prepare notes for circulation to their units when they return. Professor Grey Turner, Director of the Department of Surgery, prepares the programmes and selects as lecturers those surgeons with special experience or responsible for more recent advances and research.

### Noteworthy Research

The most noteworthy research result obtained by the School workers has been in



After a demonstration, two doctors study the mechanism of a new surgical appliance

connection with shock, and what is provisionally described as the "Crush Syndrome." In a paper published by Dr. Beall and Dr. Bywaters, they drew attention to the fact that patients who survived severe crush injuries of the limbs for

some days died at a later date from anuria associated with a special kidney lesion. This syndrome has since been intensively studied and information of great importance in traumatic surgery has been gained.

Research on Shock and on Blood and Serum transfusions has also continued at the School, and work on associated problems is being vigorously pursued in all departments.

War conditions and reduction of staff have diminished the amount of ordinary peace-time research, but the work on Silicosis is still being continued at the request of the Medical Research Council. Radium Beam Research is now transferred to the Hammersmith Hospital and is working in conjunction with the Radiology Department of the School. Routine of post-graduate teaching is being carried on and students are being enrolled in sufficient numbers to make systematic teaching worthwhile.

### Plans for the Future

In Medicine and Surgery a large proportion of students are from Empire Forces serving in England. The majority of foreign students are refugees from occupied countries, while others come from China, America, and Peru. Even countries such as Siam are represented. A useful feature of the School's activities are the various house appointments filled by newly qualified medical officers for six months before being called up to the forces.

The Maternity Department is particularly active owing to the closing down of the maternity units in London. About 2000 births take place in the unit annually and this figure could be exceeded in wartime if more beds could be made available. The undergraduate students who attend are able to fulfil the requirements for their university degree and obtain the necessary experience. At the same time there is a constant flow of practitioners who desire to refresh their knowledge before going into practice and thereby release younger men for service with the Armed Forces. Many of these are women who have married and given up practice for many years; others are older retired practitioners anxious to assist in the war, but who feel they have lost touch with present-day practice.

The School is hoping at the end of hostilities to expand its activities considerably and enlarge its staff. Plans are already being considered to provide postgraduate instruction on a larger scale than hitherto and we are looking forward to admitting in the future many students from other countries.

# RAJNARAIN BOSE AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

Rajnarain Bose has been rightly called the grand-father of Indian nationalism. So far back as 1861, twenty-four years before the Indian National Congress was started, he had laid down in a pamphlet what we may call the basis of Indian nationalism. He put in black and white the broad principles for the promotion of national feeling among our educated countrymen. Those of our countrymen who felt proud of their new education, found nothing good in our own culture, literature, music, manners, customs, dress and similar other things. In a way they were fast becoming denationalised. But the public generally follow the educated men. It was apprehended the whole nation would forget its own culture in no time. Lack of physical culture was also one of the main causes contributing to the weakness of the people. Rajnarain felt the necessity of stemming the tide of denationalisation and, while at Midnapore, started a society in 1861, called the "Society for the Promotion of National Feeling among the Educated Natives of Bengal." He issued a prospectus in the form of the aforesaid pamphlet. For the history of Indian nationalism, its importance as a valuable document cannot be minimised. The *Tattvabodhini Patrika* for Chaitra 1787 Sak (March-April 1866) reproduced it from *The National Paper*. To understand the trend of thought behind our previous national movements as well as to be apprised of the claims of Rajnarain to be the grand-father of Indian nationalism, the prospectus is given here *in extenso*:

*A Society for the Promotion of National Feeling among the Educated Natives of Bengal.*

Now that European ideas have penetrated Bengal, the Bengalee mind has been moved from the sleep of ages. A restless fermentation is going on in Bengalee Society. A desire for change and progress is everywhere visible. People discontented with old customs and institutions are panting for reform. Already a band of young men have expressed a desire to sever themselves at once from Hindu Society and to renounce even the Hindu name. It is to be feared that the tide of revolution may sweep away whatever good we have inherited from our ancestors. To prevent this catastrophe and to give a national shape to reforms, it is proposed that a Society be established by the influential members of native Society for the promotion of national feeling among the educated natives of

Bengal. Without due cultivation of national feeling, no nation can be eventually great. This is a fact testified to by all history.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall first of all use their best endeavours to revive the national gymnastic exercises. Half a century ago, there was a gymnasium in almost every village. This old practice should be again brought into life. The remark, lately made by our Excellency the Governor-General on seeing the boys of a Vernacular School at Ooterparah, to the effect, that the rising generation of Bengalees is not so strong and able-bodied as the previous one, is quite true. The cause of it is the too great importance attached now-a-days to bookish education in neglect of physical. The consequences are want of energy, a sickly habit of body, and premature old age and death. Many a young man after shining at College has broken down early and proved a regular incapable in after life. The Nationality Promotion Society shall publish tracts in Bengalee on the importance of physical education with special reference to its prevalence in ancient times, quoting passages from Sanskrit books in proof of such prevalence, and shall afford pecuniary aid to gymnasia established in the most important places in Bengal, where Hindu gymnastics will be taught. The Society will also publish tracts in Bengalee, giving, by instances quoted from the ancient history of the country, proofs of the military prowess of the ancient Bengalees, and mentioning isolated instances of the existence of such prowess in modern Bengalees also, such as the celebrated "fighting Moonsiff" who figured in the late Sepoy Rebellion on behalf of the English. The National Promotion Society shall take into consideration in connection with this subject that of the best means of improving the present very weak and innutritious diet of the Bengalee, which has in fact deteriorated from that of former generations.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall establish a Model School for instruction in Hindu music. Every nation has its music. It is to be regretted that the majority of the educated natives of India neither cultivate European nor native music. If they have any taste for music they have a little for the rude one of Jattras. The writer of this article recollects the cultivation of Hindu Music having been general in his infancy. Now little attention is paid to it by the general mass of educated natives. It will be the duty of the Society to establish a Hindu Musical School, and cause such songs to be sung by its students as have a moral scope and have a tendency to infuse patriotism and martial enthusiasm into the heart.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall also establish a school of Hindu Medicine, where Hindu Materia Medica, and practice of physic will be taught freed from the error and absurdities that disfigure them. There are many excellent Hindu medicines which have been found to be very efficacious in some severe disorders. It is to be highly regretted that the knowledge of such medicines is being lost. It would have indicated want of foresight on the part of Providence, if India, so rich in every other thing, could not have produced medicinal herbs calculated to heal the diseases of its inhabitants. The hopes, that were formed of the graduates of the Medical College enriching English Pharmacopoea with Hindu Medicines, after due trial and experiment have proved vain. The Nationality Promotion Society shall endeavour to fulfil such expectations. The teacher of the proposed Hindu School of Medicine should be one who is acquainted with both English and Hindu medical sciences.

The Nationality Promotion Society will publish in the Bengalee the results of the researches of the Sanskrit scholars of Europe in the department of Indian Antiquities, giving special prominence to their descriptions of the prosperity and glory of ancient India, physical, intellectual, moral, social, political, literary and scientific. It will collect and publish both in English and Bengalee testimonies in favor of native character. It will publish in those languages tracts containing the panegyrics pronounced by European writers on the merits of the people of ancient and modern India. It will also publish in the Bengalee, biographies of the illustrious men of Ancient and Modern India, especially of Bengal, containing translations of the eulogiums pronounced upon them by European writers.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall afford every encouragement in their power to the cultivation of Sanskrit. It shall patronize the publication of important Sanskrit works, co-operating with the Asiatic Society of Bengal in this respect, and shall offer pecuniary rewards or panegyrical addresses to the best Sanskrit scholars of Bengal.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall make it binding upon its members to ground the knowledge of their sons in their mother-tongue before giving them an English education. Education both in Bengalee and English, if carried on simultaneously, does great injury to the Bengalee education of a student, as he pays greater attention to the English than to the Bengalee language. Even for the sake of English education, we should ground our children's knowledge in their mother-tongue, before setting them to learn English. If a boy, after studying the Bengalee for six or seven years, study English, he makes rapid progress in the last mentioned language, and gets clearer ideas of what he reads in it than he would otherwise have done. Vernacular Scholarship-holders are found by experience to be the best boys in an English school. Any man who has the least patriotic feeling, will not neglect to ground his sons in their mother-tongue first of all before giving them an English education.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall try its best to prevent the daily increasing corruption of the colloquial language of the educated natives who mix, in common conversation, English words with Bengalee in the most ridiculous manner imaginable. An idea which can be easily expressed in the Bengalee, they express by an English word. Southey says in his essay on style: "Ours is a noble language, a beautiful language. I can tolerate a Germanism for family sake; but he who uses a Latin or a French phrase where a pure old English word does as well, ought to be hung, drawn and quartered for high treason against his mother-tongue." If our educated natives had a tittle of such patriotic love for their mother-tongue, they would not commit such gross violations of propriety and taste in their common conversation as they are at present observed to do. The poverty of the Bengalee is no excuse as such poverty is not real but imaginary. The Bengalee language has of late been much enriched by the exertions of some of the educated natives whose names will be held in grateful remembrance by posterity. Even if the Bengalee were really a poor unfurnished language, it would be the duty of every patriot to improve it by constant use of it in a pure form in conversation. It must be admitted that it is impossible to avoid using English words to express particular scientific ideas, particular posts and offices, certain public buildings, particular furniture, etc., etc., for which there are no equivalents in the Bengalee language. We would be quite unintelligible if we use new coined Bengalee equivalents or such as have not come into common use in order to express the above

ideas,* but it is quite unpardonable on the part of an educated native to express in English what he can easily do in the Bengalee. He should speak either pure Bengalee or pure English, but he should not jumble up both the languages. At present the colloquial language of the educated natives is a *lingua franca,* a most corrupt jargon, shocking, though we are unconscious of the same, to men of sense and good taste and reflecting great disgrace on us as a nation. An European gentleman would laugh to hear our conversation. Our written language is receiving daily improvements, but it is to be regretted that our colloquial language is so much neglected. No nation can make rapid strides in the path of progress unless they possess a highly developed language fit to answer all the requirements of conversation or writing. The Revd. Mr. Richards in his address to the University of Madras, says: "Gentlemen, let me say there is but little hope of a nation, until it has some sense of nationality; and nationality without a national language, which is the free spontaneous outcome of the national mind, is a delusion. Probably, the best index to the growth of a people is the growth and development of its language. Moreover, there is an interchange of cause and effect; help a people to develop their language in accordance with its own laws and you help them to acquire freedom of thought, and so gradually the other habits which are necessary to the formation of national character. I appeal then to your patriotism. I appeal to you on behalf of your mother-tongue; it is well worthy your regard."

The Nationality Promotion Society shall make it binding upon its Members to correspond with each other in the Bengalee. The Members of no nation correspond with each other in a foreign language. No Englishman for instance would correspond with another in French or German. Why should educated natives then insult their mother-tongue by writing letters to each other in English? Is our language so poor as to render it too difficult for one to write a common letter in it? It is excusable, nay more, it is proper, on the part of youths studying English, or even those who have recently left College to correspond with each other in English for the sake of acquiring proficiency in English writing; but it is not at all proper on the part of elderly people to do so. Business letters that require to be written in English should of course be written in that language.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall endeavour to prevail upon their countrymen to hold in the Bengalee language the proceedings of such societies as do not require the co-operation of Englishmen, and are exclusively composed of Bengalees, or have not as their object the improvement of youth in English speaking or writing. If it be necessary to publish such proceedings for the information of Government and the European public, they can be translated into English for the purpose. Although the time is not yet ripe for the change, the Nationality Promotion Society shall from this time endeavour to impress upon the minds of their countrymen, the impropriety on the part of an educated native of delivering at public meetings, speeches addressed to his countrymen in English or of writing pamphlets so addressed in that language. An Englishman, for instance, would not address his countrymen in French and German.† It must be admitted that reformers and public agitators are obliged to address their educated countrymen in English, or else they do not obtain a hearing from the majority of them, such is their fondness for every thing English and aversion towards everything Bengalee; but it is expected that the good sense of our educated countrymen would gradually allow this practice to fall into disuse. The writer of this article regrets the prevalence of Anglo-Mania in his time which has obliged him to initiate a movement in favour of his mother-tongue by addressing his educated countrymen in English.

No reform is accepted by a nation unless it comes in a national shape. The Nationality Promotion Society will not initiate or take an active part in social reformation—as such reformation is not its principal end or aim—but will aid it by rousing national feelings in its favor. Men naturally look to the past for sanction for their acts and nothing aids reformation so much as a former national precedent. The Nationality Promotion Society shall therefore publish tracts in the Bengalee containing proofs of the existence of liberal and enlightened customs in Ancient India, such as female education, personal liberty of females, marriage by election of the bride, marriage at adult age, widow-marriage, inter-marriage, and voyage to distant countries. It will try to introduce such foreign customs into educated society as have a tendency to infuse national feeling into the minds of its members such as that of holding festivities in honor of men of genius as is done amongst European nations. The Nationality Promotion Society will not resist the introduction of good foreign customs into educated native society, as that would be a bar to all improvement; but will try to give if possible to foreign customs already introduced a national shape. It has for instance become almost a custom among the educated natives to congratulate each other on the occasion of the New Year's day. The Nationality Promotion Society will endeavour to induce them to offer such congratulation to each other on the occasion of our New Year's day, the 1st of Bysakh. It will use its best endeavours to prevent the introduction of pernicious foreign customs such as that of drunkenness. It will attempt to prevent the falling into abeyance of the good old customs of our country. There is for instance a custom prevalent in our country of sisters making affectionate presents to brothers on a certain day of the year. It would be a great loss if the tide of revolution sweep away such beautiful customs as the one above-mentioned. No one can object to the Bhatriditya if freed from the superstitious observances that accompany it. The Nationality Promotion Society shall, in a few words, try, firstly, to prevent the introduction of evil foreign customs into educated native community; secondly, to introduce such foreign customs as have a tendency to infuse national feeling into the minds of its members; thirdly, to give, if possible, to foreign customs already introduced a national shape; fourthly, to aid social reformation by citing old precedents in its favor; and fifthly, to prevent the abolition of such old customs of the country as are beneficial in their nature.‡

The Nationality Promotion Society will not overlook even such trifling points as the regulation of etiquette, with a view to give a national shape to the same. It would be impossible to abolish all foreign modes of

* Persian words that have been naturalized into the Bengalee language and for which common unpedantic pure Bengalee words cannot be substituted should of course be considered as Bengalee words.

† Periodicals for the discussion of political subject and pamphlets intended for the perusal of both Europeans and natives, or of the natives of the different presidencies should of course be written in English.

‡ There would be no hindrance on the part of a Member of the Nationality Promotion Society to be a Member of a Social Reformation Society, the rules of which do not require him to surrender his nationality.

etiquette that have crept into educated native society, nor is it desirable to do so. Such cordial usages as the hearty hand-shake, something similar to which has, by the bye, prevailed among our countrymen of the North-West, from a remote antiquity, as is evidenced by the Sanskrit plays, but the Members of the Nationality Promotion Society shall give the preference to our national *numuskar* and *pranam* on all occasions on which it is practicable to do so.

With regard to dress, the Nationality Promotion Society need not direct its attention to that subject, as the educated natives have already adopted a mode which is not strictly European. This has been as required by the demands of nationality. If we at all imitate other nations, we should not do so slavishly. We should chalk out a path of our own. We should follow the same principle in the improvement of the dress of our women.

With regard to diet, the educated natives belonging to the higher classes of Society have adopted a mode of living that cannot be called *exclusively* European. It cannot be otherwise. The European mode of living is quite unsuited to the people of this country. Those educated natives who adopted an exclusively European mode of living were obliged by ill health in the course of a few years to resume the native or to modify the former. Those who have adopted a partly European mode of living will find it beneficial to Indianize it still further. The Nationality Promotion Society will direct their attention to this point, as well as to the diet of the majority of the educated natives which is in fact deteriorated as has been observed before from that of our ancestors. Anent this subject, we may observe that it would be the duty of the Nationality Promotion Society to reprobate the practice of frequenting European hotels so common among our educated countrymen. This practice shows a greedy hankering after European food, and demeans us in the eyes of foreigners. It must appear ridiculous in the eyes of all Europeans, except hotel-keepers.

With regard to dramatic entertainments the Nationality Promotion Society need not direct its attention to the same, as the educated natives of Bengal are already adopting a national plan of such amusements. They do not, like the Parsees of Bombay act English plays, but do so Bengalee dramatic compositions on the English plan. This is as it should be. For carving out our nationality, we should adopt the principle of adaptation in other things as we have done in this.

An attempt to shew that the religion of our ancestors contains much that is worthy of respect as well as union to represent political grievances to Government are calculated to promote national feeling; but the Nationality Promotion Society will not take measures for the same as there are separate associations, namely, the Brahmo Somaj and the British Indian Association, established solely for the purposes above-mentioned. It will abstain from the agitation of religious and political subjects.

The above Scheme of a Society for the promotion of National feelings among the educated natives of Bengal is of course subject to modifications by the public.

It would be unreasonable to expect that such a Society would prove to be the cause of every national feeling. Its main object would be to promote and foster national feelings which would lead to the formation of a national character and thereby to the eventual promotion of the prosperity of the nation.

Such movements as the establishment of a Society like the one proposed should originate in the metropolis. People of the Mofussil as is the case in every country follow suit in everything with those of the metropolis.

It is intended to publish a translation of this article in Bengalee in the form of a pamphlet and circulate it among the mass of our countrymen.

# THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

During the month of May, fighting in Europe underwent a change. The Russian front assumed a troubled calm after almost three years of continuous warfare on a scale never known previously in human history. Sevastopol was re-captured by the Soviets' forces on the 9th of May and after that Russia has been practically out of war-news up till the time of writing. The month of May has but a day or two to go, but as yet the grand assault on Hitler's Fortress of Europe has not started. Moscow made it clear some little while back that the situation in the East now demands that the Germanic defence forces be deprived of reinforcements and be weakened by withdrawal of troops. In order that such a change may occur, intense pressure must be brought on to bear on the Germanic defences on the West. Until that happens apparently nothing much can be expected in the East.

In Italy, on the other hand, the fighting has blazed up to a degree never before attained on any theatre of war where the Western Allies have fought. Artillery, airplanes and tanks are now being employed on a vast scale and the battle for Rome is now on in real earnest. German resistance is stiff and their defences skilfully made which means that progress must be necessarily slow but General Alexander made it clear that victory was sure since the Allies have overwhelming air-forces and in guns and tanks they far outnumber the Germans. Kesselring's defences were reported to be showing distinct signs of loosening by the 20th of May but evidently those hopes were a bit premature as the fighting is continuing with undiminished fury on both sides even now. The Germans are not likely to give up easily in this sector as that would spell disaster to the entire Axis defence plans at this stage. Some people see in this new Italian offensive the opening move of the Second Front and perhaps they are right to a certain extent. This offensive marks a definite departure from the "conquest by Air alone"

theory and on the fate of Kesselring's forces will depend the Allied final preliminaries for the Second Front, logistic and tactical.

The aerial offensive over Germany and occupied Europe has continued. German aerial defence however has not yet cracked up under the intense hammering it has been receiving for many months now. This aerial assault has been kept up for nearly two years and immense damage to Germany and France must have resulted thereby. The assaults reached a new peak about the beginning of this year and with short intervals have been kept up regardless of loss and enemy resistance. But in spite of this tremendous and long sustained bombardment Germany has not shown any signs of collapse and as such the aerial knock-out theory must be discounted now.

German plans of defence seem to be based on the theory of making each battle front separately self-sufficient, in order to obviate the necessity of large-scale transfer of reserves from one front to another. Defences in each sector of the various battle fronts are also possibly arranged along the same plan, the general idea being to put up an extremely stubborn resistance to Allied onslaughts resulting in a long drawn out struggle ending in a stalemate. In Russia the Axis defence lines are now very far off from the Russian power centres and the Soviets further are faced with immense transport difficulties over vast stretches of devastated country. The Axis, on the other hand, are now near their supply, refitting and reserve centres with excellent communication lines, freed from guerilla assaults. The result for the time being is a kind of balance in which the attacker is at a disadvantage. In Italy the defender has taken advantage of the terrain to such an extent that despite immense all-round superiority the progress has become slow, arduous and costly. As yet we have had no news of reserves being brought into Italy by the Germans from other fronts, which eventuality must result in the weakening of the sector from which they would be drawn. If the present offensive results in a general retreat of the Germans in Italy and the campaigns in Russia and the West start in concert in real earnest then would come the supreme test of the Axis plans.

The months of April and May in China have seen the biggest flare-up since 1938. About the middle of April the Japanese initiated the first large-scale drive in six years in the province of Honan, and in the course of a thrust of great intensity lasting for just over three weeks they wrested a vast slice of territory from the Chinese, succeeding in the closing of the gap in Peiping-Hankow railway held by the Chinese and in the cutting of the Lunghai railway. The Japanese were reported to be using over 300 tanks and many divisions of extremely mobile and highly well-equipped forces. The position was disquieting about the middle of May. But soon after that period the effect of Chinese counter-moves began to take effect. The Japanese control on the Peiping-Hankow railway was again broken and at Loyang, the main objective of the Japanese thrust in that direction, the Chinese defence did not go down before the terrific mechanised assault of the advancing Japanese columns. Undaunted by the new Japanese offensive the Generalissimo's forces began an assault on the Japanese forces in Yunnan about the 10th of May when the situation was critical in Honan. Curiously enough the English *Daily Mail* started writing on China about this time reporting that the general situation in China was grave and giving such details about the internal situation of that country as must have brought joy to the hearts of anxious watchers in Tokio. The least that can be said about such remarks about China is that they are not only totally unjustified but are positively insulting to that heroic nation. The Chinese forces are perhaps the poorest in armament and in general military requisites. Despite all big talk about aid-to-China, the Japanese blockade has succeeded in keeping out all but the absolute minimum of supplies from reaching China. Indeed we believe that no western commander would even dream of holding up an enemy of the calibre of the Japanese for as many months as the years the Chinese have done, even if he had several times the supplies that she has received. The Chinese soldier and his commander have repeatedly shown that given good—even reasonably good—equipment he can show results equal to any, and that his morale and toughness is beyond all cavil. Famine has been raging in Honan province for the last three years, making it extremely difficult for guerilla operations which form a regular part of Chinese defence tactics.

On the Indo-Burma front the monsoons are near. After a prolonged effort the Kohima hills are now being cleared up of the enemy. Elsewhere in the Naga Hills and the Manipur area there is nothing much to notice. In Burma Brigadier-General Merrill's forces have shown that the Japanese can be equalled at their own game if bold leadership and accurate observation be coupled to resolute fighting tactics.



Allied scouts build shelter for the night in the jungles of Northern Burma



Japanese anti-aircraft positions on Boram Airfield at Wewak in New Guinea loom like giant bird-nests as U. S. bombers swoop low to raid the enemy air base

*Courtesy* : USOWI



In the shadow of the cool Himalayas, a ferry takes on its load of passengers and a horse to cross the Indus River



On the way from Alaska to Asia. The Commander Islands are the most eastern territory of the Soviet Union, and lie midway, almost as a connecting link between the American Aleutians and Kamchatka

*Courtesy: Asia*

# MONEY—MASTER OR SERVANT ?

By "CHITTAGONIAN"

In the memorandum outlining their plan of Economic Development for India recently released by eight eminent businessmen the following sentence occurs :

> "Money or finance is therefore completely subservient to the requirements of the economy as a whole and must be treated merely as a means of mobilizing the internal resources of the country in materials and manpower."

Money or finance should be completely subservient to the needs of the community as a whole—it should be the servant of the State, not the master. To make it so a complete re-orientation of thought on money matters is necessary, especially so in India where the imposition of a planned economy based on thraldom to finance would be calamitous. The study of economics, which should be a study of fundamentals, has tended to become more and more a study of the effects of the adaptation by an ever-increasing number of countries of policies which, at bottom, meant the subservience of the community as a whole to money. The antithesis of what our eminent businessmen, very rightly, proclaim as an ideal ! One very serious result of this misapplied study is the acceptance as inevitable of such blots on civilisation as poverty amidst plenty, booms and slumps, the burning of food while millions starve. Such blots are not inevitable. They are the logical consequences of nations being placed in thraldom to money—the logical consequences of money being the master, not the servant. A premium (in the form of increased money prices), has been placed on conditions of scarcity, a discount on production. Can the process be reversed ? A premium placed on production ? Would not the lives of India's teeming millions be transformed if this could be done ?

The carrying out of a nation's financial policy, in its day-to-day functions, is entrusted to the Currency Authority, which acts under Statute and has to comply with certain statutory provisions. To-day, if the improvements science has made possible were wholly harnessed to production, it is possible to visualise productive capacity reaching to the stage when human demands could be fully met. Yet this can never be achieved so long as currency authorities, as to-day, (war conditions apart), are required to carry out statutory provisions which put a premium on conditions of scarcity. In supporting the adoption of those provisions few legislators were aware of this aspect of the provisions; some supported the provisions in the hope that they, personally, or the interests they represented, would benefit from putting a premium on scarcity : others were misled through the misapplication of the study of economics mentioned earlier. Briefly, it can be said currency authorities are required to direct all their efforts towards equating production—food, raw materials, finished articles—with purchasing power in the hands of consumers. To equate Supply with Effective Demand. As it has now become possible to visualise productive capacity reaching to the stage when human demands, in the form of food, clothing, housing needs, can be fully met, does it not follow that consideration should be given to laying down statutory provisions whereby currency authorities would be required to direct their efforts towards equating purchasing power in the hands of consumers with production ? Equating Effective Demand with Supply, a complete re-orientation of thought on money matters, to make money the servant of the State, not the master, to make money or finance completely subservient to the needs of the community as a whole—towards these currency authorities would be required to direct their efforts.

To get a correct conception it will, perhaps, be helpful to look backwards, to see where existing systems have failed. When the Gold Standard was operative an exporter in country "A" who could find a market for his products in country "B" knew he could be sure of getting paid a definite sum in his own country's currency, if necessary by taking bar gold from country "B" and exchanging that gold for currency at country "A"'s central bank. If he did so the purchasing power (money) in circulation was increased but, be it noted, the quantity of goods available for consumption had not been increased, this particular merchant's production having been exported. The exporting country, through effective demand (purchasing power) having been increased without a corresponding increase in the supply of consumption goods, then was faced with the problem of

a rising price-level, because of more money competing for the same quantity of goods available for consumption, or of importing goods from abroad. In the gold standard days goods would have been imported, production stimulated, employment increased. This, at bottom, explains, to a considerable extent, why that proportion of a nation's mercantile activities which is devoted to overseas trade has now assumed an importance out of all proportion to its quantitative relation to the nation's total trade. So long as the Gold Standard, with its corollary, free trade between nations, was found to work, exports, by creating a demand for imports, possibly deserved the specially favoured position they were given in nation's economics. But the Gold Standard, and free trade, no longer work. Yet the importance attached to exports remains, and, in fact, increases. Hence the attempts to build up 'favourable' balances of trade.

A "favourable" balance of trade connotes a surplus of exports over imports. The nation exporting has distributed among its own nationals the value of the exports in the form of wages in the manufacturing process, interest on capital invested in the particular industry concerned, wages to transport workers, dock services, insurance and shipping companies. Effective demand for goods has been increased but the supply has not. If there is a genuine surplus of goods awaiting consumption in the home market, well and good. If not, the internal price-level will rise which would tend to put the country out of the world's markets *as an exporter*. A "favourable" balance of trade being considered to be of first importance every effort is made to keep the country in the world's markets as an exporter, so a highly developed technique of tariffs, quotas, subsidies, has been universally adopted, all tending to restrict production at the same time as science is putting us within sight of the day when productive capacity could be equal to human demand. Over recent years the nation which has been successful at working this technique has, in fact, put itself in the position of a creditor who made it impossible for his debtor to pay. The exporter, it must be remembered, requires payment in currency of his own country. Yet his debtor cannot obtain a right to that currency because the exporter's country will not allow imports to equal exports, being committed to a policy of building up a "favourable" balance of trade. Could anything be more absurd? Can it be wondered that the pursuance of policies of this kind for a number of years has led to a world-wide war?

Over recent years the more advanced nations have been developing a sense of social consciousness; of the responsibility of the State to provide food for destitutes, shelter for the homeless, medical aid to the sick. This has provided an increase in the effective demand and has, by keeping manufacturers for the home market working at a higher pitch than would otherwise be the case, tended to obscure the false foundations on which policies aiming at achieving "favourable" balances of trade are based. Unemployment relief does likewise. When a nation's sense of social consciousness develops to a realisation of the fact that a "favourable" balance of trade is a mirage, a completely false god, a certain preventive of ever achieving a real increase in the standard of living, then will arise hope for that complete re-orientation of thought on money matters which our eminent businessmen imply is necessary in their plan for the economic development of India. Perhaps it will help us in India to start on the road to that complete re-orientation of thought if we remember that the inflation from which we are at present suffering so badly is the logical result of having built up, in the form of "Sterling balances," the biggest "favourable" balance of trade in all history, biggest in relation to the period of time taken to build such a balance. Admittedly, this balance has been forced on us through war but it true, nevertheless, to cite it as a perfect example of the absurdity of nations pursuing policies completely at variance with the real well-being of their nationals.

What is the remedy?

If the existing sorry state of affairs has been brought about by attaching over-importance to export trade, it may well be that the easiest method of finding a lasting, beneficial solution would be to concentrate on internal trade. History shows it would be fatuous to continue to expect nations to abide by argreements which provided for exports being paid for by imports so long as currencies are based in such a manner as makes it possible for one nation to get another into unpayable debt. Agreements based on this conception, no matter how attractive at the time they are made, are bound to fail. So, it is suggested, concentration should first be on internal trade. The problem would be to develop a technique which would put a premium on production while at the same time maintaining a stable internal price-level. The latter requirement is stipulated as greater concentration on internal trade does not by any means imply non-participation in foreign trade. Far from it,

a genuinely prosperous internal trade should of itself offer unlimited possibilities of expansion abroad. If each nation developed a technique of distributing purchaising power to its people in a manner to ensure of effective demand being created for their total productive capacity any nation could exchange a proportion of its productive capacity for an equal proportion of some other nation's production which it was in need of, in the form of raw materials or manufactured products as the case might be. It could reasonably be expected that the increased standard of living which would follow from an internal policy aimed at increasing production, coupled with the necessary circulation of new purchasing power, would also increase international trade. Such an increase would be on a sound basis, genuine consumptive demand, not, as at present, based on unsound attempts to build up "favourable" balances of trade. Given a sound internal money policy, foreign trade and foreign exchanges would come in to the correct perspective.

As we stand to-day India has built up a "favourable" balance of trade of approximately Rs. 763 crores. The total of currency notes in circulation is Rs. 867 crores, so we are in the position of our currency authorities, by statutory provisions, having been compelled to hold over ninety per cent of our currency's cover overseas. The industrialists' plan of economic development for India anticipates the growth of these sterling balances to Rs. 1000 crores by the end of the war and they make provision in their plan for utilising the balances in importing capital goods for construction in India. But they appear to have overlooked the statutory provisions under which our currency authorities function. Before machinery, for instance, to the value of our sterling balances could be bought the British Government securities held in London in the currency reserve would have to be sold. When such a sale takes place the currency in India must be contracted correspondingly. If, to-day, sterling securities to the value of Rs. 763 crores were sold and the equivalent in notes withdrawn from circulation India would be left with only Rs. 104 crores of notes in circulation! It would be impossible to make such a contraction. Yet that is what our currency laws require. The total notes in circulation at the beginning of the war was about Rs. 172 crores, which, it must be admitted, is much too low for a country with a population of nearly four hundred million, only Rs. 4-4 per head. The problem is to find a means of getting the notes into the hands of the people who need them most. If utilisation of our Sterling Balances means a contraction of the currency beyond what could possibly be found practicable here would seem to be the ideal opportunity to switch over to an attempt to equate Effective Demand with Supply.

**How ?**

First we should think over what commodities the community would derive most benefit from if supplies were increased. Good quality milk would claim high priority. Milk of good quality is the one perfect food. India a few years ago had more than two hundred million cattle, (sixty for every hundred of the human population), yet it can be said without fear of contradiction not one family in a thousand gets sufficient good quality milk. The all-India average production per cow is estimated to be 886·5 pounds milk while the estimated daily consumption of milk per head of human population in India is only six ounces. In Australia the average yield per cow is 4,255 pounds annually, approximately five times the all-India average. If a means could be found of making available for human consumption in India five times the quantity of milk consumed at present the resulting benefits to the nation's health and well-being would be incalculable. Five times six ounces per head daily would still be less than what the medical profession consider desirable. Australian development points the way. Most of us in India look upon Australia as a land flowing with milk and honey. Maybe it is now. But it was not always so. In Sydney, about 150 years ago, every one, including the Governor, was strictly rationed and some wondered how many weeks would elapse before food supplies gave out completely. To-day, ships leave Sydney carrying food—dried milk, cheese, meat, to the four corners of the earth. An illustration as to how this has been achieved may be cited from the history of the famous Australian Illawarra Shorthorn cattle. This breed originated with the early pioneers of the Illawarra district of New South Wales as far back as 1790, when the foundation was laid by selecting from importations of European stud dairy cattle, and in some instances ships' cows, which in the early days provided milk on the voyages. By concentrating on breeding only from the best animals the pioneers laid the foundations of to-day's Illawara herds which are now extremely popular in all the dairying districts in Australia. In 1924 an Australian Illawarra Shorthorn cow captured the world's butter-fat record (1614 lb.), her milk yield for the year being 32,522·5 lbs., nearly thirty-seven times the all-India average yield. Apart from the density of population pastoral conditions in many parts of

Australia are very similar to conditions in India and it is interesting to recall that many of the animals who have helped to lay the foundations for the present-day Australian herds went from Gujerat. What has been achieved in Australia can be done in India. The part of the dairyman is clear. He must concentrate on the breed most suitable for the particular area concerned and breed from only the best animals in the area; stall-feed his milking cows, close pastures to grazing and cut the grass; grow special fodder crops, encourage the keeping of good stud bulls by paying small fees for the services of the best possible bull.

The people on the land know how to do their part but as conditions would be if our currency were deflated by conversion of any substantial proportion of our sterling balances, an increase of five times in the country's milk supply would put the supplies in the position of trying to market larger supplies against smaller effective demand (money) in the hands of potential consumers. The potential consumers would be perfectly willing to work for the right to obtain money, but there wouldn't be enough to go round. Here you have a position where the capacity to produce a commodity agreed by all to be most desirable for the well-being of the nation is available for development, potential consumers are in abundance, but effective demand is lacking, money not being completely subservient to the needs of the community as a whole. Money would be completely subservient to the needs of the community as a whole if the country's currency authority were required by statute to develop a technique whereby the State made available, direct, to suppliers of much-needed good quality milk, a bonus, in the form of fresh currency notes, for their increased production. Conditions attaching to the bonus would require that the milk be up to an approved standard, from cows whose annual production reached the prescribed level, housed in approved sheds, with concrete floors, concrete flush-down drains, fly-proof dairies. These and similar precautions would ensure of the milk being free from pollution but they would also create a demand for commodities, such as cement, drain-pipes, etc., thereby encouraging production in other industries also. Money paid in wages for the construction and maintenance of approved dairies and for attention to the cattle herds would circulate the new currency in the areas where purchasing power is just now at the very lowest. India will finish this war with highly developed industries capable of switching over to the manufacture of very large quantities of consumer goods. Increased purchasing power put in to the rural areas in the suggested manner would provide an incentive, which has up to now been lacking, for producers of farm products to expand production beyond subsistence levels. With that increased purchasing power a market for consumer goods could be established with almost unlimited possibility of expansion.

It is important to distinguish between subsidies as we know them at present and this suggested form of bonus. Subsidies come from taxation or from Government borrowing which places the producing element in debt to non-producers, thereby giving non-producers the right to a share of the benefits of production, in the form of interest on the money lent to the State, without having taken any part in the actual production. The bonus would apply only to increased production, the State recognising the service the producer has rendered by paying him in the form of notes representing an addition to the currency which the State should not be required to borrow. The actual notes would not be different in appearance from currency already in existence. If it were found in practice that issues of this fresh currency in the rural areas upset the price-level of the country as a whole the currency authority could restore equilibrium by appropriate action in the developed money centres, by open market operations, or even by contracting the currency in those centres at the same time as it was issuing fresh currency in the rural areas. Given the conviction that an attempt should be made to equate Effective Demand with Supply, it would not be difficult to develop a technique which would serve the double purpose of stimulating desirable productive activity and at the same time maintaining a stable price-level.

The soil of India is sick. In many areas both the quantity and quality of crops are decreasing. The most effective method of increasing quantity and quality of crops would be through the extension of compost manuring. Fundamentally the productivity of the soil is the foundation of the wealth of India. As with a sick person, so with the soil. Drugs and palliatives help in the cure, but their misuse will inevitably result in a worsening of the patient, and, eventually, death. Chemical fertilisers are to the soil what drugs are to a sick person. In the hands of a skilled practitioner, they may work wonders, temporarily. Misused, they will kill the soil. They are stimulants and stimulants can never prove so beneficial as a method of rejuvenation based on nature which, at bottom, is the base of the compost. Compost heaps

should be composed of all natural remnants to be found on the farm, or in the village, animal dung, vegetable remnants, leaves, straw, egg-shells, bones, fish skins. To the heap should be added such plants and herbs as are known to have beneficial effects upon our health, dandelion, nettle, camomile, valerian, etc. The addition of these, or similar, plants, sets up in the soil chemical processes similar to that caused by chemical fertilisers, but organically, not forced upon the soil suddenly, like stimulants, as is the case when chemical fertilisers are applied. Thousands of years ago compost heaps were a feature of Indian agriculture; to-day they are a rarity. If production of compost was encouraged by the issue of new currency in the form of bonus paid direct by Government, without Government being compelled to borrow, as in the case of the bonus proposed for increased milk production, the potential benefits would be enormous. The quantity and quality of food-crops would so improve that the spectre of famine would, in the not far distant future, be as far removed from Bengal as it is from Sydney to-day.

The production of poudrette by Municipalities from municipal refuse, could be encouraged similarly. Poudrette, like compost, has excellent organic fertilising qualities and is extremely simple to prepare. Nightsoil and rubbish like household and street sweepings are mixed in the proportion of one part of nightsoil to four of rubbish. Copper sulphate is added in the proportion of one pound for every four hundred of the mixture, then the mixture is raked up into heaps of convenient size. Water is added to the heaps and raked in every fortnight, then the heaps built up again. This process is repeated every fortnight for about two months. Then the manure is ready for use, free from all smell. It is easy to handle, being powdery and dry. The inclusion of copper sulphate prevents putrefaction. Poudrette prepared in this manner contains about one part per cent of nitrogen, varying quantities of phosphoric acid, potash and lime. Its organic fertilising properties are what our soils are crying out for. In addition, production of poudrette on an extensive scale would provide much needed revenue to Municipalities from departments which up to now have been a steady drain on their finances.

The masses in India's 600,000 villages have suffered grievously through the world's chasing the mirage we call "favourable" balances of trade. Each one of these villages, with all it contains, human life, animal life, plant life is a living organism, part of that far greater macrocosm which is the universe. Encouragement of the expansion of these living organisms, by attempting to equate Effective Demand with Supply on the lines suggested, would go a long way to building that healthy, happy agricultural community which is the bed-rock of true civilisation and through which the soul of India must, eventually, express itself.

# THE WRITER IN A CHANGING WORLD

BY PROF. RAJENDRA VARMA, M.A.

## IV

It is only natural that in such a state of society, when the poet can contrast the present decay with a certain human value which he loves, the chief poetic instrument will be satire. This satire will not be the conventional lash of the moralist at obvious moral lapses nor will it be the instrument for maligning personality. It will be mocking, biting and at times slashing. It will be broadbased upon the sociological idea, and it will view everything in terms of society with its economic foundation.

The vision of W. H. Auden as a satirist is the vision of one who sees the society of his time as a patient consumed with a deadly disease. He wishes to place in our mind the idea of the wickedness of society as the sickness of society. And what are those disease germs that have entered the body politic ? They are the mystic's muddled philosophy; the middle class groping for security, its betrayal of itself in fantastic Back-to-Nature movements, its sheltering itself in a kind of social revolution which turns out to be a fascist reaction; the passive neurotic individualistic man for ever on the defensive against life. He tilts at an age gone awry because of contradictions. The spiritual decomposition of society and its attendant morbidity of the self-conscious individual provide Auden with a butt for his satire. Mildly mocking at the failure of mysticism W. H. Auden says :

"When through exhausting hours they had flown
From the alone to the Alone
Nothing remained but the dry as bone
Night of the Soul."

The mockery of the flight of "Alone" for the "Alone" is packed in these lines. Auden's *Dance of Death* is a vivid and symbolic representation of the decay of the middle class and its metaphysical and idealist system of philosophy. In his next verse drama *Dog Benearth the Skin* Auden exposes rank exploitation and germs of a fatal social disease; Francis, who is disguised as a dog all along the play says, "It is an awful shock to try seeing people from underneath." He describes the bullying and blustering and swaggering of the strong towards the less strong, the meanness, hypocrisy and ignorance filling the atmosphere in which individuals are like birds gone astray. He tilts at the press, politics and literature of the day. Finally the semi-chorus enters, exhorting the audience in these terms :

"Mourn not for these; these are ghosts who
Close their pain,
Mourn rather for yourself, and your inability to
Make up your mind."

Here, the allusion to 'ghosts' is significant. Those who are helpless victims of a vicious system do not evoke the poet's sympathy. He does not bother about them. But his sorrow becomes bitter rebuke when he upbraids those who sit on the fence, those that are unable to take sides either for progress or reaction. It is this 'neutral' man who is the object of Auden's ridicule.

"Those who sit on the fence" is not quite so innocent a statement as it appears at the first sight. It is full of meaning for our present purpose. It brings to one's mind a host of ideas which should be taken into account in evaluating contemporary literature. What is the relation of the artist to his art-work and the world around him? What is the real impact of commercialism on the artist's mind? What are the forces in conflict in society and what attitude should the writer adopt in respect of this tension? These are some of the many problems that face us.

We shall take up the question of commercialism and art. It has already been shown that with the advent and triumph of capitalism the relation of man to market had become supreme over all other relations. Human progress and achievement were reckoned in terms of material progress of the propertied class. The artist, too, was up against the problem. Shall he play the second fiddle in the capitalist orchestra? If he did, he must produce art with a view to selling it better. Copyright, royalties, market for pictures and statues were some of the compelling forces which could make him think in terms of market chance. The artist in this case would cease to create. He would produce art with both eyes on the law of supply and demand. He would thus vulgarize art and ultimately cease to be an artist.

But there is another possibility. Besieged on all sides with forces of commerce he may turn his back on market completely and regard work of art as an end in itself. The sincerity in an artist goes ill with instincts of commerce-magnets and philistines. He, therefore, revolts against the dictates of the age of commerce, and buries himself completely in his art creation. In this case the art process becomes an extremely individualistic affair. The result of it is clear. As Caudwell puts it :

"This necessarily leads to a dissolution of those social values which make the art in question a social relation, and therefore ultimately results in art work's ceasing to be an art work and becoming a private fantasy."

We have a concrete illustration of literary art becoming a private affair, and hence decadent, in the last decades of the nineteenth century. England witnessed, by eighteen ninetees the triumph of the capitalist class; in 1887 at the Jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria the Englishman gaped with wonder, when he was told that Queen Victoria reigned over an empire upon which the sun never set. There was a glint in his eyes and imperialism put arrogance in his tongue. Economic imperialism—the concomitant of competitive capitalist production, had won a resounding victory. Cecil Rhodes in South Africa had already planted the British flag, and the discovery of gold and diamond mines had started quickening the spirit of market owners. It was a period of triumphant march of capitalism.

Literary artists in general, in this age of great material achievements, found themselves sequestered. Having ignored the market and militant commercialism they ignored also the developing tension in the social relations. They were left with old passions, decaying dreams, and played out ideas. Fed up they turned to new experiences of senses, in the spirit of adventurists. Not repetition but novelty was the watchword. But this quest for novelty led them to the dangerous alley of private fantasy. Art embodied new experiences of the egotist man pitted against himself. This attitude is summed up in a poem by Ernest Dowson, with the refrain :

"I was desolate, and sick of an old passion"—

and the significant line :

"I cried for madder music and stronger wine."

This cry of 'madder music and stronger wine' was indeed the cry for fresh experiences and newer sensations. Tired, played out, dejected in spirit they turned round to playing with fire and every imaginable shocking delight. This process resulted in decadence in a pronounced form. Egotism, artificiality, a certain delight in perversity became the features of a literary art of which Oscar Wilde was the main representative.

Art, therefore, runs the risk of degenerating into an extremely private and individualistic affair if the artist regards his art-work as an end in itself. The moment it secedes from the scale of social values it bleeds itself to death. Because, that art is moribund which regards the external world and the pulsations of social life therein as something inimical.

The writer of today, who sees horizons changing and new phenomenon invading his attention, must therefore protest against individualism in art. T. S. Eliot's value lies in his correct appraisal of the individual's talent as an artist. The artist's view should be the community view, according to him and not 'personal view.' The modern man sees today his quiet dissipating with the quick hum of events, and his mind turning into a battle-field of ideas. He can no longer retire to his Ivory Tower and shut himself away from filth and smoke. He has seen the wickedness of war, it took his breath away in the last Great War; he has known the futility of cherishing ideals which rest upon shifting sands of time; he has seen unemployment, struggles between the people and the police, the terrible nakedness of platitudes. He has been disillussioned about God, about religion, about immortality, about biological fiction of 'progress.' Objects upon which in youth his fancy lightly turned are now seen in their hideously real form. Conscience, eternity, race, marriages are some of the idols which have now been shattered. In this background of universal disillusion he watches the clash of forces in society. The communist poet W. H. Auden describes his disillusion :

> "For now, the moulding images of growth
> That made our interest and us are gone.
> Louder today the wireless roars.
> It's warnings and it's lies, and it's impossible.
> Among the well cosily to flit,
> Or longer to desire about our lives
> The beautiful loneliness of banks, or find
> The shores and resignations of the frozen planes."

"Louder today the wireless roars it's warnings and it's lies"—because the wireless has ceased to be an instrument for spreading culture. It is the mouthpiece of a complicated civilization where market-holders are continually arming and rearming, warning and preparing. It is a civilization where the instinct of possession, extolled and rationalized as something worthy of achievement, is the motivating force. In a capitalist society, woman is a private property, strips of territory are a private property, means of production are a private property. This social relation is hampering the greater welfare of society and therefore it has gone out of gear with productive forces. Those who Have and who Have-not are split into two camps. It is as if society lies in a trough between two waves soon to be wiped out.

## V

It is at such critical times when social relation comes to a parting of the ways with productive forces, much to the detriment of society as a whole, that a new synthesis appears in sight. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the protest against machine was indeed a protest of withdrawal; but when industrial capitalism was mounting to its apex the antithetical class—the workers—began to show signs of unrest. Trade Unions, Labour parties, Socialist movements were a pointer to the class tension becoming deeper and deeper. Now, when capitalist production was demonstrating its hollowness in slumps, booms, unemployment and doles, the tension had become revolutionary. Bourgeois social relation had exhausted itself; the old world was dying as a result of its own myths and contradictions, and with it were dying its attendant values, truths and certainties.

The writer now stands between two fires. The old values and illusions are vanishing on the one hand, but on the other a reaction is developing which is but an attempt of the old world to rehabilitate itself. The myth of the liberal credo and the 'freedom' of the individual are gone, but a new set of myths have arisen—the Aryan race, the Leader, the Absolute Nation, and mythologies of primitive gods and goddesses. The artist has now to determine his path. As an artist he knows that art-process is the result of tension between decayed consciousness and new facts—at least that is how art keeps pace with time. He is aware that art becomes decadent if it escape conflicts in a dynamic society. He will choose to move with time, if he may. But, there is also another way. He may join the reaction. In this case he turns back to false gods of race, hero-worship and trusteeship and outmoded concepts of a by-gone age. He is then no longer a writer with insight into the social process. He is a reactionary. In Europe

this dilemma expressed itself in terms of a choice between Communism and Fascism.

Cecil Day Lewis, another Communist poet, states the situation. He was once one of those of the air.

> Singing I was at peace,
> Above the clouds, outside the ring;
> For sorrow finds a swift release in song
> And pride its poise.

But the poet is conscious that

> Yet living here,
> As one between two massive powers I live
> Whom neutrality cannot save
> Nor occupation cheer.

He knows the consequence of neutrality in the midst of conflicts:

> And private works fade in the blood-red dawn
> Where two worlds strive.

Therefore he finally exhorts:

> Move then with new desires,
> For where we used to build and love
> Is no man's land, and only ghosts can live
> Between two fires.

The poet has struck the right note: 'For where we used to build and love is no man's land.' A society which is inimical to human tenderness again and again fills the poet with a poignant recollection of the 'No Man's Land.' The revolutionary poet's starting point is love—the string that binds individuals in a common bond of comradeship. It is the centre which would place him in contact with the circle of his fellow-beings. The poet thirsts for this vanished touch of human hands.

Perhaps it has been made sufficiently clear that the first problem that confronts the modern artist is one of re-examining his position *vis-a-vis* the society in which he is born. England in the eighteenth century had attained a certain equilibrium of values—the balance between man and nature, town and country, individual and society. The age therefore was conscious of its achievements and could look back with a superior sense of complacency. The result is that writers of the age betray a striking quality of tolerance, good form, serenity and reason. But the modern age is one of complete uprooting of obsolete values and a rapid disintegration of those systems which the contemporary facts do not warrant. No longer does any one believe in the institutions based on *laissez faire;* the recurrent wars and political convulsions are an index of the deeper distress in the social organism. The writer today either escapes reality or faces it boldly. But what would be his writings worth cut away from the living touch of the period he is born in? And what would be the meaning of his art if it be a mere picture of his day-dreams, fantasies, neurotic self-analysis? No true writer has ever succeeded in dodging the influence of his age, particularly when the age is one of cataclysmic changes.

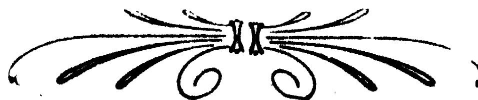
Of course, the writer is not the spokesman of people's political opinions nor is he the standard-bearer of any political party. But as a sensitive barometer he must record the changes in the emotional life of his people. What a man feels about this or that part of his life, what importance he attaches to its different aspects, what he dreads and what he values most, what he is prepared to sacrifice for, what he trusts—these are some of the questions that can be answered by a writer.

In the very nature of his art the writer is the spokesman of the people. The writer is different from the man-in-the-street in that his experiences are more organized and coherent and that he is able to communicate them. For his art-work he finds different varieties of expression, but the fact remains that his material he has derived from sharing, observing, and criticizing the life of the age. Bernard Shaw remarks in his 'prefaces':

> "Life as it appears is senseless; a policeman may watch it and work in it for thirty years in the streets and courts of Paris without learning as much of it or from it as a child or a man can learn from a single play of Brieux. For it is the business of Brieux to pick out the significant incidents from the chaos of daily happenings and arrange them so that their relation to one another becomes significant, thus changing us from bewildered spectators of a monstrous confusion to men intelligently conscious of the world and its destinies."

The raw-material of the literary artists is: Words. Now, words are not mere sign-posts to meaning, they have a definite psychological association. They vary in their aptness not only from place to place in the syntax, but also according to the change in the structure and needs of society. The writer to be an adept craftsman, must discipline a critical handling of his raw-material; and this essential literary job can be practised only through a full and critical living of the life in the age.

*(To be continued)*



# THE COLONIZATION OF AUSTRALIA

By Professor P. L. STEPHEN, M.A.

## I

One of the lasting effects of this war is likely to be closer relations between India and Australia. And that is as it ought to be. In Australia there are many things that must be of interest and profit to India. The agricultural and industrial developments of the country have many useful lessons for us here. Hence as Sir Iven Mackay, the Australian High Commissioner in India, said rightly, it will be very profitable if there be visits "by scientists, industrialists, agricultural experts, students, artists, journalists, tourists, in fact by all those with inquiring minds." Some Australian Universities have offered scholarships to Indian students; and already there are about 1500 to 2000 Indians living in Australia. It is perhaps not generally known that exchange of goods between the two countries engages crores of rupees. In 1942-43 goods worth 16 crores went out from India and goods worth 3⅓ crores came from Australia. No doubt there is the shameful white Australia policy, and that when a country capable of being the home of fifty million people is occupied by only five million. But in the inevitable changes of the post-war world there must be great revisions of ideas, and better and friendlier and more useful relations must be established between countries.

For that the first essential is a better knowledge of each other. It was from that point of view that I wrote an article on the Aborigines of Australia for *The Modern Review* some time back; and it is from that point of view that this article is written. There is a notion that Australia was a mere convict colony, and that Australians are simply the descendants of convicts. The following article will show that there is an element of truth in this; but only an element, as the convicts were convicts only because of the unbalanced vagaries of the laws of the time; and even so, only the beginnings were concerned with the convicts.

## II

Sir John Seeley's famous observation that the British Empire was acquired in a fit of absent-mindedness is perhaps nowhere so clearly seen as in the history of the colonization of Australia. That continent, as everybody knows, is at present a flourishing British colony with a population of about five millions. But what was the aim of the British Government when first it turned its attention to Australia, sixteen years after Cook's voyage? It was nothing but the dumping of their surplus criminals somewhere. The first British fleet that sailed for Australia carried about 700 convicts to form a colony there. Similar fleets followed year after year, and efforts were made to turn Australia into a useful convict settlement. The legislations, the instructions, the procedure were all intended for this purpose. Only, it soon became evident that the system was heading for failure, and by 1843 it had to be given up. Half a century of efforts and a million pounds thus failed to realise the direct aim of the British Government; but the British had occupied the continent and a great colony had its foundation laid.

It is an irony that this foundation was the result of the increase of crime and convicts in Great Britain. The Government made no earnest attempt to understand the reasons for this great prevalence of crime. As pointed out by a modern authority on the subject, Dr. Charles Mercier, "Crime is due to temptation or opportunity, the environmental factor or stress, acting upon the predisposition of the offender." How true this is may be seen even from a cursory study of the economic and social conditions of the eighteenth century. There was a great deal of urban as well as rural poverty and unemployment, and this was the real reason for the great prevalence of crime. Without noting or paying attention to this fact the propertied class that made up the Government tried to check crime by multiplying punishments and listing many offences as grave crimes. About 200 offences were classed by Blackstone as capital offences. Stealing linen from bleaching grounds, stealing horses from anywhere, breaking down the head of a fish-pond, cutting down river or sea banks, sending threatening letters and many such were capital offences. The cruelty of these laws made many sentences to be commuted to transportation. There were, besides, many offences for which transportation was the legal punishment. The Newgate Calendar of 1791 is quoted by an authority as recording a number of sentences for transportation for larceny—some of them being for stealing a watch, a petti-coat, a looking-glass or a soap. "Two were sentenced for stealing a pocket-handkerchief—one a boy of

sixteen. A boy of fourteen was sentenced for stealing sugar, and another of fifteen for stealing shoe buckles. Yet another was sentenced to transportation on suspicion of stealing a trunk."

A very large number of people with varying guilt came to be transported. The average per year was a thousand. These used to be sent to America till 1776. But with the revolt of America no more convicts could be sent there. Crime was however on the increase, and punishments as severe. Jails began to be filled to overflowing, and a new field for getting rid of the criminals became necessary. The infamous "hulks system" was then tried. But the public outcry against it was so great that the Government could not continue it. Transportation had to be resumed, and a new suitable place had to be discovered. A number of places were considered. But the East Indies, West Indies, Falkland Islands, Canada, Africa and other places had to be rejected as unsuitable, and Botany Bay (so called because Cook saw there a "great quantity of plants") was pitched upon at last in 1786.

The man who was put in charge of the great experiment of founding a convict settlement in Australia was Captain Arthur Phillip; and he showed himself perfectly capable for the enterprise. The care for the needs of prisoners was then little considered, but Phillip went into every detail to safeguard the prisoners during the transport, and for a time after reaching Australia. It was due to his care and foresight that 1400 people were able to travel, in eleven ships, 15,000 miles of imperfectly explored sea without any serious mishap.

In January, 1788, the convict settlement started in Australia. Governor Phillip had high ideals before him. He did not aim at an extended sort of prison. He wanted the convicts to form a kind of colony, where under new environments they were to be reformed and developed into useful citizens in course of time. For this he wanted to divide the convicts into separate groups according to the gravity of their crimes, and to direct and supervise them properly. But unfortunately Phillip found great difficulties in his way. The Government at home seemed to be interested only in getting rid of the convicts. Neither sufficient provisions nor supervisors could be had. Convicts had to be appointed as supervisors and these would not always serve the purpose. The inherent dispositions of the convicts could be overcome only with the help of reliable supervisors, teachers and ministers of religion. All these were lacking. Phillip, however, did all that could be done under the circumstances. He occupied the country; divided it into sections, and began cultivating and developing the land. The necessary buildings were gradually erected and civil administration of a strict kind was started. The few free settlers that had come out were encouraged. Convicts, as they became eligible to be released, were given grants of land—30 acres each. Some of these prospered and became good citizens. But most wanted only to go back home. Still Phillip was hopeful that a good settlement could be produced with better help from England. And if his many plans were followed that might have been realized. But when he left the place in 1792 it was not possible to say whether the experiment had succeeded or failed. The Governors who followed him were much less successful. The military got the upper hand. They cared not for the reform or advancement of the convicts. They made large grants of land to themselves and to their friends and made much profit. But that led to the development of the country and to the settling in it of many colonizers who were to develop it.

The convict settlement failed. Opposition to sending out convicts grew in volume. Transportation was found to be expensive. The convicts were not reformed. They suffered a great deal according to some; and they did not suffer enough according to others. By being sent far away from the country, their punishment failed to serve one of the uses of punishment, namely, that of being an example to others. On account of all these various other proposals, like the penitentiary system, Bentham's Panopticon and others attracted the country's attention. In any case, transportation was condemned and it was given up from the year 1843. The Australian convict settlement thus failed; but a new and growing colony had come into being.

III

That colony has been developing fast ever since. First of all the character of the Colony changed. From being a convict settlement it developed into a regular colony. Actual convicts at the start were only 717. Other batches came later on. In 1821 they numbered, with their families, 13,000. The free settlers numbered only 2,500 then. But migrations of free men were on the increase year after year. These became so numerous after the Napoleonic War that the free men far outnumbered the emancipated convicts.

The colonization of Australia was such a success largely because, as Stephen Leacock says, the English were always the ideal settlers. They could go away and stay there, call England

'home,' boast of it, curse at it, and still love it and fight for it. The Englishman carried away with him enough of his home but not too much. He had his tin bath, and his briar pipe and cricket in a bag to teach to the natives. He had his own clothes till an English tailor followed him. But beyond that he accepted the ways of the country. He never knew whether he was going 'home' or not; and in the end he did not. Thus those who went out to Australia stayed on, made at their home, and a colony with a grand future.

# IRISH NEUTRALITY IN THE PRESENT WAR

By ARUN CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

THE refusal by Mr. Eamon de Valera to remove according to the request of the American Government, the Axis Legations from Dublin has created a tense situation, and for some days past it has been the front page news. The facts of the incident in brief are as follows: The American Government served Mr. de Valera with a note on 21st February, 1944, requesting him to remove German and Japanese Legations from Dublin as they, the American Government alleged, were using Southern Ireland for purposes prejudicial to the Allied cause. Mr. de Valera's reply to the United States Minister in Dublin was prompt and emphatic. He told the Minister concerned that the request of the American Government was incompatible with the neutral status of the Irish Republican Government and as such Mr. de Valera could hardly comply with it. This verbal repudiation of the American request was subsequently confirmed in writing. This attitude of Mr. de Valera, which has been interpreted in Allied quarters as pro-Axis in consequence, has been followed by swift action by the British Government. They have imposed stringent travel restrictions between Britain on the one hand and Eire and Northern Ireland on the other. These restrictions, according to a statement of Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons, "are a first step in the policy designed to isolate Britain from Southern Ireland and also to isolate Southern Ireland from the outer world during the critical period which is now approaching."

The American and the British case is that Irish neutrality has been, perhaps unconsciously for Eire herself, in favour of the Axis Powers contrary to the Republic's declared desire that it would not be prejudicial to the interests of either of the belligerents; for this, however, geographical reasons are mainly responsible. The American Note cites two instances. The German Legation in Dublin, it is alleged, has had until recently in its possession, a radio-sending set which has prejudicially affected Allied interests. Secondly, two parachutists, the Note says, equipped with radio-sending sets, were dropped on Eire's territory by German planes. It is apprehended that the German Legation, enjoying the customary diplomatic immunities, may transmit to Germany valuable information about the Allied military position endangering the lives of many American soldiers. Mr. de Valera has promptly denied all charges regarding his pro-Axis sympathies. Specifically answering the two charges, he observes that the German Legation has been prevented for some months from using its radio transmitter, and that the two German parachutists mentioned in the American Note had been promptly apprehended.

Ever since the present war began in the autumn of 1939, Mr. de Valera has scrupulously tried to maintain the neutrality of his country. Subsequently in July 1940 and October 1941, he reaffirmed and defended his Government's policy with regard to the war. As he said:

> "The Irish people want neither an old master nor a new one. We have shown ourselves ready to join in any world organisation of free peoples designed for the general welfare of mankind and the maintenance of peace on the only basis on which peace can be built—justice for all and fairplay for the little as for the great."

*Prima facie*, consciously or unconsciously, Mr. de Valera has no doubt allowed his country to be used by the Axis powers as a base of espionage against England in particular and the Allied cause in general; and this is the burden of the grievances of the American and British Government. As early as 14th July, 1943, Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary in the British Cabinet, remarked:

> "The tragic thing is that Eire, a country which has fought many battles for what it conceived to be the cause of liberty in one way or another, should have stood aside neutral and indifferent to this, one of the most dramatic and fateful struggles in the history of all mankind."

But promptly Mr. de Valera retorted:

> "Against what country, 'in one way or another,' had most of those battles to be fought? What country was responsible for the continuing crying of 'partitioning this ancient nation' and whose was the force that

at this moment compels almost half a million of our people to endure the denial of the freedom and liberaties for which this war in the cause of human freedom is being fought?"

It is apparent that from the very first Mr. de Valera has been sceptic about the alleged democratic nature of this war, and that he has found very little difference in the fundamental ideologies of the two belligerent parties. The *New York Times* has recently grumbled in wounded vanity:

"Mr. de Valera asserts that he and his Government cannot do what we ask 'without a complete betrayal of trusts.' But what kind of loyalty to democratic trust is it to hold the scales even between Hitler and the democracies."

But the attitude of Mr. de Valera can easily be explained in the background of Irish history. Mr. de Valera himself significantly said in the reply to the U. S. A. request:

"Irish neutrality represents the united will of the people and Parliament. It is a logical consequence of Irish history and the forced partition of the national territory."

Ireland has got "centuries-old grievances" against England, as Mr. Bernard Shaw put it; and every student of history knows that Ireland may quite naturally regard England's difficulty to be her opportunity. When the War began, all the Dominions, except Eire, promptly sided with Britain; but Anglo-Irish relations for a long time remained 'anomalous,' as Mr. Churchill admitted in a speech in the House of Commons. Mr. Churchill desperately said:

"If a catastrophe were to occur to Allied armies . . . a gulf would be opened between Britain and Southern Ireland which even generations would not bridge."

But 'the gulf' of which Mr. Churchill spoke has already been there; and the cause of this gulf is as well-known to Mr. Churchill himself as to anyone else. The 'gulf' at last seemed to be bridged in 1922: the Irish Free State was born, but Britain 'altered geography' by creating an Ulster in Northern Ireland as her watch-dog. It is the bitter memories of Britain's treatment of Ireland that are at the bottom of Mr. de Valera's policy of neutrality which is undoubtedly supported by a majority of his countrymen.

Leaving apart the subjective side of this controversy, let us examine the policy and action of Mr. de Valera from the juristic standpoint. At the very outset it should be noted that the request of the U. S. Government to remove the Axis Legations from Dublin is one-sided. As Mr. de Valera stated, if he were to abolish the Axis Missions he would, consistently with his ploicy, remove the Allied diplomatic representatives too. Britain and America would not surely feel disposed to acquiesce in such a proposition. The root trouble arises from the fact that in view of Southern Ireland's close proximity to Britain and its separation only by an intangible boundary from the North, where there are important American bases, the Axis agents enjoy an opportunity to gather military information of vital importance and transmit it by various routes and methods to Germany. For geographical reasons the United Nations are denied a like opportunity. But Mr. de Valera can in no way be blamed for this. He perhaps foresaw such a trouble as has actually arisen to-day. As he said in October, 1941:

"Through no fault of ours our nation is in a position of the greatest danger. Numerically small, we are placed geographically in a position obviously tempting to combatants."

From the strict juristic standpoint, Eire has complete right to remain neutral. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 was subsequently followed by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. According to this famous statute, the Irish Free State was accorded a place among the Dominions. These Dominions were to enjoy a status equal to that of Britain in all respects, the most important bond of union being common allegiance to the British Crown. The Statute of Westminster, 1931, was followed by the Executive Authority (External Relations) Act, 1936, and the Constitution Act, 1937, which carried the implications of the Statute of Westminster to their logical conclusion. The name of the Irish Free State was changed into Eire, and it became a sovereign, independent, democratic State having the right of choosing its own form of government and determining its relations with other nations. But the common allegiance to the British Crown still remained. Hence the present war made the position of Ireland so anomalous. The King of England, with the assent of most of the Dominions, was in a state of belligerency; but he was neutral so far as his relations with Ireland were concerned. Whatever that may be, the legal position is clearly in favour of Eire: any State coming within the scope of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, is fully entitled to guide and control its policy in regard to war and peace.

What the upshot of this strange interlude is going to be we cannot possibly foresee. History explains and law justifies the position Mr. de Valera has taken. But such a crisis is perhaps to be determined not by juristic principles but by purely political and military considerations; and to such a possibility we are looking forward.

March 22, 1944.



# Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review.* But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

## ENGLISH

TO THE HINDUS AND MUSLIMS : *By Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi Series, Vol. III. Edited and published by Anand T. Hingorani...Karachi (Sadar). 1942. Pp. xix+503. Price Rs. 6-8.*

By collecting and publishing Mahatma Gandhi's advice to students and women, his suggestions on the Hindu-Muslim question and by announcing the publication of his writings on the Indian States Problem, Mr. Hingorani has placed at the disposal of all interested in these matters, in an easily accessible form, a series of books which must hold an abiding place in Gandhian literature. This self-imposed duty has entailed not only arduous labour and close study of Gandhiji's writings but also great care in making the selections from the voluminous writings of our great national leader. The volumes published so far are characterised by attractive printing and get-up. It is perhaps needless to add that no admirer of Mahatma Gandhi or student of Indian public affairs can afford to be without them.

As regards the volume reviewed here which consists of nearly 180 extracts of varying size from Mahatmaji's writings and speeches from 1908 to August, 1942, in addition to a thoughtful preface and a carefully prepared index, what strikes the reader is the mass of materials placed before him. Instead of adopting the chronological method which, of course, would have entailed much less labour, Mr. Hingorani has arranged his materials in such a way as to make prominent the various aspects of the Hindu-Muslim problem as well as the phases through which it has passed, the best possible proof of its intricacy as well as the difficulties which have to be overcome for its satisfactory solution.

Starting from such external causes of Hindu-Muslim tension as desecration of places of worship, abduction of women, proselytism of the objectionable type, inter-communal marriages in the face of opposition from guardians and community members, inflammatory literature, lack of sympathy evidenced by untouchability, Gandhiji almost insensibly passes on to the evil effects of the communal distribution of seats in our legislatures and local self-governing institutions, communal ratio in services, etc., not failing to place the required emphasis on the question of the sharing of political power by Hindus and Muslims.

As the reader goes through the different methods advocated by Mahatma Gandhi to cope with the protean forms which communalism has assumed in different spheres of our public and private life, the one impression left on him is that though the value of racial identity as a means of unity is insisted on, though very cogent remarks on the utility of arbitration as a means of realising communal harmony are offered, though the part which genuine patriotism on an all-India basis and mutual toleration can play in ending our troubles has been clearly pointed out, Gandhiji has drawn special attention to the one way of permanently removing this great blot on the Indian nation—the adoption of steps for abolishing the deep distrust which separates the two communities.

After arguing that the fear of the majority is an illusion for what is called the majority really consists of various sections of the Hindu community with divergent aims, interests and policies, Gandhiji points out that the larger economic and political interests of all, majorities and minorities, are identical which he and probably most thoughtful Indians feel, should prove a force strong enough to bring them together for the attainment of common ends. And therefore Gandhiji envisages the time when political parties instead of being formed on religious lines will be along political and economic programmes.

Mahatma Gandhi, however, is not prepared to wait till the emergence of this new outlook, delay in which is inevitable mainly on account of the selfish leadership which is systematically disrupting our national unity. He would hasten the process of unification and that through a more potent means. The clue to this is found in the statement occurring on page 247 of the book where, agreeing with a correspondent, he says that he is not "a statesman in the garb of a saint" but "a votary of truth" in spite of all his "errors of unconscious omission and commission." In explaining why his acts "appear to be consistent with the highest statesmanship," Gandhiji says that it is so because "truth is the highest wisdom."

This over-mastering desire to adhere to truth has made Mahatma Gandhi adopt *Ahimsa* as the deciding factor in all his activities. And it is adherence to *Ahimsa* that has induced him to pit unselfishness against the selfishness underlying communalism. This feeling has impelled him to advocate complete surrender to the demands of communalism. This again explains the blank cheque he has offered to the Muslims and the other minority communities. It is unfortunate that generous as the offer is, it has failed so far to remove the distrust and the fear which play so large a part in keeping communalism alive.

However much this attitude of Gandhiji may be resented by certain sections of the so-called majority community which undoubtedly stands to lose by its adoption, there can be little doubts that it is the one and only satisfactory solution of our most urgent problem. Those who condemn it should remember that unadulterated democracy implies that it is the minorities which have the right to enter their demands just as it is the privilege and the duty of the majority to accept them of course with such modifications as may be agreed to by the minorities concerned. Any failure to do so

on the part of the latter must result in the prolongation of the present deplorable state of things.

Before closing what many would be tempted to consider too lengthy a review, attention has to be drawn to two important contributions made by Mahatma Gandhi to the solution of the communal problem—his very pregnant remarks on the two nations theory which he proves to be an untenable one and those on the utility of the constituent assembly as a means of removing communal distrust.

The reviewer, a member of the second minority community in India who, as far as lies in his power always makes it a point to study as much as he can of the literature published on the communal question, has found that while nearly every book on this subject discusses one or other aspect of the problem, we have here a book which deals with it in all or nearly all its aspects whence its superiority to them. There is also the fact that though addressed primarily to Hindus and Muslims, what is peculiar to it is that what is said here is worth the attention of and is generally applicable to members of all communities.

Mr. Hingorani, obviously a sincere admirer of Mahatma Gandhi, has, in this book, discharged his labour of love with unrivalled conscientiousness and conspicuous ability thus deserving the gratitude of those among us who are eagerly and confidently looking forward to the emergence of national unity with all its political, economic and social implications.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

THE WAY OUT : *By. C. Rajagopalachari. Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. 32. Price annas eight only.*

THE HEALTH OF INDIA : *By John B. Grant. Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. 32. Price annas four only.*

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM : *By K. G. Saiyadain, H. V. Hampton, Amarnath Jha, Ranjit Chetsingh, K. Venkataraman and R. N. Joshi. Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. 64. Price annas twelve only.*

These are three recent publications of the Indian Branch of the Oxford University Press and deal with important Indian problems. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari discusses the present political situation in its various bearings in his pamphlet, *The Way Out.* The author attempts to meet with ability and acumen, the controversy that the Cripps plan has given rise to. He exposes the utter hollowness, unfairness and untrustworthiness of the propaganda that seeks to place on the Congress and Gandhiji the responsibility for the failure of the Cripps mission. Mr. Rajagopalachari, however, at the same-time, affirms that "the Congress cannot be acquitted of the charge of not displaying the required ability for successful negotiation." He has come to the conclusion that in the light of the altered circumstances, the whole position should be reconsidered and the Cripps proposals of 1942 accepted. He says : "Let us declare our acceptance of these proposals when Britain has declared, in spite of die-hard unwillingness, that they still remain open for acceptance. Thereby shall we save for India many precious post-war years which should be used for constructive effort in a new world." "True it is not a scheme in which we shall have no difficulties." "But we can accept the scheme and deal with the difficulties if we have the wisdom to do so." "It is open to the imprisoned leaders to repudiate such decisions when they are again in a position to undertake the direction of policy." Mr. Rajagopalachari appears to have overlooked the fresh difficulties and complexities inherent in his proposals and to have almost shut his eyes to the strength of the criticisms that the Cripps scheme evoked, in his discussion of the question at issue.

Dr. John B. Grant, Director of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, points out, in his pamphlet on *The Health of India,* the underlying causes of India's lack of health and quotes figures to show the low level of health as reflected in the expectation of life in British India as compared with some of the progressive countries of the world. While in British India the figure is stated to be 27, the corresponding figures for other countries are : Australia 67, England-Wales 63, Germany 63, Japan 47. Dr. Grant deals with such subjects as social assurance and welfare, health education, public health, its organisation and administration, medical education, industrial health, etc. Bernal in his *Social Functions of Science* says : "It is probable that an overwhelming majority of diseases that occur throughout the world are due directly or indirectly to the lack of primary necessities, generally food, and many of the remainder . . . to bad living conditions." While quoting the above extract, Dr. Grant makes the following observation : "In the past, states regarded these questions as responsibilities of the individual, but today progressive states recognise the need for providing such necessary services as one is unable to obtain as an individual. This is fundamental to modern organised life. Included in these is the right to food and everything necessary to maintain health. It is only when such a health policy is adopted that important pre-medical causes of disease can be rooted out." The chief immediate problem, in the opinion of Dr. Grant, is to bring medical relief to the individual villager. This, he adds, has not yet been made available even to the extent possible within the present economic resources. Dr. Grant was Professor of Public Health for seventeen years in the Peiping Union Medical College and has been an officer of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation throughout his professional life. His services have been lent to the Government of India since 1939. Dr. Grant has discussed the main problems relating to health in India in a remarkably thorough manner notwithstanding the limited space at his disposal. The important suggestions made by him should receive careful consideration at the hands of the authorities, the medical profession and the general public.

In the pamphlet on *The Educational System,* Mr. K. G. Saiyadain, Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir State makes a fair and able survey of the policy hitherto followed in the sphere of primary education in India; Mr. H. V. Hampton, formerly Principal of the Secondary Training College, Bombay, who has recently retired from the Indian Educational Service, establishes a strong and reasoned case for a complete overhaul of the existing system of secondary education prevailing in the country; Mr. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, urges that the Universities should be faithful to their high ideals and adapt themselves to the altered circumstances and the conditions that are arising; Mr. K. Venkataraman, Head of the Department of Chemical Technology in Bombay and Mr. P. N. Joshi, Principal, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay in their joint contribution on Technical Education point out serious deficiencies in the present state of technical and scientific education and suggest important reforms in various directions; and Mr. Ranjit M. Chetsingh, Warden of the Friends' Settlement at Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces, gives a bird's-eye view of the existing public activities for the promotion of adult education. While referring to the problem of primary education, Mr. Saiyadain enumerates the recent achievements of other countries

in this sphere. He then very appropriately asks, is there any reason, in the very nature of things, why India should be unable to do what countries like China and Turkey, struggling against the heaviest of odds, have been able to do? He urges that educational reconstruction should form as part of national reconstruction. The various proposals for educational expansion and reconstruction set forth in the pamphlet deserve the immediate attention of all who are anxious that every possible step should now be taken without any loss of time for accelerated progress in this important sphere.

S. K. Lahiri

No. 9. THE LAND AND ITS PROBLEMS: *By Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya. Oxford University Press. 1943. Pages 32. Price annas four.*

No. 10. INDUSTRIALIZATION: *By P. S. Lokanathan. Oxford University Press. 1943. Pages 32. Price annas four.*

There are few who are competent to speak with greater authority on Indian agriculture than the illustrious author of the pamphlet entitled "The Land and Its Problems." This pamphlet provides a panoramic view of the salient features of agricultural policy and practice in this country where "farming is not a business, it is a tradition." The author has valuable suggestions to offer in regard to every obstinate problem patent to Indian agriculture, such as soil erosion, diminishing fertility, manuring, fragmentation and subdivision of holdings, marketing, mechanization, scientific research, animal husbandry and welfare of the ryot. He summarizes his observations in one simple but piquant sentence: "What Indian agriculture needs, is more brains to be put into the land and more state money to be put into agricultural improvement and research." Some important questions had, however, to be left out due to the obvious limitations of space, and one only wishes that the learned author will be persuaded to write a comprehensive volume on Indian agriculture for the benefit of scholars as well as framers of India's future agrarian policy.

The pamphlet on "Industrialization" by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan seeks to focus attention on certain fundamental problems with which Indian industry is faced today, particularly in the light of the stimulus which the war has offered to its development. This development, however, has been haphazard and not planned. The author feels that if the newly established industries are not to stagnate, the defects in India's industrial structure and organization must be remedied and a vigorous policy must be followed. This can be achieved, according to Dr. Lokanathan, only if the State can be made to accept greater responsibility for industrial development and a policy of economic socialism in the industrial sphere is pursued. In the narrow compass of a 32-page pamphlet the author makes it possible to refer to many other dominant questions concerning Indian industrialism, and the reader will be amply repaid by a careful study of this able survey.

Monindramohan Moulik

PUNJAB'S EMINENT HINDUS: *Edited by N. B. Sen. New Book Society, Lahore. 1943. Pp. 153. Price Rs. 10 only.*

This is a collection of short biographies of some leading figures of Hindu society in the Punjab during recent times. Written by different hands, but all inspired by discerning sympathy and intelligent understanding of character, this sheaf of life-sketches sums up the magnificent work done by the Hindus of the Punjab—a minority community—in fashioning the building of modern India. Of the persons forming the subject-matter of these sketches, it may be said that they were often men of brilliant academic attainments with the benefit of advanced Western education and have left the stamp of their vigorous personalities upon various walks of life in the province. Some of them have even carried messages of renascent Hinduism beyond India's shores to the lands of Europe and America. Among the twenty notable sons of the Punjab whom their biographers have delighted to honour in this volume are numbered doughty champions of Hindu interest (Raja Narendranath and above all Sir Gokul Chand Narang and Bhai Parmanand), a missionary of Hinduism to Europe and America (Swami Ram Tirath) and fathers of Hindu Renaissance (Mahatma Hans Raj and Swami Sraddhanand). Others have been successful public men (Sir Chhotu Ram and Sir Manohar Lal) and eminent jurists shedding lustre on the Bench (Sir Shadi Lal, Sir Jai Lal and Sir Tek Chand). Still others have been wizards of industry (Sir Ganga Ram and Lala Harkishen Lal). Finally, we have to mention selfless patriots who have suffered the extremest privations for their ideals (Dr. Har Dayal and Lala Lajpat Rai). One only misses, for reasons sufficiently obvious, any outstanding names, in literature.

Not only as a record of glorious achievements in different spheres of national life, but also as human documents, this little volume is of absorbing interest. We find here striking contrasts between scions of aristocratic families worthily maintaining their high traditions and self-made men who by the sheer dint of their genius have risen to the topmost rung of the ladder. There are also dramatic contrasts between careers marching steadily from triumph to triumph and those rising to meteoric greatness only to end in a sudden eclipse, as also between those with fixed ideals almost from childhood and those involving the very interesting process of conversion of a sinner into a saint. By the side of characters easily fitting into the existing social groove, we have dynamic personalities that have sought manfully, though not, alas, always with success, to create a better world for Indians and for humanity.

Altogether this exceedingly readable volume is bound to be a source of unending inspiration to Hindus of the present and future generations.

U. N. Ghoshal

OUR INDIAN HERITAGE: *By Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma, M.A. Published by Blackie and Son (India) Ltd., Warwick House, Fort Street, Bombay. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1-4.*

Prof. Sharma is already known as the author of some good volumes such as "The Prophets of the East," etc. In the volume under review, he appears in the role of a popular historian of Indian civilisation. In order to make this brief account of our heritage vivid, he "builds it up round great kings, distinguished Indians, eminent women and noble monuments." It can be said without hesitation that the learned author has admirably succeeded in giving an idea of the fundamental unity of India and of its unique achievements in every field of human activity.

Illustrations of Buddha, Taj Mahal, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath adorn this nicely got-up and beautifully printed volume of unusual interest. Prof. Sharma's accounts of Asoka, Akbar, Shivaji and Shah Jehan are as impressive and instructive as those of Buddha, Gandhi, Rabindranath and Rammohun.

About Rammohun the author aptly observes that he was most honoured of all the persons who have given a direction to the life of new India. About Gandhiji the author pertinently remarks that it is not possible to think of new India without him, for the India of today is the India of Gandhi. Speaking about Rabindranath he rightly opines that he was a world figure and perhaps one of the most many-sided personalities that India has ever produced. The first three chapters on "Our Civilisation," "Indus Valley Civilisation" and "Aryan Culture" are so inspiring that a perusal of them will fill the minds of the readers with pride in our past heritage. The remaining thirteen chapters are equally well-written and thought-provoking and are sure to enlighten the reading public as well as the students.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

### PRAKRIT

USANIRUDDHA. A PRAKRIT POEM IN FOUR CANTOS: *By Ramapanivada. Edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The Adyar Library Series No. 42. Demy Octavo. i-xxxii+1-142. The Adyar Library, Madras. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is an edition of a late Prakrit poem of a South Indian poet of the 18th century. It deals with the well-known mythological story of the love and marriage of Usa and Aniruddha, grandson of Krishna. The edition is stated to have been based on two manuscripts, the readings of only one of which are recorded and discussed in an appendix. The introduction gives an account of the author and tries to definitely establish his identity by distinguishing him from authors of Malayalam poems who are generally identified with the former. There appears to have been some sort of duplication of work in the publication of the text. It was, it is stated, already published in 1941 by the well-known Prakrit scholar, Prof. A. N. Upadhye (who previously edited the *Kamsavaho* of the same poet) in the Journal of the Bombay University on the basis of one of the two manuscripts utilised for the present edition. It is true that this edition has had the benefit of a second manuscript. There is however no reference to variants, if any, noticed among the readings adopted by Prof. Upadhye or found in his manuscript.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### BENGALI

MIRABAI: *Swami Bamadevananda, "Udbodhan" Office, Baghbazar, Calcutta. Price annas eight.*

Mirabai's devotional songs are immensely popular throughout India and are regarded as masterpieces of poetry. The present compiler has done a real service to us by bringing out this small anthology with lucid Bengali translation of the songs selected. The short introductory biography is well-written, neat, accurate and interesting.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

MAHACHINER NABAJANMA: *By Anadi Nath Paul. Purabi Publishers, 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Pp. 126. Price Re. 1-4 only.*

This is a timely publication when China is passing through the momentous crisis in her long career of civilisation. To many China is ancient, medieval and quite other than what a modern nation should be but to the students of recent history, China since the fall of the Manchus in 1911 is revolutionary in more senses than one. Change is working through all phases of her national life—social, industrial, political and educational and in one word, cultural and economic. It is no longer China of 1841 (Opium War) or of 1894 (Sino-Japanese War) but China rebuilt by the enormous sacrifices and sufferings of her patriotic sons and daughters in the foot-steps of the late Dr. Sun-Yat-sen. Today China stands united against the onslaughts of the Japanese aggressor and in spite of all the handicaps of a backward nation is carrying on her normal nation-building activities, industrial and educational, in far-off highlands and mountainous regions, sea-boards and river-valleys being in the hands of the enemy. "Hit and Run Factories" and "Shifting and Amalgamated Universities" are wonders of modern China.

China is a lesson for all fallen and backward nations particularly India, as to what is possible for a nation with a will and determination. China of world-lords has ceased to exist and in its place all classes in spite of social, economic, religious and ideological differences stand as one man for the mother.. country and are fighting against the common enemy. China has suffered most and has lost many things but not her heart which is as strong as ever and will remain so till she wins her goal of victory and attains national regeneration.

A book of this nature will be an instructive and inspiring study to our young men to whom the book is recommended. The language of the book is chaste and forceful.

A. B. DUTTA

### HINDI

JEEVAN-TAT: *By Vishvamohan Kumar Sinha. Pustaka-Bhandar, Laheriasarai, Bihar. Pp. 267. Price not mentioned.*

Written nearly twenty years ago and highly commended by the late Premchandji,—that prince among present-day novelists,—but published only last year, the novel, under review, provides a fine, comparative, psychological study of love, frustrated because of the darkness and delusion of desire, and of love, fulfilled and deified through devotion. The pains and pangs of transition through which our society has been passing, specially in the sphere of matrimonial institution, injunctions and inhibitions, are fully and faithfully revealed in the "swing" and sweep of the story. There are several passages, particularly those which describe the background of natural beauty, which are "purple" in their poetical imagination and expression. After one lays the book down, one feels as refreshed as one does when it rains in a desert region.

G. M.

### GUJARATI

SANKHESHWAR MAHATIRTHA, PARTS 1 AND 2: *By Muniraj Shri Jayant Vijayji. Printed at the Virvijay Printing Press. Ahmedabad. 1942. Cloth Bound. Illustrated. Pp. 302. Price Re. 1-4.*

SHRI ARBUD PRACHIN JAIN LEKHA SANGRAHA (ABU), PART II: *By Muniraj Shri Jayant Vijayji. Printed at the Luhana Mitra Printing Press, Baroda. 1942. Cloth Bound. Pp. 640. Price Rs. 3.*

Both these books show the fine historical research work done by Muniji. His labours have resulted in throwing a very bright light in the somewhat inadequate and obscure parts of the history of mediaeval Gujarat and his work is therefore surely to be welcomed.

K. M. J.

# HOW CALCUTTA PREPARED TO DEFEND ITSELF IN 1742

By Dr. A. G. PAWAR

THE incursions of the Maratha army into Bengal early in the year 1742 were both sudden and rapid. The Marathas had lately demonstrated the growing prowess of their arms. They had fought a battle with the Nabob of the Karnatak, killed the Nabob in the battle, overrun the province, levied heavy contributions, besieged and reduced the famous fortress of Trichinopoly, captured Chanda Sahib and held him to ransom. The armies which now raided Bengal belonged to the same Maratha General, Raghoji Bhonsle, who had won his laurels in the Karnatak. It was no wonder, therefore, that the very news of the approach of the Marathas struck terror into the hearts of the people. The fear of the Marathas was the greater because this was their first incursion into the province. Bengal had so far remained immune from their attacks.

The feeling of nervousness had not failed to affect even the Gentlemen at Fort William. As their President and Council confessed in their letter to Bombay (May 31, 1742), they were really "alarmed with an account that a large body of Morattoes had entered the country." Calcutta was not quite immune from an attack and no one knew how far the Marathas intended to proceed. The supreme need of the moment, therefore, was to put the place in a proper posture of defence. The need of doing it was the greater because many monied people had flocked to the city with their valuables trusting that they would receive there adequate protection.

The President and Council of Fort William were not slow to take necessary precautions and undertake such measures as would ensure safety of the place. William Holcombe, the Captain Commandant, and some others were ordered to go round the town, examine its defences and recommend such measures as were necessary to strengthen them. The Report was submitted by the Captain Commandant on April 22, 1742. It was as follows:

"To the Honoble Thomas Braddyll, Esq.
President and Governor and Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Pursuant to your order we have been round the town and taken a survey of the avenues and passes into it which are so numerous that we apprehend it requires a much superior force properly to defend them than can be raised at present. However, we have remarked the following places of most importance and what may be most necessary to be done at this juncture, viz.:—

To make a battery at Seats Garden consisting of six guns, four of which to face the roads towards Pennings and two to flank the Avenue towards the Waterside.

A battery of four guns, a little on this side the Octagon.

A battery of three guns at Mr. Jackson's Gaut.

A battery of three guns opposite to the gaol. All the passes into that road into the town to be stopt up with mud walls and ditches before them as also a ditch before each battery.

All the gates into the Black Town to be walled up.

A battery of three guns in the road that comes from Golgaut to be made at the lane that comes down by Captain Jackson's house.

A battery of four guns, three of which to face the road by Captain Lloyd's house and one to flank the Avenue down towards the waterside.

A battery of two guns opposite to Mr. Margas's house near the rice *golaks* (?); and all the by-alleys thereabouts to be stopped up with mud walls; and in case of an alarm we think it necessary that the bridges by Capt. Peiarce's and Capt. Reade's houses be then broken down.

The above is the result of our sentiments which we offer to your Honour's etc., consideration and are with great respect.

Calcutta. Honourable Sir &. Sirs,
22 April 1742. W. Holcombe, etc."
(*Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 15).

On the day this report was submitted, a Consultation was held and the President and the Council passed the following resolutions:

"Advices from all parts still confirming the news of the Morattoes' near approach to the Nabob's army; therefore, and that we may lose no time in making the place as defensible as possible,

Ordered that the several batteries be raised, the ditches made, the gates walled up, and other works done for the defence and security of the town as are mentioned to be immediately necessary in the report delivery in by Captain Commandant William Holcombe etc.

Ordered that all such gun carriages as may want it be immediately repaired and put in order and new ones made where the same may be required.

Ordered that the gunner do employ as many people as he can in making a sufficient store of gunpowder for service with all other kind of ammunition necessary.

As we find on the list of military stores but a very small number of small arms,

Ordered that the Master of Arms do look out for such good small arms as are to be purchased in the town, and that a sufficient number

be procured and brought up for the Company's use on this occasion on the best terms we can.

Ordered that Captain Commandant William Holcombe do recruit the two companys of soldiers in garrison here with as many Europeans and Portuguese as can possibly be got.

Ordered that such of the European inhabitants of this town as have formerly been discharged out of the military be on this occasion re-entered in the service pursuant to the Honourable Company's standing orders.

Ordered that all the Honourable Company's covenanted servants as also the European, Armenian and Portuguese inhabitants of the town be summoned to appear in the Factory on Saturday morning next (24th April 1742) at seven of the clock in order, for a general muster of them.

Ordered that the Master Attendant do immediately get all the sloops in readiness for service, that he do see that all of them have their full compliment of men and that he do put a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition on board of each.

Ordered that the gunner do entertain an extraordinary number of one hundred Lascars in the gunroom for the present service.

Ordered that the Buxie do provide a sufficient number of proper workmen, cooleys etc., for the necessary repairs and service that are to be made, and that the extraordinary expenses arising on this occasion be kept by him under the head of Expenses of Fortifying the Town of Calcutta.

Ordered that no rice or other grain, or any sort of provision whatever be exported out of the place during these troubles, and that this order be affixed at each of the Factory gates in the several languages usual here for every one's observance and notice." (*Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 15).

In accordance with one of the resolutions, a meeting was held on Saturday, April 24, and further decisions were taken. The Consultation in which these are mentioned reads as follows :

" The Honoble Company's servants with the European, Armenian and Portuguese inhabitants attending according to order of Council the 22nd instant, the Board acquainted them in general of the troubles in the country and the necessity there is of forming a militia for the defence of the place in case of the Morattoes approach.

Ordered that they do attend again on Monday next at seven of the clock in the forenoon to receive the necessary instructions.

Resolved that all the Covenanted servants under council with the European and Armenian inhabitants in town be formed into one militia and that they be properly armed and accoutred.

Ordered that John Foster Esquire do command this company of militia as their captain, that Humphry Bellamy Esq., and Mr. Alexander Wedderburne be Lieutenant, and that Mr. William Fytche Charles Gressey Esq., and Mr. Joseph Briggs be Ensigns thereof.

Ordered that proper commission be drawn out for the respective officers above named against Monday next.

Ordered that the Master Attendant do take with him two of the Honourable Company's sloops with such of the pilots, masters and others in the River Service as may be necessary, and with them proceed up the river as high as Chandernagore sounding all the way and making proper remarks of the channels, sands, shoals, etc., therein. That in case it should be found necessary hereafter to send any vessel up to oppose an enemy in crossing the river, he and they may be perfect masters of the channel.

There being one Captain Robert Lennard come from Madras who we hear was very serviceable raising the new fortifications there on the Morattoes approach,

Agreed that he be entertained for the present occasion and that he have a suitable reward for his trouble.

As we are informed that a great many people and much treasure hath been brought into the place since the report of these troubles,

Ordered that the Zemindar do make a strict enquiry into the same and do lay a report before the Board on Monday next who the people are that have come in and what quantity of money hath been so brought in from the best information he can get." (*Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 15).

The Zamindar, accordingly, laid the information and a further Consultation was held on Monday, April 26. As it contains some interesting references, it may be cited here.

"The Zamindar," reads the Consultation, "pursuant to order of Council the 24th instant reports that by the best information he can get the following is an account of the treasure brought into Calcutta lately to this day

| Belonging to | | Bags | Rupee |
|---|---|---|---|
| Juggatseat | .. | 159 | ...... |
| Doochund Pooranmul | .. | 15 | 30,000 |
| Govindass | .. | 10 | 30,000 |
| Baghat Pant | .. | 11 | 22,000 |
| Chunder Sankar Pant | .. | 10 | 20,000 |
| Sontosskill | .. | 4 | 10,000 |
| Ramchund Metre | .. | 1 | 1,200 |
| Dunneroy Ramnad | .. | 5 | ...... |
| Undiramroy | .. | 2 | ...... |

. A diary containing a particular account of the people that have come into the, or have sent their families and baggage in, since the 15th instant to this day was laid before the Board and read by which it appears there are two hundred seven boats come in.

Mr. William Barwell desires it may be minuted as his opinion that the admission of so many people into the place the greatest part of whom the English are under no fye to protect or intermeddle with may be attended with ill consequences to the Company as a Fame is spread abroad of vast sums of money being imported by them." (*Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 15).

It may be added in conclusion that though Calcutta in this way strengthened its defences, it did not get the opportunity of trying them against the Marathas.

# THE LATE SULEMAN NANA OF TRANSVAAL

By Swami BHAWANI DAYAL

An urgent cablegram from Mr. A. I. Kajee, Secretary, South African Indian Congress, announcing the premature and tragic death of our mutual friend and co-worker Suleman Mohamed Nana knocked me down unconscious for a moment. The news came rather as a rude shock. The blow was unexpectedly heavy. A new misfortune has befallen us. His untimely death will no doubt be an unbearable affliction to the Indian settlers of South Africa. We heard of his serious illness recently, but we never thought that he would pass away so suddenly at the early period of his life. He was a faithful friend to me and I had come to regard him with the greatest love and admiration. But it is to his public service I would like to refer. Such a sturdy character it would be hard to equal even if we searched the length and breadth of South Africa. The Transvaal has lost one of her noblest sons and the Indian settlers, one of their brightest jewels. A born patriot, thinker, orator, and a man devoted to his duty, he rightly became the trusted leader of his community. His single-minded devotion to the cause of his people and his charitable disposition made him stand head and shoulders above the rest. In the face of the bitterest opposition, he always held what he believed to be right, and good for his community. With only a few exceptions, I have never seen his equal in the Congress organisations throughout South Africa.

As a personality Suleman Nana was powerful and at the same time exquisitely adorable; hundreds of Indians visited him for his advice on the different matters concerning the community and even the Union Ministers were accustomed to listen respectfully to his advocacy of the Indian case. He was pre-eminently our best leader in the Transvaal and his place cannot be filled in these days, especially when our community is struggling to maintain its existence from the crushing blows of the Union Government in the shape of legislations. In this short tribute of mine it is impossible to make a reference to all the noble deeds he has done during the short span of life vouchsafed for him.

The late Suleman Nana was born in 1906 at Johannesburg, the golden city of South Africa and received his education at the Indian School there. After his elementary training he entered into business as a partner of H. S. Mia, a wholesale merchant of Johannesburg. A man of enormous intellect and courage he easily outstripped former leaders and gained more popularity than any of them. He was elected the General Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress and retained the office for eleven years up till his death. An outstanding leader, deep thinker and serene speaker, he appeared before a number of Parliamentary Select Committees and Judicial Commissions as the chosen spokesman of his people and ventilated the grievances thoroughly for their serious consideration. His familiarity with facts and figures relating to Indian questions was wonderful indeed and this empowered him to argue the Indian case with skill, self-confidence and authority. He possessed an intimate knowledge of the so-called Indian problems and therefore even at a very young age he rose to the topmost rung of the Indian political ladder there. He was a Commissioner of Oaths for the city of Johannesburg and was connected with several religious, social and educational institutions of the Transvaal.

Personally I am so grieved that I cannot gather the necessary power required to manifest my inner feelings at this calamity which has darkened the horizon of Indian lot in the Union. It assumes the magnitude of a national tragedy as he had completely identified himself with the public cause for the last decade. Both as an acknowledged leader of the community and as an energetic Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress he made his indelible mark in the history of Indian settlers and his name became a byword of wonder and admiration amongst his countrymen in South Africa.

I knew him well during my stay in South Africa and found him equally able as a speaker and as a writer. I feel his loss to be one which the Transvaal Indians cannot recoup. His noble nature shone brighter and brighter through the darkening clouds of despondency, bringing swift and sure solace to his countrymen, carrying confidence and fresh vigour in the field of public service; triumphant in the fight against racial discrimination he was the admiration of the whole community.

Nana is no more to serve his countrymen in the Transvaal but his noble works will live and bear glowing tribute and lasting testimony to the tradition of his nobler life he has left for us to follow. His many deeds stand as a colossal monument. To enumerate his numerous public activities is impossible in such a short space and I therefore close this tribute with offering my heartfelt sympathy to his own relatives in the irreparable loss they have sustained, a loss which is regarded as a veritable misfortune to the whole Indian community of South Africa.

# THE ANDHRA MAHABHARATA AND ANCIENT METHODS OF WARFARE

By K. LAKSHMI RANJANAM, M.A.

The subject of military science in ancient India is perhaps the province of the specialist. Little or no attention seems to have been paid to this fascinating theme. How Indians in ancient times fought amongst themselves or defended themselves from the aggression of enemies may at this distance of time appear to be only a matter of antiquarian interest. But as Indians come increasingly into their own, and become responsible for the defence of their country, they are bound to call for a historical study of the development of military ideas in India over the centuries. During the course of my study of the Andhra Mahabharata, I came across a wealth of material on the methods of ancient warfare which I venture to place before scholars in the hope of inviting their expert attention to this subject.

The Andhra Mahabharata has very carefully preserved the tradition of military concepts as they were described in the original Mahabharata. The "Yudha Panchaka" (war cantos) of the Telugu Bharatam is the highest tribute that the Andhras paid to the memory of ancient heroes and their great military prowess. Some casual critics complained that the war cantos of Poet Tikkana might as well have been left uncomposed for they could see in it nothing but a tiresome description of the fighting of the warriors and the number of arrows which each one of them discharged at the other. But to the poet Tikkana the Mahabharata war was as sacred a business as any other activity of the mighty clans. The great war represented the climax of the fortunes of the Kurus and Pandavas and what would be a story with its head lopped off? Moreover Tikkana had a partiality for the noble life of the soldier and his craft, bloody though it be. He himself was the scion of a family of soldiers and administrators. His father, Kommana, was a Commander under the Chodas of Nellore. His grandfather was the Governor of Guntur. Tikkana was the Minister of Manuma Siddhi, the ruler of Nellore. One of his cousins was a great general and earned the proud title of Tikkana of the sword, (Khadga Tikkana).

The age also was essentially heroic. Stories of the great battle of Palnadu were still ringing in the ears of the Telugu people. This battle took place about 1180 A.D. The warriors of Palnadu looked upon themselves as the prototypes of the Kurus and Pandavas. The *casus belli* in the case of the Palnadu battle was similar to the feud of the ancient clans. The Andhras delighted to hear of the heroism of the epic warriors whose traditions were so nobly enacted before their very eyes by the Palnadu soldiers. It is also to be noted that the Andhras of the age of Kakatiyas were the last to represent the ancient Hindu military tradition in its pristine glory. Soon after this period the Indian military scene changed very fast owing to Mahomedan invasion and the new military standards which the Muslims introduced. Memories of ancient Hindu military traditions were fast forgotten after Tikkana.

Now as far as we can glean relevant information from the Mahabharatam and other Puranas we find that the ancient military tradition was one of regular growth. In the Rigveda we meet with two fighters the God Indra and Vritra, the leader of the forces of darkness. It was a duel fight and the weapons used were also very simple. Indra wielded his "pavi." Indra's weapon was no other than what the Aryans used for breaking mountains and stones. When the Aryans learnt the use of the bow, Indra also was invested with a bow, whose visible symbol was the rainbow on the sky. Gradually the Aryans perfected the use of the bow; in fact it became their weapon par excellence, so that the whole military science came to be named after the bow, the Dhanurveda. The science of warfare was an exalted affair amongst the Aryans and it was elevated to the rank of a secondary Veda. To the soldier who died on the field of battle they visualised a glorious hereafter, similar to that of the Yogin who let off his life by means of Yoga. The Hindus asserted that they both are destined for the higher regions of light, making their way through the orb of the sun.

We reach the second stage when the battle raged between large masses of men ranged on either side. These are the so-called wars of the Gods and Rakshasas, into which were cleverly merged the feuds of Aryans with non-Aryans. These were pitched battles; there was no discipline, no strategy, no premeditated plan of battle. Everything depended on hard fighting

qualities and overpowering numbers. The Devas (Gods) appears to be in possession of the milk and honey of the world, living in heaven, whereas the Asuras, their rivals coveted their privileged position. Similar must have been the causes of Aryan and non-Aryan quarrels. The Asuras were barbarous fighters and had the advantage of numbers on their side. The Gods, though equally stubborn fighters had not the crusading zeal in them. Further they had not the advantage of numbers. Hence arose amongst the Gods the need, for some special thinking as to how to match their inferior forces with the overwhelming numbers of their enemies. It must have occurred to them that they could make up for their numerical inferiority by careful planning of the methods of giving battle to the enemy. The preceptor of the Gods' Brihaspati, is reported to have laid down this dictum :

> "According to Brihaspati's opinion, the numerically inferior army must be well knitted in order to fight; if the numbers are many they may be spread out at will."

So Brihaspati, the brain of the Gods, initiated the system of military tactics or Vyuhas. "Vyuha" literally means that which is deeply thought out.* The Amara Kosha defines Vyuha as

> "the proper arrangement of the armies *in battle* array"

The need for economising the use of force, also gave rise amongst the Gods for various devices to avoid war or at least to make it the last resource in their dealings with their enemies. Thus the fourfold plan of *sama* (peaceful negotiations), *dana* (purchasing the enemy by concessions), *bheda* (creating dissensions in the camp of the enemy and dissipating his strength) and lastly, *danda* (the clash of arms) became the recognised and orthodox plan of Indian polity later on.

Thus diplomacy and statemanship had their beginnings among the Gods and Aryans. The Asuras and non-Aryans were ignorant of these. Occasionally a discontented chief from the camp of the Gods deserted to the camp of the Rakshasas, and like Sukra, the brother of Brihaspati, became their Guru. In their unequal fight with the Asuras, the Gods often employed the device of creating dissensions in the enemy camp and they would not hesitate to use beautiful damsels as instruments of their diplomacy. The Asura brothers Sunda and Upasunda were a very tough problem for the Gods. They had to be destroyed through mutual and fratricidal war. The Gods threw an apple of discord between them in the form of a divine dancing damsel. The Asura brothers fought each other for her sake and died together. The system of using such women in diplomatic missions continued into the middle ages and a king often assumed the title, "the master of many royal dancing girls."

It is not to be assumed that the God Aryans were the less renowned fighters for they relied on their fourfold plan. They were indeed mighty fighters but there appears to be little unity among them. They were too clever to be united. Not often do we find that the cultured and prosperous communities speak with different voices whereas their opponents are united and act accordingly. The lesson of unity was brought home to the Gods by God Shiva, in one of the numerous wars of Gods and Demons. The Gods were once confronted with a predatory and daring sect of the Asuras who lived in three cities. Their strongholds were not accessible to the Gods. The Gods invoked the aid of Lord Shiva. Lord Shiva is the puranic representative of the Vedic deity Rudra whose anger and sharp arrows were a terror unto enemies. Shiva insisted that the Gods must part with a portion of their individuality in his favour, and follow him as the herd follows the herdsman. Hence his name "Pasupati." Having thus suppressed disunity and multiple leadership in his camp Lord Shiva proceeded to reduce the Asuras. He adopted a strategic plan. Strategy is the method of forcing the enemy to fight on terms not advantageous to him. He sent Lord Vishnu and Brahma to the fortress of the Asuras as a cow and its calf. They acted as our modern Fifth Columnists and drank away the water in the wells of the three invincible cities. The Asuras had no water to drink and were forced to fight thirsty. Lord Shiva destroyed their impregnable fortresses and burnt them down. He won the proud title, "the destroyer of the three cities."

Lord Shiva's son Kartikeya was even a greater warrior than his father. He led the Gods to success in many a battle and was known as "Senani," the perpetual commander of the Gods. One of his great exploits was the destruction of "Krauncha;" perhaps he successfully broke a Vyuha of that name and earned the title "Kraunchadarana."

As time rolled on the Gods-cum-Aryans developed their military science to a degree of perfection and left Asura-non-Aryans far behind in the race. Their confidence increased and they looked upon the mission of a soldier as a holy one. A warrior was the protector of the weak

---

* विशेषेणोह्यते इति व्यूहः

and guardian of the cause of Righteousness. The Aryans began to advocate the ideal of clean and straight fighting. The Ramayana upheld this ideal consistently and Valmiki always refers to Rama as "Satya-Sangarah" (of righteous valour). The great battle in the Ramayana is a good illustration of the fact that superiority of weapons is the surest way to success. Those who fight with newest weapons have an advantage over those who cling to old methods of fighting. There is the element of surprise and also effective use of superior force. The case of the aerial bomber versus the old battleship is a modern instance. Now the Aryan heroes, Rama and Lakshmana, were great wielders of the bow. They had the benefit of special training under the sage-King Viswamitra. Whereas the Aryans fought with the long bow, the non-Aryan tribes were still primitive fighters. They used the axe, the javelin, the mace, and the fist which were useful only for close fighting. In the camp of Ravana, he and his son Meghnad alone appear to know something of the use of the bow but they were no match for the mighty Aryan brothers. Ravana also seems to be overconfident of the strength of his hordes. He did not even attempt to frustrate the plan of Rama in constructing a bridge to reach Lanka and allowed the enemy an easy landing. But even Rama does not seem to know the value of Vyuhas. His allies were as much a rabble as the followers of Ravana.

Between the Ramanayana and the Mahabharata wars a great and phenomenal change came over the methods of warfare. Military science progressed by great strides. The fighting tradition gripped the whole people. Individuals and classes vied with each other in cultivating the ideal of the soldier. There seems to be constant and hard fighting between Aryans and Aryans, Aryans and non-Aryans, and amongst the non-Aryans themselves. Among tht non-Aryans the Nagas and Garudas were two famous valorous clans. There were mortal feuds between them. The Nagas were crafty and treacherous enemies. They were never reconciled to their Aryan neighbours. The Nagas were great adepts in the use of poison and often used this dangerous weapon against their enemies. Arjuna destroyed the Nagas in the Khandava forest. This they never forgave him and a Naga King later on poisoned Parikshit, the grandson of the Pandavas. The Garudas were better disposed towards the Aryans and the Aryans befriended them. Tarkshya the leader of the Garuda clan was honoured with the title of "Vishnu Ratha" in token of his friendship with the Aryans. He was a great destroyer of Nagas. The Nagas and Garudas were skilled fighters and had much to teach the Aryans in methods of warfare. The peculiar weapon of the Nagas "Naga-astra" was borrowed by the Aryans and made use of in their armoury. The Garudas seem to know the use of Vyuhas and the method of their battle array was known as "Garuda Vyuha."

There is ample evidence in the Mahabharata to show that Hindu military tradition reached the acme of perfection in that age. All the familiar features of a regular military establishment were there, manouevres, standing armies, tactics, the various divisions of the army, weapons, etc. Standing armies were maintained by Indian monarchs even from the ancient times. Rulers like Jarasandha of Magadha, and Suyodhana of Hastinapur who aspired to be emperors had standing armies. It is described in the Mahabharata that Suyodhana marched to the battle-field at the head of an army of one Akshauhini, ten others being contributed by his allies. In historical times Chandragupta Maurya and the Andhras maintained regular armies. The army was usually divided into four classes, chariots, elephants, cavalry and infantry. Of these the charioteer was most in esteem and military ranking was based on the chariots. "Atiratha" was the highest military rank, "Maharatha," "Ardharatha" and "Samaratha" were some of the designations. Great attention seems to have been paid to the proper training of the officer ranks of the army. These were naturally the Kshatriya Princes and members of the higher classes. In each prominent State there was a military camp presided over by a famous teacher. The military college of Hastinapur presided over by the Brahmin warriors Kripa and Drona in succession was perhaps the best of this type. Now, in the age of the Mahabharata it was not the Kshatriyas alone that distinguished themselves as warriors. The Brahmins also disputed the palm with them. The Brahmin Bhargava Rama was the terrible meteor of a fighter. He trained such disciples as Bhishma, Drona and Karna. Drona the mighty Brahmin was the veritable ocean of military science. His son Asvathama was a very sharp fighter. The military college of Hastinapura received and trained pupils from distant kingdoms like Panchala.

In order to stimulate the princely pupils military sports were held and tests were set to them to display their skill. In one of these displays originated the rivalry of the Kuru brothers and Pandavas. Drona trained pupils in archery. Many were the secrets of this science which he would trust only to those pupils whom

he considered to be of a noble disposition. Otherwise infinite would be the havoc caused by ill-balanced recipients of deadly weapons and their secrets. He would not trust even his son whom he considered to be of a rash temperament. Arjuna was his trusted disciple. Drona also knew and devised several invincible armours. The art of making these armours was handed on traditionally from one great man to another. In the great war an occasion arose when the Kaurava army was in a very sad plight and Suyodhana ran up to Drona for succour. Then the Acharya invested him with a secret armour and observed :

> "Oh Suyodhana ! you can face Arjuna with this armour on and you will see that his arrows will go in vain against you. He will be discomfited. This famous armour was designed by Aja for the protection of the Gods and he gave it to Indra. Indra gave it to Angiras who in his turn taught it to Brihaspati. Brihaspati handed it on to Agni Vaisya and I received it from him."

The high water mark of military perfection is discernible in the knowledge of Vyuhas which the Mahabharata displays. Vyuha is military tactics. According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*:

> "Tactics are the methods employed for the destruction of the enemy by force of all arms, that is, infantry, cavalry and artillery. Each of these possesses a power peculiar to itself, the full development of which depends to a greater or lesser degree upon the aid and co-operation of the other two. The only force that can ensure this co-operation is the will of the supreme commander."

That this principle of co-operation of the various divisions of the army in order to develop the maximum force was recognised by ancient military tradition may be seen in the very first Vyuha of Bhishma. Having reached the battle-field Suyodhana requested Bhishma, the Commander-in-Chief, to think of an effective Vyuha and arrange the army. Then Bhishma turned to the west. He and Drona stood at the head of the army with their colours flying. To the right wing he posted Kripa and Asvathama; to the left wing stood Kritavarma and Shalya. The rear of the Vyuha was formed by Bahlika and others and the King occupied the centre, with other Princes Royal. He was shielded in the front by ten thousand Samsaptaka charioteers who vowed bitterly that they would either kill Arjuna or be killed by him. The rest of the warriors were so stationed that they were supported by elephants; the elephants were buttressed by chariots; the chariots by cavalry; and cavalry by the archers. The whole was called the "Manusha Vyuha." The spectators were so much impressed by the compact nature of the battle array that they exclaimed that they never witnessed a similar arrangement.

During the eighteen days of the great war the commanders of both the camps arranged their armies in different Vyuhas. Some Vyuhas were meant for offence and some for defence. These army postures were adapted from dispositions of animals and birds, perhaps in their fighting mood. The habits of animals and birds were closely observed and were made use of in tactics. The Vyuhas named after the Garuda bird, the Krauncha (heron), the Kurma (tortoise), the Makara (crocodile), the Shyena (eagle) are famous. Just as the strength of a bird or animal is concentrated in a particular limb of its body, the main strength of a Vyuha was focussed in that part. The Garuda is everything in its beak; hence the most powerful warriors were stationed at the beak. Similarly the eagle is very keen in its eyes, the tortoise has a protective shell in the back which cannot be easily pierced, the crocodile is ferocious in its tusks and also has a rock-like back.

In the earlier days the Kauravas under the lead of Bhishma took the offensive and fought under the "Manusha," the "Garuda" and the crocodile Vyuhas but the Pandavas successfully withstood their onslaught and inflicted heavy losses on them. Suyodhana was very much alarmed. He used to run to Bhishma at odd moments and would complain bitterly of the plight of his army. He would also insinuate that Bhishma and Drona had kind leanings towards his opponents and therefore let off the Pandavas lightly. The veteran hero protested and changed his methods to defensive tactics in the last days of his command. Thus he arranged, the Mandala Vyuha, tortoise Vyuha and Sarvatobhadra Vyuha, all designed to induce the enemy to waste his strength on them. But the initiative passed to the Pandavas and they profited by it. At last Bhishma the hero of a hundred battles, whose valour inspired even the Gods, fell in battle and the Kaurava camp was engulfed in intense gloom.

After Bhishma, Drona, the mighty Brahmin assumed command of the Kauravas. To him military science was the very breath at his nostrils. Like Bhishma he was distinguished by individual prowess but at the same time he was a real commander. He put great store by the arrangement of the battle array and took great care to see that his armies never broke loose or fell pell-mell. His Vyuhas also were much more complex and proved deadly for the enemies. The ferocity of the Mahabharata war reached its climax during the period he was the commander-in-chief. Many were the heroes that lay killed on the field in these five days. Drona completed

the rest and destroyed so many warriors that Tikkana said of him, "He killed them with the ease with which he would pluck lotus flowers from their stems."

On the first day Drona formed the 'Shakata' Vyuha (cart-posture). The peculiarity of this lies in that the projecting portion of the cart pierces the enemy lines. If this succeeds the whole weight of the cart follows and rolls on the fleeing enemy. The Pandavas arranged themselves in the Krauncha posture. Drona like a wise commander set a definite objective to his army for achievement. This was the taking of King Yudhisthira as a prisoner alive. But he knew his limitations and told Suyodhana that he would succeed in his aim only if Arjuna could be drawn away from the main army. The Samsaptakas who were the sworn enemies of Arjuna promised to draw Arjuna away by inviting him for a battle with them. Thus on the second day Arjuna was away from the main army and Drona formed the Garuda Vyuha and he stood himself in the beak; Suyodhana and brothers became the eyes and head of the bird; and others became the wings and the tail. As against this the Pandavas stood in the form of the "Mandalardha" (semi-circular posture). If the centre were able to withstand the main attack, the two tips of the semi-circle might close round the enemy. The Pandava army was reduced to a sorry plight. Meanwhile, Arjuna extricated himself from the swarms of Samsaptakas and ran to the rescue of his army.

The most original of Drona's Vyuhas was the "Padma Vyuha" (lotus posture) which he formed on the third day of his command. In the formation of this battle array, the Kings of different countries became the petals of the lotus; the Princes became Kesaras; the King Suyodhana accompanied by Karna and his brothers became the Karnikara. Drona himself stood at the entrance to the Vyuha. On this day also Arjuna was called for battle by the Samsaptakas and had to go. In his absence the Pandavas were at a loss to know how to proceed against this impregnable array. One alone amongst them, the youthful son of Arjuna knew how to enter the Vyuha but even he did not know how to get out of its clutches. King Yudhisthira commissioned this youth to break the Vyuha and promised that they would all follow him at his back. Abhimanyu forced a way through the mighty lines of heroes but his fathers failed to follow him being stoutly opposed by Jayadratha. Young Abhimanyu fought single-handed for hours together but no succour could reach him. At last the wonderful youth was disarmed by treachery and fell fighting in the field. A pall of gloom spread over the Pandava camp. Arjuna wept bitterly for the death of his valiant son and vowed terribly that he would not rest the next day until he killed Jayadratha whom he held responsible for the death of his son. Failing this Arjuna vowed to kill himself. Terrible was the excitement in both the camps at this vow.

Drona decided to frustrate the vow of Arjuna and induced Jayadratha to remain in the army. That day Drona devised the most complex of his Vyuhas and if he failed in the object of saving Jayadratha it was no fault of his. First of all he formed the Shakata Vyuha to face the Pandavas. This extended over a wide area of 48 by 20 miles. To the rear of this he also arranged the lotus Vyuha. He advised Jayadratha to station himself at a distance of 24 miles from the main army and Drona detailed Kripa, Shalya, Asvathama and Karna, with a motley force of 14,000 elephants, 60,000 chariots, 1 lakh of cavalry, 10 lakhs of infantry, to mount guard on Jayadratha. Connecting these two parts of the army he formed a "Suchi Vyuha" (the needle array). This was a thin column for maintaining communications between the widely separated armies. Having arranged his forces in this impenetrable array Drona stood at the forefront with a fearful bow in hand, striking terror in the enemy. But the strategy of Shri Krishna and the mighty arm of Arjuna overcame all the hurdles placed in their way and Arjuna killed Jayadratha by the same evening. How the battle raged under this Vyuha of Dron would be a long and very interesting study Drona also was often insulted by the panicky minded Suyodhana. At last on the fifth day of his command Drona's Brahmin heart smote him against the rivers of blood he shed in battle. The old warrior dropped his bow and arrows on the chariot and let off his life by yoga.

Such in outline is the inspiring account of the perfection of ancient Indian military science. Its greatness consisted in its combining valour with mercy and leashing the blood hounds of war by the reins of Dharma, righteousness. It served India as a faithful instrument for ages but there is no finality in human things. When the Indian military organisation came under the fire of the Greek conceptions of war it revealed some weak points. The moral is that what we might consider impregnable may not be after all so. A nation must constantly keep a watchful eye on its defences and also on the resources of its possible enemies.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## The Calcutta Review and Its First Editor

In "a foreword" to the Centenary number of *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee observes :

The gentleman who took the initiative and played the most prominent part in the establishment and conduct of the *Calcutta Review* was Captain (late Sir) John Kaye (1814-1876). He had been in the Bengal Artillery but ill-health compelled him to give up his promising career in the army and resort to "the sedentary pursuits of a literary life." He was associated in a very responsible capacity with the daily *Hurkaru* but he was not satisfied with what he could write in its columns.

Captain Kaye felt the want of a magazine which might serve as a more effective medium for the expression of his ideas and views.

Accordingly, he set about organising a band of writers who would help him in starting such a quarterly journal. One of the persons to whom he applied for assistance in this regard was J. C. Marshman, the son of the famous Serampore missionary. He was already engaged in diverse activities as a Professor of the Serampore College, as the Editor of the *Friend of India*, as translator to the Government and as a publisher of law and school books. But he not only promised support to Captain Kaye in his new venture but enlisted on its behalf the support of another person who proved to be a tower of strength to the *Calcutta Review* for over a decade. Marshman had already been in correspondence with Sir Henry Lawrence whose reputation as an administrator was as great as his courage as an army officer. He was at this moment in Nepal and was just feeling the want of a magazine which Kaye was contemplating to start. Naturally Sir Henry became an eager collaborator. The third and fourth members of the group which co-operated with Captain Kaye in the foundation of the *Review*, were found in the ranks of the Presbyterian missionaries in Calcutta. They were Dr. Alexander Duff and Dr. William Sinclair Mackay. They are too well-known as missionaries and teachers to need further introduction here. Another person who co-operated with Kaye in the establishment of the journal was Captain Marsh, a relative of George Grote, the historian of Greece and a contributor to the *Westminster Review*. He was in the Bengal Cavalry and might have been helpfully associated with the *Review* for years. But his style was unjustifiably regarded as too violent and his criticism too trenchant. Accordingly, he ceased to be a collaborator after the first number. But it should be recorded that he played a not too insignificant part in the foundation of the *Review*.

It should of course be emphasised that in spite of co-operation which Captain Kaye received from the persons mentioned above, he had to bear the chief responsibility in conducting in its initial stages the journal, of which he was the proprietor. In fact years later, he wrote to the Editor of the *Times of India* that he had established the *Calcutta Review* "single-handed." Nor was this observation altogether unjustified.

Apart from bearing the editorial and managerial responsibility during the first year of the *Review*, he had himself to write four out of the six articles published in the first number.

For the second number also he contributed two papers. Kaye's ideals were high and his standard was that of the first class journals in Britain. He thought he had a mission to fulfil and this mission was to educate as much the people of this country as those of his own. In fact he deplored particularly the ignorance which prevailed among his countrymen about things Indian. Nor was this ignorance confined to those Englishmen who had never visited India. It was equally noticeable among those Britishers who had not only experience of Indian life but were responsible for conducting Indian administration.

In the advertisement of the first number of the *Review* which Kaye drafted himself, he referred to the utter lack of knowledge about things Indian on the part of the people of Britain.

"Little more was known than that Calcutta and Madras were somehow or other two of the principal components of India, that the climate was very hot and very unhealthy; and [illegible] the Great Mogul, the hero of the playing cards, was one of its most magnificent potentates. Whether Madras was in Calcutta, or Calcutta in Madras, or whether they were contiguous cities like London and Westminster; whether Tipu Sultan was the Great Mogul, or whether the Great Mogul was one of the Princesses of Oudh; all these were questions which only the very knowing were competent satisfactorily to solve." As to the condition in India he observed, "The bane of this country is ignorance : Ignorance not in the dark recesses of native life —there it is comparatively harmless, but in high places—among the ruling body, among the men to whom inscrutable Providence has submitted the destinies of India." To remove this ignorance became the chief objective of Captain Kaye in starting the *Calcutta Review*. "The object of this work," he wrote, "is simply to bring together such useful information, and propagate such sound opinions, relating to Indian affairs, as will, it is hoped, conduce, in some small measure, directly or indirectly, to the amelioration of the condition of the people. Our first desire is to awaken interest; to induce a thirst after information; then to supply that information; and, finally, to teach the application of it to its most beneficial uses."

There were many who predicted an early demise of the *Review*. They regarded the conditions in India as too unpropitious for a long lease of life of a journal of this character. First, they thought that contributors would not be available to write, from quarter to quarter, long, well-informed articles which were then in fashion. Secondly, readers would not come forth in any large

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The New Education Bill of England

Maurice Cranston observes in the *Worldover Press* (Feb. 23, 1944) :

LONDON.

With the British Government's new Education Bill now passing into law, England should not in future be the world's most backward democracy in her system of schools. Education will still be on a class basis; there will still be the expensive ($800 a year upwards) "Public" Schools and the ancient ($1,000 a year upwards) universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But apart from this thin uppercrust, the threadbare structure of education is thoroughly to be reformed.

The compulsory school-leaving age is to be raised from 14 to 16, which means effectively that there will be secondary education for all (it is now the preserve of the lower middle classes). Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, intends after the war—and of course, all these reforms cannot be introduced before then—that the equivalent of more than 170 million dollars shall be spent on technical education alone. He proposes to build young people's colleges for the part-time education of adolescents after they have left school at 16; there they will learn non-academic subjects so that they will not be, in Sir Geoffrey Shakespeare's words, "well versed in Homer and Thucydides but totally ignorant of carpentry and mending a fuse."

English elementary schools ("English" in this sense embraces Wales but excludes Scotland, where there is a democratic but much more rigorous system of education), which are her only *free* schools, are run today by local authorities and by churches under various mixed and muddled arrangements. They are housed almost invariably in tumbledown buildings and staffed with under-paid, overworked teachers. Mr. Butler wants to centralize the control of the schools and to raise the status of the teachers.

This New Deal in English education is, inevitably, opposed and criticized. By most sections of the community, though, it is accepted as a very substantial and very necessary measure of social reform. Its great opponent is the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic Church, they say, is too poor to give its children as good an education as Mr. Butler demands without a heavier subsidy from the state than the promised 50 per cent. The Catholics find themselves in the unhappy dilemma of either finding the money to educate their children properly themselves or sending them to non-sectarian schools.

Criticism of the educational reforms—on the score that they are not big enough—comes from other quarters. Perhaps the most cogent comes from Sir Richard Livingstone, Master of an Oxford College. Sir Richard asks the question : "Education—for what ?" His answer is, broadly speaking, for citizenship and an authentic culture. To this end he urges the introduction of the system of Folk Colleges which Grundtvig began in Denmark in the last century and which have played so great a part in making that tiny kingdom the most civilized country in the world. Education for adults is quite as important, Sir Richard believes, as education for children. For has not even Mr. Churchill said of himself that he was not interested in learning until he was 23 ?

---

## Delegate to ILO Conference Comments on India's Future

PHILADELPHIA (By Cable).

D. G. Mulherkar of the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers and Adviser to the Indian Employers Delegation at the International Labour Conference, which is meeting here, said :

"In watching the progress of this great live organisation, it is clear that its success has been due to the fact that the fundamental basis of its scope and functions has been that labour shan't be exploited for the benefit of capital; labour shall have the right to demand decent conditions of life as human beings. An equally noble principle ought to be declared either through the Atlantic Charter or a Pacific Charter, that there shan't be exploitation of one nation by another.

"Not until we have a National Government of our own can the problem of full employment be satisfactorily dealt with. Should there be no change in the present position, I very much apprehend a bleak future so far as my own country is concerned.